

The
Strange Death
of
Franklin D. Roosevelt

A HISTORY OF THE
ROOSEVELT-DELANO DYNASTY
AMERICA'S ROYAL FAMILY

By
Emanuel M. Josephson

"BLACKED OUT" AMERICAN HISTORY SERIES
CHEDNEY PRESS

SAMUEL M. JOSEPHSON was born in Baltimore, Md., September 23, 1891. He was educated at Johns Hopkins University and Columbia University. He received his M.D. in 1917. In 1921-22 he was Assistant to the Medical Director of the American Red Cross in Europe. Since then he has engaged in medical research, in the practice of medicine, and in writing on medicine, politics and economics. He has been fearless in his exposure of sham and corruption in those fields.

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The First Day of JANUARY, A. D. 1783

I the Subscriber do hereby promise and oblige myself and Successors in the Office of Treasurer of said State
to pay unto James C. Smith

as or before the First Day of March, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-three
with interest at Six per Cent. per Annum: Both Principal and Interest to be paid in the then current Money of said State, in a greater or less Sum, according to
the Five Millions of GOLD, Sixty-eight Millions and four hundred and thirty-two Thousands of SHEEP WOOL, and Sixteen Millions of SOLE LEATHER
which shall be the sum of the said Five Millions of GOLD, Sixty-eight Millions and four hundred and thirty-two Thousands of SHEEP WOOL, and Sixteen Millions of SOLE LEATHER
Twenty and six HUNDRED and Seventy-seven, entitled, "An ACT to prevent Oppression." The current Prices of said Articles, and the consequent
One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-seven, entitled, "An ACT to prevent Oppression." The current Prices of said Articles, and the consequent
Value of every Pound of the said Wool, to be determined agreeable to a LAW of this State, entitled, "An ACT to provide for the Security and Pay-
ment of the Balances that may appear to be due by Virtue of a Resolution of the General Assembly in the Sixth of February One Thousand Seven Hundred and
Seventy-nine, to the State's Quota of the CONFEDERATE ARMY, agreeable to the Resolution of CONGRESS, and for supplying the said

Witness my Hand
James C. Smith

STAPLE PRODUCT NOTES ISSUED UNDER "YANKEE PLAN" FOR FIGHTING REVOLUTIONARY WAR DEPRESSION AND INFLATION
Money was stabilized by defining its value in the terms of the things that people wished to purchase with it, in terms of beef, corn, sheepwool and
sole leather. By incorporating these staples in the monetary base, inflation was also controlled in a direct and sensible manner. If the technology of the
times had permitted of adequate production and safe storage, as is possible today, a surplus economy would have been attained by the colony, and true
freedom of employment and consequently true democracy might have been effected. This plan was suggested to FDR in 1933, by the author. But under
the influence of the Bank of England agent and propagandist, Maynard Keynes, of Frankfurt and German nurtured "economists", he was bent upon
using the program that had failed miserably in Germany as a blind for the real monopolistic and martial plans of the Dynasty. Roosevelt had pledged
revaluation of gold and maintenance of a scarcity economy to gain the delegates to the Chicago convention controlled by Hearst, and the nomination. At
any rate he held in contempt homely, commonsense Yankee ideas, and preferred the New Deal (made in Germany) as a tastier bait for the sucker public.
It prolonged the depression for more than a decade, but served the Dynasty's purposes well.



Birthday close-ups of President F. D. Roosevelt, 1938, 1939, 1940, showing growth of mole over left eyebrow. (*Press Ass.*)



President F. D. Roosevelt showing growth over left eye.

On return from Teheran, lesion over left eyebrow showed rapid growth, indicating conversion to melanosarcoma. No subsequent close-up was released. But enlargement of distant view in "State of Nation" Broadcast picture of Jan. 6, 1945 is shown at right. The cancerous growth is missing. Distortion of left eyebrow appears to show scar of operation. Note the butterfly-like pigmentation over nose and cheeks like that of pellagra or the rosacea of chronic alcoholism. Illness, pain and emaciation are obvious. Could be picture of another, a stand-in. *Press Ass.*

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HISTORY OF
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AMERICA'S ROYAL FAMILY

By
EMANUEL M. JOSEPHSON

Author of
Your Life Is Their Toy.
Rackets—Social Service and Medical.
Merchants in Medicine.
Nearsightedness is Preventable.
Glaucoma and Its Medical Treatment with Cortin.
The Thymus, Myasthenia Gravis and Manganese.
Breathe Deeply and Avoid Colds.
Roosevelt's Communist Manifesto.
Rockefeller "Internationalist"—The
Man Who Misrules The World.

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By

EMANUEL M. JOSEPHSON

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*Proceeds from this book are dedicated to
The Struggle for the Preservation
of Human Freedom*

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INTRODUCTION TO THE REVISED EDITION

The background of the conspiracy that was the basis of the power of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty, and that made possible its control of the destinies of our country, is related by the author in his **ROOSEVELT'S COMMUNIST MANIFESTO** (Chedney Press, 1955). It portrays the role played by the Dynasty in the Illuminist-Socialist-Communist-"One World" dictatorship conspiracy.

The second half of that volume contains what is probably the most important document in American history. It is the reprint, in full, of the 1841 publication by mentor-cousin, Clinton Roosevelt, entitled **THE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT FOUNDED ON NATURAL LAW**. It is largely an adaptation to the American scene of the conspiracy published in 1776, in Germany, by Adam Weishaupt, a renegade Catholic who had been trained by the Jesuits. He was the founder of the Order of Illuminati, which later became the Communist Party. Weishaupt is the real father, or grandfather, of modern-day Communism. And he was the preceptor of Moses Mordecai Marx Levy alias Heinrich Karl Marx.

Clinton Roosevelt was one of the group of American Illuminists, self-styled "liberals", that included Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana, and many scions of America's "first families" who helped finance the activities of Karl Marx and his associates. His **SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT** was published as a blueprint of a conspiracy to nullify the Constitution and Sovietize the U.S.A. Published in 1841, it contains the detailed plan of the New Deal and NRA, drawn up ninety-two years before his cousin, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, launched the conspiracy.

Clinton Roosevelt's publication is so important for an understanding of our national history, and of the ills that have befallen us, that it would have been a disaster had its well-planned blackout succeeded as a result of disintegration of the pulp paper on which it was originally published. The result would have been complete censorship and suppression of one of the most important phases of our national history and the history of the world.

The more up-to-the-minute phases of the conspiracy,

the author details in his **ROCKEFELLER "Internationalist", The Man Who Misrules The World** (Chedney Press, 1952) and in subsequent columns.

A fourth volume is under consideration by the author, on the part played by the conspirators in the engineering of the Civil War, and on the elections and assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

Material revisions and additions have been made in the text, on the basis of subsequent researches and investigations. This is especially true in the chapter on **The Odd Ailments & Strange Death Of F. D. R.** It has been largely rewritten and amplified with additional data, which casts an even stranger light on this curious affair.

P R E F A C E

The Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty has played a far more important role in the history of the United States than is suspected even by supposedly well-informed folk. Their role in the future may be a very fateful one now that it has become an integral though subsidiary part of the Rockefeller (Standard Oil) Empire. The time has arrived when it is imperative that the nation be keenly aware of it.

An evaluation of the significance of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty for the past, present and future of the United States has been impossible hitherto because the data has been carefully hidden in the family records and has not been available to the public. Even in the case of one of the most publicized members of the Dynasty, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, little of the really important background is known to the public.

Apologists for Roosevelt and the New Deal implicitly acknowledge their defect and the damage they have done the nation, when they seek to evade the issue and assert with all the dialectic vehemence of the trained Marxist:

"But Roosevelt is dead. Why bring him up?"

It must be acknowledged that Roosevelt is a very pathetic object for hero worship, and they might well like to drop the subject. But unfortunately the grave in-

juries that were done the nation through Franklin Delano Roosevelt, as tool, agent and mouthpiece of sinister powers behind the government are not as dead as he. They live on and must be studied, dealt with and corrected where possible.

On the topic of Roosevelt, the American public fall into two large groups. There are those who venerate and adore him, and regard him in the light of a savior. The others detest him as unscrupulous, treacherous, dishonest and a thoroughgoing fraud.

To both of them, however, there is completely unknown the truly important facts with regard to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the man, his familial background, his allegiances and interests, his objectives, and the dynastic tradition which he carried on.

More memorials have been set up for the Roosevelts, especially for Franklin Delano Roosevelt, than for all the rest of the Presidents put together. Despite this, the only facts in regard to Franklin Delano Roosevelt known to the public are those dispensed by his publicity men, some of them relatives and by the New Deal propagandists. These fall far short of the true picture of the significance of Roosevelt and his Dynasty in the past and current history of the land.

This woeful ignorance of the strongly biased public on the subject of Franklin Delano Roosevelt is best illustrated by my experience in October, 1944. I was invited to give a radio broadcast on the subject of "Know Your President". The form of the broadcast was a quiz contest consisting of twenty important questions about President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, his background, his activities and his avowed objectives. In the first broadcast on October 20 the questions were read and prizes were offered for correct replies to be received before the next broadcast, one week later. Not a single correct reply was received to the questions which I now quote:

"It is the claim of the Roosevelt-Delano clan that they have contributed twelve Presidents to the United States and have virtually ruled this country since its inception.

Question 1: Can you name those Presidents?

Three Presidents have been assassinated in the course of our history.

Question 2: How many of them have been followed by relatives of Franklin D. Roosevelt?

Question 3: Which of them narrowly escaped impeachment as President of the United States? Why?

International alliances and entanglements are of special interest to us now.

Question 4: To what reigning monarch is President Roosevelt sufficiently related to claim cousinship, and how?

Question 5: What justification is there for the statement that the Secretaryship of the Navy is hereditary in the Roosevelt family?

Question 6: Is there any justification for the idea that the Roosevelt clan have a vested interest in war?

Question 7: What United Nations leader placed the blame for precipitating the present war squarely in the lap of President Roosevelt?

Question 8: How many relatives has President Roosevelt appointed to office? Name some.

Question 9: From what sources, in addition to the German government, was the most important part in the financing of Communism in the U. S. derived?

Question 10: From what source did Senator Robert F. Wagner import the "New Deal"?

Question 11: Do you regard the key New Dealers including Nelson Rockefeller, Averill Harriman, Francis Biddle, Jesse Jones, Will Clayton and other representatives of America's largest fortunes as sincere champions of Labor? Do you think that it is their honest purpose to turn over control of the nation to Labor and thus destroy themselves and their fortunes in an act of political and economic hari-kari? If not, what is their real objective?

Question 12: What program have the Roosevelts advocated and published for the solution of the Jewish and Negro questions? Do they accord with the views advocated in the blueprint of the New Deal?

Question 13: Have any negro victims of infantile paralysis ever been admitted to President Roosevelt's business, Georgia Warm Springs? Or has an attitude of Jim Crowism been adopted, despite contributions of colored folks to Birthday Balls and despite the Roosevelt insistence that other folks must not discriminate against them?

Question 14: Has President Roosevelt a holding company of his own despite his opposition to holding companies that has been so violent that he has destroyed investments of billions of dollars held by innocent investors in holding companies? What is its name and activity?

Question 15: What has been the fate of money invested by the American public in stock issues floated under the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt? What have these issues been?

Question 16: What has been the fate of billions of dollars invested by the American public in railroad and utility stock as a result of action by the S.E.C. that supposedly was established for the purpose of protecting the investing public?

Question 17: Has Franklin D. Roosevelt ever been completely honest and straightforward in his attitude on any question that affects public interest? Has he ever kept a campaign pledge made in public interest?

Question 18: Who have been the principal ghost-writers who have thought Franklin D. Roosevelt's thoughts and written the speeches he declaims so well?

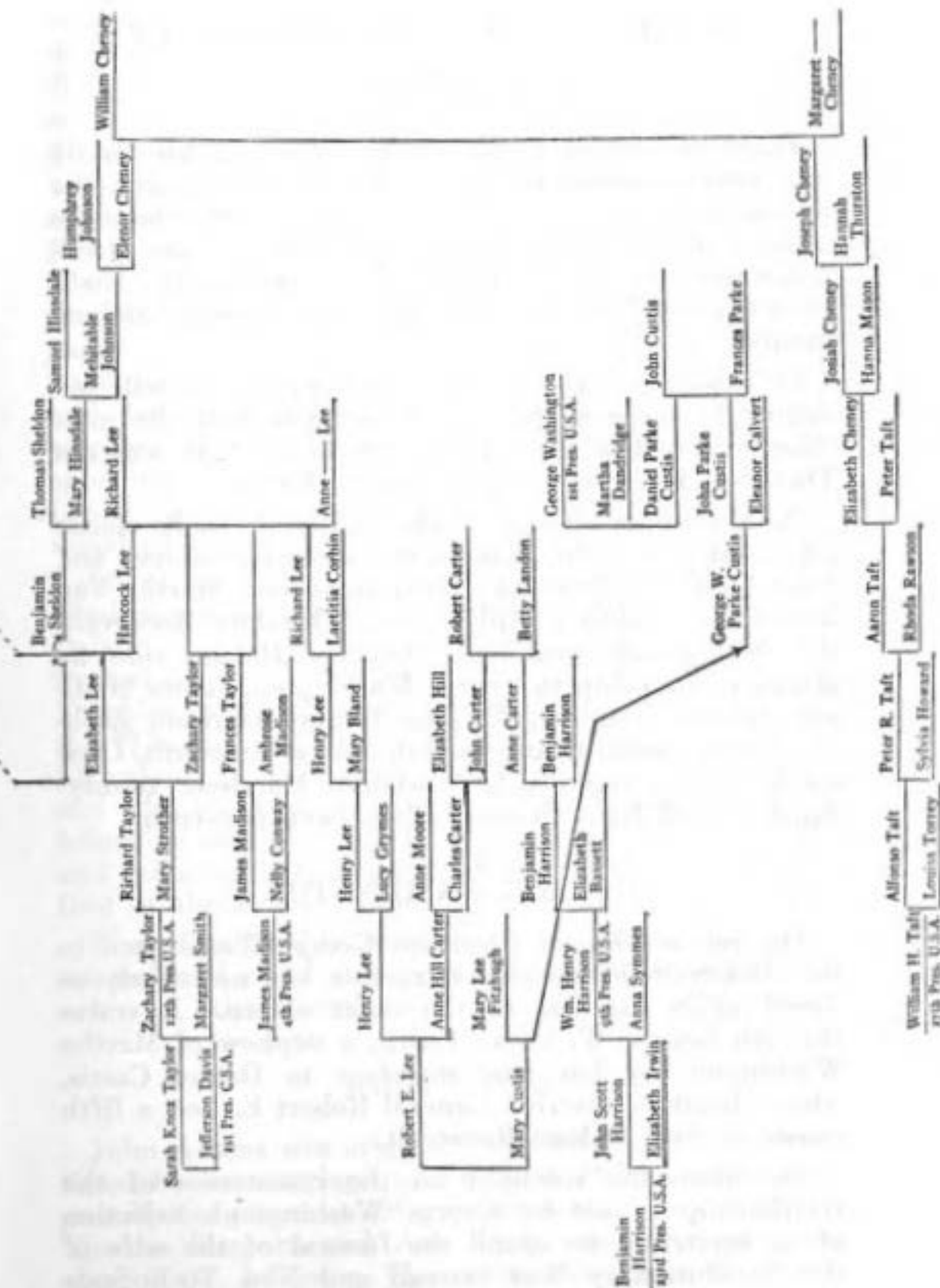
Question 19: Do you approve the New Deal policy that provides everything for foreign lands under Lend Lease, including liners for post-war trade that are thinly disguised as airplane carriers, but alleges that it can not produce enough shipping to bring our soldiers back to their homes and families from two to five years after the close of the war in Europe, as announced by the New Deal War Department? Does this not make it more apparent than ever that the true motto of the New Deal is "America Last and Least?"

Question 20: What happened to the large black mole that grew rapidly over the left eyebrow of President Roosevelt about two years ago? What is the significance of the two operations for "wens" that Drew Pearson reports he has undergone during the past year?

It is my purpose to present the facts concerning this Dynasty that has played a dominant role in the affairs of the nation that is so completely unsuspected even by those who regard themselves as well-informed. It is also my purpose to relate the factual basis of a true evaluation of the significance of that role, especially for the future of the nation.

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CHAPTER I

PRESIDENTS ON THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY TREE

Franklin Delano Roosevelt displayed on his family tree twelve presidents of the United States, and one president of the Confederate States, with whom he claimed direct relationship. Only four of the presidents were on the Roosevelt side of the family. Eight were derived from the influential and powerful Delano family.

So closely has the secret been kept that it will undoubtedly surprise the reader to know that the most closely related of these presidents to F. D. R. was not Theodore Roosevelt, but Ulysses S. Grant.

On the Roosevelt side of the family, F. D. R. claims relationship to John Adams, the second president and John Quincy Adams, the sixth president, Martin Van Buren, the eighth president, and Theodore Roosevelt, the twenty-sixth president. On the Delano side he claims relationship to George Washington, James Madison, fourth president, William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor, twelfth, Andrew Johnson, seventeenth, Ulysses S. Grant, eighteenth, Benjamin Harrison, twenty-third, and William Howard Taft, twenty-seventh.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The relationship of President George Washington to the Roosevelt-Delano clan is remote and not nearly so direct as in the case of the other eleven. It traces through George W. Parke Custis, a nephew of Martha Washington by her first marriage to Daniel Custis, whose daughter married General Robert E. Lee, a fifth cousin of Sara Delano Roosevelt.

An interesting sidelight on the remoteness of the relationship is cast by George Washington's rejection of an invitation to attend the funeral of the wife of the Revolutionary War veteran and New York State Senator, Isaac Roosevelt, which he noted in his diary on November 14th, 1789 in the following entry:

"Received an invitation to attend the funeral of Mrs.

Roosevelt (the wife of a Senator of the State) but declined complying with it, first because the *propriety of accepting an invitation of this sort appeared to be very questionable*, and secondly (though to do so in this case *might not be improper*), because it might be difficult to discriminate in cases which might thereafter happen." (F. D. Roosevelt's Colonial Ancestors, A. V. Page, 1933, p. 21).

The remoteness of the relationship would serve in some measure to explain the complete absence in F.D.R. of the nobler and finer qualities of George Washington—his modesty, his humility, his sanity, his absolute honesty, his high and rigid principles, his refusal to stoop to cheap expediency and politics, his passionate devotion to the cause of freedom, liberty and democracy, his loyalty to his country and refusal to sacrifice it to the interests of any foreign land, his spurning of nepotism and abhorrence of the cheapening of the office of President through exploitation for social or business advancement.

All of these characteristics definitely stamp George Washington as not a true member of the Roosevelt-Delano clan, however insistently they claim him. Affirmation of relationship to George Washington by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who lent his support to the "Union Now" movement and had as a member of his cabinet, Harold Ickes an official of that movement, and who was instrumental in World Wars I and II in betraying the interests of his country to Great Britain and reducing it to a more subject state than the lowliest of the British colonies, is the height of irony.

Washington nobly rejected the "indispensable", dictatorial and regal status that Franklin Delano Roosevelt and other members of the Dynasty have sought.

JOHN ADAMS

John Adams was originally related to the Roosevelts through the marriage of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's grandfather, James to Mary Aspinwall, a descendant of Thomas Shepard and Ann Tyng who were ancestors also of the Adamses. The relationship was in the order of seventh cousin. But as is so common in royal families, relationships in the Roosevelt-Delano clan are intensified and made closer by inbreeding and mar-

riage of cousins. In the present generation for instance, Frederick B. Adams married his distant cousin, Ellen W. Delano, thus enabling heir apparent, James Roosevelt to talk of "my cousin" Fred Adams when discussing sugar and insurance deals.

John Adams was an Illuminist (as the Communists were named then) a follower of Adam Weishaupt who was the grandfather of present day Communism. Adams organized the first Illuminist cell in New England.

John Adams and his second cousin Samuel Adams were moving spirits in the resistance of New England to British tyranny. Whether influenced by their interests in commerce and trade, especially with the West Indies and other British colonies, and in smuggling, as some folks allege, or not, there can be no question as to their devotion to the cause of the Revolution. Both signed the Declaration of Independence. Popular Samuel Adams is regarded as the author of most of the Bill of Rights and was instrumental in the adoption of the Constitution by the State of Massachusetts which he served as lieutenant governor and governor between 1789 and 1797.

John Adams, Harvard graduate, courageous and devoted to the cause of the Revolution, but vain, argumentative, impetuous, resentful, suspicious and in the main unpopular, member of the Continental Congress, ambassador to France and to England, got only thirty-four out of sixty votes for vice president as contrasted with the unanimous vote for George Washington in 1789. His snobbishness which impelled him to write that "the rich, the well-born and the able" members of Congress should be kept apart in a Senate did not add to his popularity. In the role of proud aristocrat he fiercely resented the failure of the electors to make him President instead of George Washington. With Alexander Hamilton, Adams became a recognized political leader of the Federalist party.

Adams secured his election to the Presidency by eliminating Thomas Jefferson. Feeling against the Illuminists ran high in the colonies in 1796, because of their involvement in the engineering of the French Revolution and its "Reign of Terror". Adams publicly betrayed his fellow Illuminist, Jefferson, who had organized the first Red cell in Virginia, in 1785, and exposed him in a letter which

can be seen in the library on Rittenhouse Square in Philadelphia. As a result, Jefferson was defeated in that election.

In 1796, Washington refused to accept another election to serve a third term, because of the danger of setting the precedent of a president assuming office for life and becoming dictator or monarch. John Adams was chosen as President despite his unpopularity, because of the miscarriage of a maneuver within his own party which sought to defeat him. During his term, he fell out with Hamilton and his own supporters. By 1800 he had gained such complete control of his party that despite their distrust of him he secured the Federalist nomination for presidency. He was defeated by Thomas Jefferson. In a spirit characteristic of the clan, John Adams was so enraged at his loss of office that he refused to attend Jefferson's inauguration and instead drove out of Washington during the inaugural.

John Adams assumed the role of aristocrat among revolutionary rabble. His concept of the proper form of government for the country was domination by a self-perpetuating aristocracy that would rule, in reality, and further their interests while maintaining a pretense of democracy and popular franchise. It is his idea that now prevails in the Dynasty. The Federalist political machinery which he was instrumental in creating, served the purpose of securing his nomination to the presidency despite unpopularity in his own party. The control of the political machine which he built has been handed down more or less intact in his family and Dynasty throughout the subsequent generations. It has served to advance numerous members of the Dynasty to the top ranks of society, politics, industry and commerce. It is one of the mainstays of power of the Roosevelt-Delano clan.

It was fortunate, indeed, for the country that the interests of John Adams coincided with those of the Revolutionists. For he had the courage of his convictions and he furthered them with vigor and intensity that might have been telling if he had opposed the Revolutionary cause. But it was even more fortunate for the cause of democracy that there were such men

as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison to offer some opposition to his plans for setting up a hereditary oligarchic rule.

The opposition that confronted John Adams and his associates was not sufficient, however, to avert the establishment of an oligarchy that is in large measure hereditary. But it was sufficiently powerful to force the oligarchs to maintain a pretense of democracy. This pretense of adoption of the most radical, they call it "liberal", cause of the times, has come to be adopted as a screen behind which each successive generation of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty push their drive for establishment of absolute rule by an oligarchy and the ultimate establishment of a monarchy.

John Adams established the precedent of nepotism which has become one of the outstanding characteristics in the political activity of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty, and one of their strongest traditions. This was evidenced in his appointment in 1782 of his fifteen year old son, John Quincy Adams, as "additional secretary" to the American Commissioners in Paris negotiating the treaty of peace of the Revolutionary War.

JAMES MADISON

James Madison was one of many distinguished descendants of William and Margaret Cheney. These included his third cousin, President Zachary Taylor who was father-in-law of Jefferson Davis, his fourth cousin, General R. E. Lee, and his seventh cousin, President William Howard Taft. Through the marriage of his great grand uncle, Hancock Lee to Sarah Allerton, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a seventh cousin of James Madison.

James Madison studied for the ministry at Princeton. In 1775 he became chairman of the Committee of Public Safety and in 1779 was elected delegate to the Continental Congress, where he urged that Congress be given the right to levy duties, despite the opposition of his constituency. When elected to Virginia's House of Delegates in 1784, as a Unitarian, he opposed the granting of special privileges to the Episcopal Church and fought for religious freedom. The bill he introduced was labelled Jefferson's Bill and was passed the following year. He also opposed the further issue

of paper money. His influence was largely responsible for the form which the Constitution took and for its adoption against the opposition of the Federalists and others. Though defeated in his senatorial candidacy, he was elected to Congress from his home district, defeating James Monroe.

In Congress, Madison introduced the first Tariff Bill as well as the amendments to the Constitution that were subsequently adopted as the Bill of Rights. He was an advocate of State rights and opposed Hamilton's bill to establish a national bank. He sought to limit the President's prerogative and favored France and was antagonistic to England. In 1807, Madison was elected President, as candidate of the Republican ticket. Throughout his career, Madison had advocated commercial reprisals rather than war against England to force her to recognize our neutral rights. But when seeking reelection, less than two weeks after his nomination, he sent his war message to Congress on June 1, 1812. His reelection followed, despite the suggestion of the Federalists that he forced to resign because of their opposition to war.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

John Quincy Adams, son of John Adams, furnished the country with the spectacle that has been uncommon in our history outside of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty, father and son simultaneously serving in the top rungs of the national government and succeeding each other to the presidency. At the time that John Adams was vice-president, George Washington appointed his son, John Quincy Adams, successively as Minister to Netherlands, at the age of twenty-seven, and then Minister to Portugal. Before he took the latter post he was transferred in 1797, by his father who had succeeded Washington as president, to the post of Minister to Prussia. At the end of the presidential term, his father recalled him.

In 1802 he was elected to the Massachusetts Senate and in 1803 he was appointed United States Senator in spite of the unpopularity of his father with a large group of his own party, the Federalists led by Alexander Hamilton. He resigned before his term of office ended

and returned to his alma mater, Harvard, as professor of rhetoric and oratory.

In the meantime, he had bolted the Federalist Party, joined the Republicans and participated in the caucus which nominated Madison for the presidency. President Madison appointed Adams, Minister to Russia in 1809 and in 1815 to England, a position occupied by his father before him and his son, Charles Frances Adams, after him. In 1817 he became Secretary of State on the Cabinet of President Monroe.

In 1825, John Quincy Adams was chosen President by the House of Representatives as a result of a deal made by him with Henry Clay, for the purpose of defeating Andrew Jackson. In return Adams made Henry Clay, Secretary of State. This raised the cry of bribery and corruption. So great was the unpopularity of Adams and the opposition to him in Congress that his presidency proved a failure. He was renominated by his party in 1828. Another scion of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty, General William Henry Harrison, was his running mate as vice-president, but Andrew Jackson was elected in 1828 to succeed him.

In 1831 Adams was elected to Congress where during a period of seventeen years, his energies were largely devoted to abolitionist activities.

MARTIN VAN BUREN

Martin Van Buren was a descendant of Martin Van Buren and Marytyce Quackenbush as was also his fourth cousin, Isaac Roosevelt, great great grandfather of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Van Buren's daughter-in-law, Angelina Singleton, wife of Abraham Van Buren, who was his hostess in the White House, was a cousin of President Madison's wife, Dolly.

Van Buren was a native of Kinderhook, New York, which lies not many miles north of the bailiwick of Franklin D. Roosevelt. A successful lawyer, though possessed of a very rudimentary education, he entered politics as an adherent of the George Clinton section of the Republican party. In politics his success was signalized by his leadership of a corrupt political machine that was known as the "Albany Regency", and dominated New York State politics for decades. His nickname "Little Magician" attests to his skill at ne-

potism and the spoils system. The Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty has since then done its level best to live up to the tradition Van Buren set for it of dirty politics, corruption, nepotism and the spoils system. With rare exception, all these later presidents of the Dynasty have proved a credit to their vicious progenitor.

Van Buren filled the offices of Surrogate of Columbia County, New York State, State Senator, and Attorney General of New York State. In 1821 he was elected to the U. S. Senate, and in 1827 was reelected. At the same time he served as campaign manager for Andrew Jackson. In the following year he was elected Governor of New York State, and resigned from the Senate. But after less than two months as Governor of New York, in 1829, he was appointed Secretary of State by President Jackson. He courted Jackson's favor; and after an interlude in which he served as Minister to England, without confirmation of his appointment, displaced Calhoun as vice-presidential candidate of the first Democratic convention.

In 1836 Van Buren, as successor of Andrew Jackson, defeated William Henry Harrison in the presidential election. On assuming office he appointed his son, Captain Abraham Van Buren, as his secretary. Abraham's wife, who was a cousin of President Madison's wife Dolly, was mistress of the White House during Van Buren's term of office.

Van Buren's presidency was marked by two successive commercial panics in 1837 and 1839. He undertook to "follow in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor". Though renominated in 1840 he was defeated by William Henry Harrison. He sought the nomination of the Democrats in 1844 but failed to secure it.

True to the tradition of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty, no loyalty or allegiance to any party could be expected of him and no party could hold him. Traditionally, they acknowledge no allegiance except to themselves. As in the case of John Quincy Adams, Van Buren bolted his party and, with Adam's son, Charles Francis Adams as vice-presidential candidate, ran for office as candidate of the "Free Soil" Party in 1848, but did not win a single electoral vote. This presents an interesting demonstration of the influence at-

tained, the cooperation between its members and the control of political machinery developed, even at this early date, by the branches of the growing Roosevelt clan. Both candidates were members of the Dynasty, for the second time in a generation.

GENERAL WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

The use of the Army as a springboard to the Presidency, and of war heroes as political fronts is an old one and a favorite of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty. Setting aside their claim to George Washington, they have contributed five of them to the role of President. Some of these hero-presidents have been real and others have been synthesized for political purposes,— created by rapid promotion through nepotism of favored individuals to the rank of general-in-command towards the end of a war so that they can claim some credit for the successful course of the war. Such an instance is still fresh in the minds of the public in the promotion of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's son, Elliott to the rank of General over the heads of thousands of professional career soldiers and officers, for his distinguished services in commuting to and from the fronts and fighting the battles of the cabarets, nightclubs and bistros on the home front. This brings to mind the old saying: "Generals die in bed with their shoes off."

William Henry Harrison was the first of the series of military presidents. He was a grandson of Benjamin Harrison, a Virginian, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a grandfather of Benjamin Harrison, the 23rd President. He was a third cousin of Henry Lee, father of General Robert E. Lee, as well as second cousin of James Madison, fourth President, and General Zachary Taylor, twelfth President, and a fourth cousin of General Ulysses S. Grant, eighteenth President.

Harrison graduated from Hampden-Sidney College and began the study of medicine in Philadelphia. After the death of his father, against the advice of his guardian, Robert Morris, Harrison joined the Army in 1791 as ensign, went West and fought the Indians. He was rapidly promoted to captaincy, but resigned from the Army in 1798. Shortly thereafter, he was appointed Secretary of the Northwest Territory. In 1799 he was

chosen by the Jeffersonian Republicans as delegate to Congress from the Territory. In 1800 President Madison, his cousin, appointed him Governor of the Indian Territory and for a short time in 1804 he acted also as Governor of the Louisiana Territory, a tremendous expanse of territory.

In a skirmish against the Indians, preliminary to the War of 1812, Harrison engaged some Indians with a force of militia and regular troops,—the much touted victory of Tippecanoe. After the outbreak of the War of 1812, he was made brigadier-general and placed in charge of all troops in the Northwest Territory, and the following year he was promoted to the rank of major-general. At the end of the War, after Perry's naval victory, Harrison advanced on Detroit and captured the territory previously lost to the British. In 1814 he once again resigned from the Army.

Between 1816 and 1828, Harrison was successively Congressman, Ohio State Senator, and U. S. Senator. In 1828 efforts to secure for him command of the Army and Vice-Presidential election on the ticket of John Quincy Adams both failed. He was appointed first American Minister to Colombia, but was recalled within a year. Retiring he took the lowly job of Clerk in the Court of Common Pleas, Hammond County.

Defeated as Whig Candidate for the presidency by Van Buren, in 1836, Harrison in turn defeated Van Buren in 1840. He survived his inauguration by one month and was succeeded by Vice-President John Tyler.

GENERAL ZACHARY TAYLOR

Zachary Taylor was the second of the series of five Army presidents of the Roosevelt-Delano clan. He was a second cousin of President James Madison and of (President) General William Henry Harrison, father-in-law of President Jefferson Davis, third cousin of Henry Lee, father of General Robert E. Lee, fourth cousin of (President) General Ulysses S. Grant, fifth cousin of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and sixth cousin of President William Howard Taft.

Zachary Taylor, following in the footsteps of his father, Revolutionary veteran, Col. Richard Taylor, was commissioned at 23, first lieutenant in the Army in 1808. In the War of 1812 he participated in the de-

fense of Fort Harrison. By 1814 he had attained the rank of major and resigned from the service. He was reinstated in the service in 1816, promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in 1819. He took part in the Black Hawk War in 1832 and the Seminole War in 1836. Following the battle of Okeechobee, he was breveted brigadier-general. In 1846, he defeated the Mexicans in the Rio Grande Valley and at Saltillo, and had become the popular hero of the Mexican War.

Nominated presidential candidate of the Whig Party in 1848 at the height of his military success and popular acclaim, his Louisiana plantation, slave ownership and his family background swung the tide in an election in which the question of slavery played a paramount role. His support of slavery was not as whole-hearted as he had led his supporters to anticipate. Shortly after his entering office he had antagonized them and was bitterly attacked by them. He was stricken by illness and died while in office, July 9, 1850. Millard Fillmore succeeded him in office.

ANDREW JOHNSON

Andrew Johnson is named as one of the twelve presidents of the United States who share common ancestry through the Delanos with Franklin D. Roosevelt in an article entitled "MY COUSIN IN THE WHITE HOUSE" by Daniel W. Delano, published in "PIC" Magazine on July 8, 1941. No data is available that permits detailing the degree and manner of the relationship. The ancestry probably traces back to Humphrey Johnson. In spirit Andrew Johnson is outstandingly a true progenitor of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Andrew Johnson began his political career in 1828 as Alderman in Greenville, Tennessee of which he became Mayor in 1830. After a period in legislature, he was elected to Congress in 1843. On his defeat for reelection to Congress in 1853, he became Governor of Tennessee. In 1857 he was elected Senator on the Democratic ticket, in which capacity he remained until 1862 when he was appointed military governor of recaptured Tennessee. True to the tradition of the Dynasty, once in high office he flaunted his campaign platforms and violated the interests of the elec-

torate. In 1864, to hold the votes of the Democrats who favored the war, Johnson was nominated vice-president to run with Lincoln on the ticket of the Union Party.

Following Lincoln's assassination, Andrew Johnson became President. Johnson favored a lenient reconstruction policy, opposed immediate, general negro suffrage, and personally attempted to force an antagonistic Congress to rubber-stamp his bills. But in those days men were *men*— and even Congressmen were *men*. To assert their authority, Congress passed in 1867 the Tenure of Office Act over the President's veto. The act prohibited the President dismissing from office without the consent of the Senate, any officer appointed by and with the consent of Senate; also an amendment to the Army Appropriations Bill subordinating the President to the Senate and the Chief of Staff of the Army in military matters. This wholesome move to restrict the monarchic power of the President was defiantly violated by President Johnson by his removing from office, Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton and replacing him *ad interim* first with Grant and then with Lorenzo Thomas.

Congress promptly brought impeachment proceedings against President Johnson, in February 1868. The charge finally voted on, rings familiar to us these days, viz: "eleventh, that Johnson had publicly stated that the 39th Congress was not an authorized Congress and *that its legislation was not binding upon him.*" Unfortunately the vote was 35 to 19, lacking but one of the two-thirds majority required for impeachment.

Johnson's victory considerably enhanced the monarchic power of the President. It prepared the way for the abuses of executive power that signalized the regime of later members of the Dynasty. The deliberate effort of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal to eliminate the Constitutional check on the monarchic power of the President by Congress through the device of discrediting it with the nation by a constant stream of vicious propaganda and through various devices robbing it of its power and initiative and converting it into an impotent and pathetic rubber-stamp, culminate this fight for expansion of presidential powers initiated by Johnson.

There should be noted at this point, the odd "coincidence" that of the three Presidents of the United States who have been assassinated, two have been succeeded in office by members of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty—Andrew Johnson and Theodore Roosevelt.

GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT

General Ulysses S. Grant was the closest relative of Franklin Delano Roosevelt among the Presidents of the United States. He was one degree closer than Theodore Roosevelt, who was a fifth cousin. Grant's great grandmother was Susana Delano, and Franklin D. Roosevelt's great great grandfather was her brother Thomas Delano.

Hiram S. Grant received an appointment to West Point under the name Ulysses S. Grant. In 1845, two years after his graduation, his regiment joined the forces of General Taylor in Mexico, where he fought in a number of engagements in the war. He emerged from the war, a captain. After marriage to Julia T. Dent, in 1848, he was stationed in California and Oregon.

In 1854, he resigned his commission amid charges of excessive drinking. During the following six years he lived in St. Louis making a poor living at farming and dealing in real-estate. In 1860 he became a clerk in the leather store of his father at Galena, Illinois.

Grant volunteered at the outbreak of the Civil War and was commissioned Colonel of the 21st Illinois Regiment by Governor Yates; and then was commissioned brigadier-general. Shortly thereafter he fell into disgrace, suffered serious military reverses, and was relieved of his command. Subsequently he was reinstated but sustained further reverses.

Despite Grant's mistakes and reverses, Lincoln and Stanton supported him. This political support served to keep him in his command. To outcries against Grant's drunkenness, Lincoln replied to the deputations that if they would find out what sort of liquor Grant drank, he would send some kegs of it to the other generals.

The fall of Vicksburg on July 4, 1863, marked the turning point in Grant's career. At Chattanooga he was placed in command of four armies that on November 25, 1863, administered a crushing blow to the Confederates. Grant then was made Commander-in-Chief of the Union forces

with the rank of Lieutenant-General. In the months that followed, the war was characterized by a ruthless sacrifice of Union forces in a drive on Lee's army in Virginia. Six thousand men, for instance, fell in a useless assault lasting only one hour, at Cold Harbor; and in two months the Union Armies before Richmond and Petersburg lost seventy-two thousand men. These sacrifices were eventually rewarded with success.

To the people at large Grant appeared as a savior of the Union. His dispute with President Johnson over his appointment by Johnson in defiance of Congress as Secretary of War to succeed Stanton, contributed in some measure to his nomination as presidential candidate on the Republican ticket. He was elected against a weak Democratic candidate set up by the New York party machine, ex-Governor Seymour.

Grant during his presidency dropped to lower depths than ever Martin Van Buren had dreamed of, the level of crookedness, corruption and nepotism traditional in the Roosevelt-Delano dynasty. Cabinet positions were put on the auction block. For instance, Alexander T. Steward, drygoods merchant of New York City was repaid for many costly gifts which he presented to Mrs. Grant, by the post of Secretary of the Treasury.

Numerous members of Grant's immediate family were placed on the public payroll, including the following:

1. Frederick Dent, Grant's brother-in-law, aid to the Vice-President.

2. A second brother-in-law, (brother of Frederick Dent) United States Customs, San Francisco.

3. A third brother-in-law, Government Indian trader, New Mexico.

4. A second cousin, Receiver of Public Moneys, Oregon.

5. James F. Casey, Collector of Port, New Orleans and distributor of Federal patronage.

6. Peter Casey, Postmaster, Vicksburg, Mississippi.

7. Jesse Root Grant, Postmaster, Covington, Kentucky.

8. Michael J. Cramer, his brother-in-law, Minister to Denmark. Cramer who was a German, antagonized the Danes by telling them how inferior they were to the Germans.

9. Columbus Delano, Secretary of the Interior.

All types of shady and dishonest ventures were sponsored or aided by associates of Grant. The Fisk-Gould Gold Conspiracy manipulated the price of gold from 132 to 155 and then smashed it down to 135 and precipitated a financial panic known as Black Friday. Associated in this enterprise was Grant's brother-in-law A. R. Corbin. And Grant himself played an important part in directing the policy of the Treasury Department to make this manipulation possible.

Secretary of the Treasury, William A. Richardson, appointed a political henchman of Grant's, John D. Sanborn, special agent for collection of delinquent taxes. Sanborn received, as commission, half of the taxes collected. He soon expanded his activities to take a cut of half of all moneys pouring into the United States Treasury until a Congressional Committee stumbled onto this looting of the Treasury. The Committee urged dismissal of Secretary Richardson. Grant permitted him to resign. He was appointed immediately Justice of the Court of Claims.

Benjamin N. Bristow, who succeeded as Secretary of the Treasury uncovered evasion of Excise Tax on a huge scale by the Whisky Ring that involved bribery of Grant's principal secretary, General Orville E. Babcock. The money collected by Babcock had been used to finance Grant's campaign for reelection in 1872. Indicted with the rest of the conspirators, Babcock was acquitted as a result of voluntary intercession and character testimony by President Grant. Secretary Bristow who had so courageously performed his duty in protecting the Treasury, was "cold shouldered" out of office by Grant.

Grant had the same contempt of the Constitution as characterized most of the Presidents of the Dynasty. He assumed the royal prerogative of making a treaty to annex San Domingo, disregarding the Senate's role prescribed in the Constitution in making treaties. The treaty was rejected by a Senate that had not yet degenerated to the rubber stamp state.

These and numerous other exposed cases of nepotism, bribery and corruption served to stamp Grant's two terms in office as the most shameful and dishonest in our history to that date. They have been surpassed, however, by the corruption of Franklin Delano Roose-

velt's regime that was so closely patterned after Grant's in that respect.

True to the tradition of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty, Grant held in contempt the democratic precept laid down by George Washington who refused to serve a third term, in the interest of preserving democracy. In 1880 Grant's profligacy and incompetence left him in poor financial condition. He widely advertised among his friends that he would either have to obtain lucrative employment or get a third term as President. Whereupon he set out to secure the nomination of the Republican Party. Nomination was refused him and given to Garfield, who did not live to enjoy his office long. He was succeeded by Chester A. Arthur, leader in the fight at the Republican National Convention to reelect Grant for a third term.

Grant's financial needs were provided for by a two hundred and fifty thousand dollar fund raised by subscription by the New York Times, just as Franklin Delano Roosevelt's needs were taken care of by a subscription fund of eight hundred thousand dollars raised from the financial community to bribe him to run for office. Jay Gould repaid the service Grant and his family had rendered him in the Gold Conspiracy by contributing twenty-five thousand dollars to the fund. It was gratefully accepted by Grant.

Not content with the provision thus made for him, Grant barged into Wall Street and engaged through the firm of Grant and Ward in a colossal swindle as stupid as Franklin Delano Roosevelt's financial flotations.

Senator Charles Sumner, in a speech before Senate, on May 31, 1872, aptly summed up the unprincipled incompetence of Grant. Several of his statements emphasize the pattern of conduct in public office that has come to be expected of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty such as:

1. Anyone who brought gifts to Grant's door was sure to receive favors.

2. Relatives, and friends of relatives, were appointed by Grant regardless of fitness with a favoritism described as "a dropsical nepotism swollen to elephantiasis".

3. Grant assumed monarchical prerogatives and flaunted the Constitution.

Another characteristic of the latter-day office holders of the Dynasty is exploitation of the presidency by the sale of their literary effluvia. This stems from their financial incompetence and inability to hold on to money no matter how much they make. Grant sold his memoirs to help support his family and to pay his debt.

GENERAL BENJAMIN HARRISON

Benjamin Harrison was a grandson of William Henry Harrison whose genealogy already has been outlined. After graduation from Miami University, he studied law and engaged in the practice of law in Indianapolis. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was commissioned second-lieutenant by the Governor, raised a regiment and was promoted to the rank of colonel. He saw service with Buell and Sherman. After the war was over, he was brevetted a brigadier-general.

Harrison was defeated in his candidacy for governorship in 1876. He was an ardent supporter of James Garfield, who offered him a cabinet post. In 1881, he became United States Senator but failed of reelection in 1887. In 1888 he was nominated Republican Party candidate for presidency, and defeated Cleveland. In 1893 he was renominated but was defeated by Cleveland.

COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Theodore Roosevelt was a descendant of Nicholas Roosevelt, son of Claas Martenszen van Rosenvelt (or Rosenfeld, in the German form) and Heyltje Kunst, early New Amsterdam settlers. He was a fifth cousin of Franklin D. Roosevelt and through his side of the family was more or less distantly related to the other Presidents of the Dynasty. Eleanor Roosevelt, a niece of Theodore Roosevelt married Franklin Delano Roosevelt and tied in the relationship of the two sides of the family more closely, as is so frequently the case in the history of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty and other royal families. Through his first wife, he was related to the Boston Cabots and the Lees.

In Theodore Roosevelt the Dynasty emerged from its amateur status of crude politicians to the status of professional demagogues and expert tricksters of public opinion and panderers to the mob. Educated at

Harvard, he came under the influence of the "liberalism" there in vogue that is richly tainted with Bismarck's subsidized propaganda of class warfare. He then began the study of law at Columbia University Law School but abandoned his studies for the avowed purpose of making professional politics his career. Thanks to the influence of the Dynasty, he was elected as regular Republican candidate to the New York State Legislature in 1881, for three successive terms; and in 1883 at the age of twenty-four, he was his party's candidate for Speaker of the Assembly. In 1883 he was a delegate to the Republican Convention in Chicago that nominated Blaine for president.

With an eye to acquiring Western background and support for his political career, he bought two cattle ranches in North Dakota where he spent two years. While he was absent in the West, the Dynasty made him Republican candidate for Mayor of New York City. He was nominated by Chauncey Depew, attorney for the Vanderbilt-New York Central interests, and Elihu Root, the Ryan-Morgan-Boss Tweed attorney. Thomas C. Platt, New York's Republican boss was ordered to support him. He received fewer votes than Henry George, the candidate of the United Labor Party.

In 1889, his distant cousin, President Benjamin Harrison appointed Theodore Roosevelt to the United States Civil Service Commission. The civil service reforms instituted during the Cleveland Administration had proved popular; and Theodore Roosevelt was demagogue enough to know how to profit from anything that was popular.

One of the outstanding features of Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty in its development, is its appreciation and effective use of all channels of publicity. Theodore Roosevelt was the first of them to court the press with the consequence that he always enjoyed the complete support of a good press. He became the prototype of the Dynasty which is now unexcelled in its public relations and self-publicity.

In 1895, Roosevelt was appointed President of the Board of Police Commissioners of the City of New York and in 1897, he was appointed by President McKinley, Assistant Secretary of the Navy. The Navy Department post is a purposefully hereditary one in

the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty, as will be related in a later chapter, because of their interest in naval armor and naval armament.

When the Spanish American War broke out in 1898, Roosevelt resigned from the Navy Department. He raised a regiment of cavalry, known as the "Rough Riders" and in spite of lack of previous military training, such is the magic of the Dynasty, became its lieutenant-colonel. As might be expected as a result of influence and favorable press, Col. Theodore Roosevelt emerged as the great synthetic military hero of the Spanish American War. In 1898, the war hero was given the nomination by the Republican party of the governorship of New York State and was elected.

In 1900, Theodore Roosevelt was nominated vice-president to run with McKinley, by the Republican Convention at Philadelphia. This convention was dominated by Mark A. Hanna who represented the major industrial combines of the country and particularly the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests. It was public knowledge that in both 1896 and 1900 the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests contributed \$250,000 to the Republican campaign fund. Theodore Roosevelt was nominated under these auspices.

McKinley did not live to enjoy his office long. It is a startling "coincidence" that of the three United States Presidents assassinated, two of them, Lincoln and McKinley were succeeded by members of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty, Andrew Johnson and Theodore Roosevelt, respectively; and the third, Garfield, was succeeded by Chester A. Arthur, a supporter and campaign manager of a third member of the Dynasty, Ulysses S. Grant, who obeyed its dictates.

Succeeding McKinley in office, Theodore Roosevelt immediately proceeded to pretend to betray the very groups who had given him the nomination and supported the election campaign. He assumed the melodramatic role of Presidential rabble-rouser and "trust buster". As such he was a complete fraud. He was always accusing others of nature-faking. But never has there been done a better job in nature-faking and humbugging the public than was done by his Wall Street sponsors, through their controlled press, in the build-up of Theodore Roosevelt.

Theodore Roosevelt was completely the tool of

J. P. Morgan and Company and their associates who had sponsored him politically. He submitted to Morgan's agents for censorship all his official statements. His first message to Congress was submitted for editing to Cassatt, Aldrich, Hanna, Root, and Knox, all affiliated with Morgan. His third annual message to Congress was submitted to James Stillman, President of the National City Bank, and passages referring to currency were changed at his suggestion. He followed the dictates of E. H. Harriman in most matters.

Teddy played to the gallery by advocating a new Department of Commerce and Labor and by pretending to attack Morgan. The attacks which he made upon the Morgan interests were designed to bamboozle the voters into believing that he was a champion of the little man. But they always served Morgan's advantage, as in the Northern Securities Company case. The Panama Canal venture which he sponsored was motivated by a forty million dollar swindle of the American taxpayer serving the advantage of Philippe Bunau-Varilla and his associates including J. P. Morgan and Company, Kuhn, Loeb and Company, August Belmont, Levi P. Morton, William Nelson Cromwell and others, according to stories published in the New York World. The Panama Canal route was less desirable than the Nicaraguan which had been chosen previously but was adopted because it was controlled by the speculators.

With the same defiance of the Constitution that characterized the Dynasty before him, viz. Andrew Johnson and Ulysses S. Grant, Teddy Roosevelt deliberately conspired to circumvent Congress. Henry Pringle, Roosevelt's biographer, states that he secretly dispatched G. M. P. Murphy, Vice-President of Morgan's Guaranty Trust Company to look over the ground with an eye to staging the Panama revolution against Colombia to force the issue. At the behest of J. P. Morgan & Co., acting on behalf of foreign creditors, Roosevelt ordered the seizure of the Dominican customs. Congress was completely disregarded in this move to use U. S. armed forces to collect private debts. Unknown to the Senate, he also entered into a secret agreement, or quasi-treaty, with England and Japan regarding the Pacific Ocean that paved the way for U.S. entry into World War I on the side of England and Japan.

An insurance investigation was motivated by Hariman's fight with Ryan for a half interest in 502 shares of Equitable Life Insurance Society he had purchased from John H. Hyde. The ultimate results benefited J. P. Morgan and Company who acquired the stock in 1910 for \$3,000,000. When the insurance companies were compelled to divest themselves of control of a group of banks and stock in the First National Bank and the National City Bank, they were turned over to J. P. Morgan and Company. George W. Perkins, a partner of Morgan's emerged as the villain in the insurance scandal. He became Teddy's most trusted adviser.

The degree of the Morgan influence over President Theodore Roosevelt is indicated by the extent to which he surrounded himself with Morgan henchmen. As vice-presidential candidate, while still Governor of New York State, at a dinner which he gave in the banker's honor in December 1900, Roosevelt had reassured Morgan personally regarding his sham "liberalism" thereby clearing the way for the formation of the U. S. Steel Corporation. Further assurance was given by the inclusion by Roosevelt in his Cabinet of numerous Morgan henchmen, including George von L. Meyer, first as Postmaster-General and then as Secretary of the Navy; Paul Morton, Secretary of the Navy; Herbert L. Satterlee, Morgan's son-in-law, Assistant Secretary of the Navy; Elihu Root, Secretary of State (who resigned from the Cabinet to defend Morgan in the Northern Securities Company case, to his complete satisfaction, and then returned to the Cabinet); Robert Bacon, Morgan partner, as Assistant Secretary of State; William Howard Taft, Secretary of War, and others. Notable is the frequency with which Roosevelt changed his Secretaries of the Navy in order to retain direct control of the Navy himself.

"Teddy" Roosevelt was as antagonistic to the Rockefellers as he was friendly and helpful to his political sponsors, the Morgan group. His "trust busting" activities were designed to court public favor and to trick folks into believing him to be a champion of the common man and an antagonist of great wealth, so as to cover his partisanship. The policy of trust "regulation" which Roosevelt later advocated originated with George W. Perkins, Morgan's partner and the President's

intimate and adviser. "Regulation" is selective and is admirably designed to further special interests. TR's hatred of the Rockefellers was rooted in his belief, instilled by his advisers, that Rockefellers were his enemies. He attacked them viciously and vindictively. This did not deter him, however, from seeking contributions to his campaign funds from the Rockefeller group. Around nomination time Roosevelt extended an invitation through Congressman Silbey to Archbold, President of the Standard Oil Company, to luncheon at the White House. The Standard Oil Company contributed thereafter \$100,000 to the 1904 campaign fund. At the time of the contribution Archbold was assured that Roosevelt was cognizant of the contribution. Roosevelt, played to the gallery as usual, and pretended to demand the return of the money. But when the same contribution was listed as coming from H. H. Rogers, a Standard Oil executive, Roosevelt was completely content with this transparent effort to deceive the public. His campaign managers then went back to the Standard Oil Company to ask for another \$150,000, but were turned down. While he railed at "malefactors of great wealth", he sought them out as friends and supporters.

Roosevelt's campaign of "trust busting" was sham. He was playing to the gallery and courting the rising tide of "liberalism", as German propagandized Marxism was then labelled. The drive on big business was aimed to destroy the "bad trusts", the Rockefeller trusts, and regulate the "good trusts", the Morgan trusts. As is usual with the Roosevelts, the criterion of "good" or "bad" was entirely personal—those who opposed his plans were "bad". This was clearly expressed by Theodore Roosevelt to the Clapp Committee:

"I never changed my attitude toward the Standard Oil in any shape or manner. It antagonized *me* before my election, when I was getting through my Bureau of Corporations bill, and I then promptly threw down my gauntlet to it . . . "

For Roosevelt the Standard Oil dissolution decree was a tiff for the edification of his public. For the nation, it meant the deliberate precipitation of the disastrous 1907 panic, which followed a fortnight after the decree.

The panic of 1907 was deliberately engineered by Dynastic and allied bankers, as was the panic of 1929. Roosevelt himself acknowledged that it was a conspiracy started, or at any rate aggravated, for the purpose of permitting U. S. Steel Corporation to combine with Tennessee Coal and Iron Corporation in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The dissolution decree handed down by Judge Kenesaw Landis against the Standard Oil Company and the huge fine imposed, played an important part in undermining confidence and in infuriating the Rockefellers. The Rockefeller interests, who controlled Amalgamated Copper, of which Robert Bacon, a Roosevelt Cabinet member, was director, strategically struck at a weak point in the financial structure of the country. They raided the stock of their competitor, United Copper, a low cost producer that had consistently undersold them. It was controlled by their bitter enemy, F. Augustus Heinze. The smash in the price of the United Copper stock closed the Mercantile National Bank of which Heinze was President and also closed his bank in Butte.

The conspirators closed the Knickerbocker Trust Company. They also started a run on the Trust Company of America in order to secure control of a large block of Tennessee Coal and Iron Company stock held as collateral for a loan of less than a million dollars and force its exchange for U. S. Steel Corporation stock. This was the price demanded by J. P. Morgan for helping the Trust Company with United States Treasury money which President Roosevelt had turned over to J. P. Morgan and Company for this purpose. Further pressure on the market was continued that threatened the closing of the Wall Street brokerage house of Moore and Schley, to set the stage for Roosevelt to give with apparent justification, formal consent to the merger of Tennessee Coal and Iron Corporation with U. S. Steel Corporation.

Theodore Roosevelt drove hard to enhance the monarchic power of the President and establish a dictatorship. He heartily echoed in his speech and deeds the attitude of Louis XIV, "*L'état, c'est moi*". He was a good actor and a shrewd demagogue. He appealed to the unthinking mob. The members of the Gridiron Club who come in close contact with the Presidents and have excellent opportunity to judge them, shrewd-

ly portrayed and caricatured Teddy Roosevelt at their 1907 dinner as a would-be "emperor".

At the end of the second term, Roosevelt picked his heir and dictated the nomination of another member of the Dynasty, a distant relative, William Howard Taft. Taft, however, was a Rockefeller puppet and refused to take orders from Roosevelt. Instead, he authorized prosecution of the United States Steel Corporation as a Trust, for its purchase of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. This enraged Roosevelt because his bosses of the Morgan clique controlled U. S. Steel, and he had given his consent to the deal.

Theodore Roosevelt was not a person who would forgive the disregard of his imperial order, and he attempted to bar Taft's renomination. He found that he could not dictate to the Republican Party and get the nomination for himself, for a third term. Following the policy of the Dynasty to give allegiance to no one but themselves, to pay heed to no tradition—as had his Dynastic predecessors, John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren and Ulysses S. Grant—he engineered the bolting of a section of the Republican Party, organized a third party, the Bull Moose Party, and made himself its presidential candidate for a third term. He was soundly trounced. But he engineered the defeat of Taft and the election of Wilson.

In the Wilson regime which followed, the control of the Navy Department that had come to be of paramount importance to the Dynasty, was placed in the hands of another of its members, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Theodore's nephew by marriage as well as his fifth cousin. Teddy Roosevelt used all his prestige as President to further the career of Franklin as his political heir, because of affection for his niece.

Fortunately for the nation, Roosevelt's "trust busting" was merely "nature faking" and shallow demagoguery. It was his "line", his method of attracting attention to himself and his antics and distracting attention from what he was doing behind the scenes. Characteristically, he inveighed against "muckraking", as he labelled exposés made by others, but he himself, resorted to it to attract the radical and Marxist vote. He was shrewdly aware that from the standpoint of the uncritical mob "what one says counts for more than what one does, if one shouts often and loudly enough".

He anticipated Goebbels by decades. When Theodore Roosevelt entered the White House there were only 150 large combines or "trusts". When his term ended, despite all his pretexts at "trust busting" there were over 10,000 "trusts" in the land.

The idea that large business combines are bad is obviously absurd. The larger the industrial unit, the more effectively it can serve. The damage lies not in trusts but in the suppressive misuse to which they may be put. With chicanery Roosevelt pretended to fight trusts, while actually fostering their abuse. But in this respect Cousin Franklin Delano, his heir, has far outdone him.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

William Howard Taft was the son of Alphonso Taft Secretary of War and later Attorney General in the Cabinet of his kin, President Grant, and Minister to Austria and then to Russia under President Arthur, the staunch Grant supporter. Descended from William and Margaret Cheney, Taft shares common ancestry with Presidents Ulysses S. Grant, William Henry Harrison, Benjamin Harrison, James Madison, Zachary Taylor and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. His relationship to the balance of the Dynasty was more tenuous. Taft's father-in-law, Judge John W. Herron was a law partner of President Rutherford B. Hayes.

Graduating from Yale and Cincinnati Law School in 1880, Taft became successively law reporter, Assistant Prosecuting Attorney and Assistant City Solicitor, Cincinnati and Judge, Cincinnati Superior Court. By 1880, ten years after graduation he had become United States Solicitor General. That was an extraordinary performance even for a man of acknowledged legal talent. No doubt it reflects the magic of the Dynasty.

In 1892, Taft was appointed by his kin, Benjamin Harrison, United States Circuit Judge. In 1896 to 1900 he was simultaneously Dean of the Law School of the University of Cincinnati. In 1900, McKinley appointed him President of the United States Philippine Commission, and in the following year, Governor of the Philippines. Theodore Roosevelt appointed Cousin Taft, Secretary of War.

In 1908, Roosevelt picked Cousin Taft as his successor and gave him the Republican nomination. The

story of his tiff with Roosevelt, his renomination and defeat by Wilson has been related.

Taft was a product of Rockefeller's Ohio political machine which Mark Hanna had built up for them. His favoring of the Rockefeller interests and antagonism to Morgan might have been anticipated by anyone acquainted with his earlier career.

In William Howard Taft's son, Robert Alphonso Taft, the Dynasty seeks to give the nation another of its unique presentations—hereditary transmission of the Presidency in spite of the obstacles presented by the forms of democracy.

CHAPTER II

ROYAL COUSINS — KING GEORGE VI

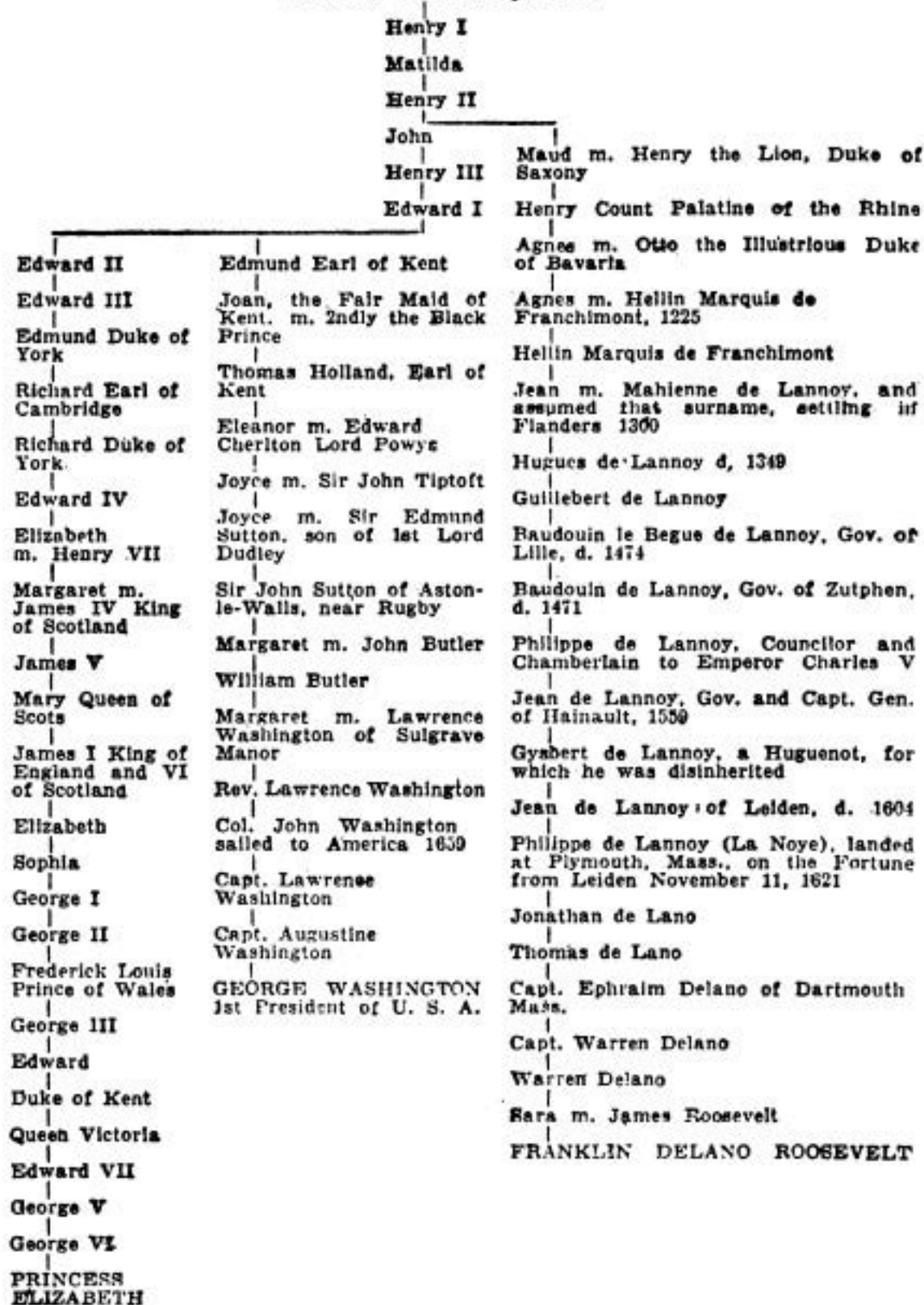
Eleanor Roosevelt has placed in the Hyde Park Memorial Library a genealogical table, drawn up by P. W. Montague-Smith, assistant-editor of *Debrett*, that traces Franklin Delano Roosevelt's common ancestry with England's royalty through Henry II, great grandson of William the Conqueror through the Delano side. This may be fact or may be the usual dribble of social climbers who seek to justify their aspirations by claiming descent by pure line from Adam through William the Conqueror.

But the collaterals of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty have frequently intermarried with the nobility of Europe, forming alliances that have had a serious import for our history. Through one of the alliances, Franklin Delano Roosevelt has become a closer relative of Queen Elizabeth and King George of England than of either Presidents Ulysses S. Grant or Theodore Roosevelt.

Multitudinous intermarriages tie in the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty with the Astors. Franklin Delano Roosevelt's granduncle married Laura Astor, John Jacob Astor's granddaughter. Generations later, James Roosevelt Roosevelt, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's step-brother married Helen Schermerhorn Astor, daughter of Mrs. William B. Astor and aunt of Vincent Astor. Thus Vincent Astor is a step-nephew of Franklin Delano Roosevelt as well as a cousin several degrees removed.

How Princess Elizabeth Is Linked To Roosevelt and George Washington

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR



Through the Astors, the Biddles, the Drexels and the Pauls, Roosevelt is related to Viscount William Astor of Cliveden and others of the British nobility. The relationship appears to be closest through the Astors. Second cousin Viscount Astor's niece, Rachel Spencer-Clay married David Bowes-Lyon, brother of England's Queen Elizabeth.

This illustrates the mode of dilution of royal blue blood. Another illustration is the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to Phillip Mountbatten, son of the former King George of Greece, whose family name of Battenberg was conferred by his great grandfather Alexander, son of the Duke of Hesse on his morganatic wife. He is related on the distaff side, through the Cassels, to Meyer Rothschild, the founder of the Jewish banking firm. It is reputedly the Battenberg strain in the Spanish royal family that is responsible for the hemophilia that curses it.

Thus it was that when King George and Queen Elizabeth on their visit to the United States to enlist its support in the war, visited Hyde Park and addressed Franklin Delano Roosevelt as "cousin", they were indeed dealing with a third cousin. This royal parley did much to bolster the aspirations of America's Royal Family. It also settled our entry into the war and the sacrifice of our men and wealth to bolster the moribund British Empire.

CHAPTER III

SIGNIFICANCE OF DYNASTY'S FAMILY TREE

Among the significant facts concerning the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty are the following:

1. Over one-third of our thirty-three presidents have been derived from a single interrelated group of families
2. Their presidents have held office sixty-six of the one hundred and fifty-nine years of our national existence, despite the death of two of them within a short time after inauguration.
3. Thirteen of them have served fully, or in part, a total of eighteen terms as president, and additional terms as vice-president.

4. Of a total of forty presidential terms in our history, eighteen have been served by them.

5. The only two instances of hereditary transmission of presidency from father to son, John Adams and John Quincy Adams, or from grandfather to grandson, General William H. Harrison and General Benjamin Harrison, in our history has been in this Dynasty. In the person of Robert Alphonso Taft, an effort is now in process to reaffirm that tradition.

6. On a number of occasions the nation has been confronted with two candidates derived from the Dynasty, as in 1848, Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams, were presidential and vice-presidential candidates on the Free Soil ticket; 1944 when Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Thomas Dewey, both of the Dynasty were Democratic and Republican candidates respectively; and 1948 when three of the Republican candidates Robert A. Taft, Thomas Dewey and General Douglas MacArthur are all derived from the Dynasty. In 1836 Martin Van Buren, Democratic Presidential candidate defeated General William Henry Harrison Whig candidate—both of the Dynasty. In 1840, in return contest, Harrison was victor.

7. The number of policy making offices in local and national government that have been filled by the members of the Dynasty are innumerable and utterly out of proportion to their number.

Apologists for the Dynasty and surprisingly enough even those possessed of intelligence, have a stock explanation for these extraordinary phenomena.

“A family that has been in this country for so long a time is certain to be related to every other family in the land”, they explain.

It is absurd to represent that within ten to fifteen generations the half dozen families which have constituted the backbone of the Dynasty could have intermarried with the forty some million families that can not trace their relationship even remotely to any of our presidents. This apology is as false as it is insincere.

It fails to explain the fact that there is no relationship traceable between the other twenty-one Presidents. It is also very striking that there is no relationship traceable between any of those twenty one Presidents amongst themselves despite the fact that their ancestors were in this country as long, and some longer, than the Dynasty's.

To refute the apologists there is the phenomenon of intense inbreeding and intermarriage between the families comprising the Dynasty, with the occasional introduction of the scion of some commercial dynasty such as the Astors, the DuPonts and others. This follows the pattern of the royal families of Europe. It results in multiple relationships that reinforce those of direct line of ancestry. Thus Frederick B. Adams, a sixth cousin of Franklin Delano Roosevelt married Ellen W. Delano, a first cousin; James Roosevelt Roosevelt, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's half-brother, married Helen Schermerhorn Astor making a more distant cousin an in-law; and among the Delanos, it is their boast that most marriages are between cousins.

Quite as striking is the deliberate and steady enhancement by the Presidents of the Dynasty of the monarchic powers of the President with the simultaneous wiping out of the checks on that power imposed by the Constitution. This indicates a deliberately designed drive to make themselves the Royal Family of an American monarchy. The published blue-print of this drive is the theme of a later chapter.

Striking proof of the fact that the relationship that exists within the Dynasty is of a different intensity and degree than is found in the ordinary run of families, can be discerned in the publications of the Roosevelts—Eleanor Roosevelt's column "My Day" and her other effluvia and "F. D. R. His Personal Letters". These make it evident that the relationships within the Dynasty are of far different order than occur in the ordinary run of families. One finds intimacy and social contact assiduously maintained among cousins five degrees removed. Eleanor Roosevelt, though a cousin five times removed of Sara Delano Roosevelt's husband, was taken in by her; and when the need arose, married her off to Franklin. This is much the same state of affairs as exists in Europe's royalty and nobility.

A significant development for the Dynasty is its intermarriage with European royalty and nobility especially British. Their intermarriage with the British royalty make King George VI a closer relative of Franklin Delano Roosevelt than was even President Ulysses S. Grant.

Most convincing of all, however, are the appointments dictated by nepotism and the "deals" that cry

of favoritism and violations of the nation's interests such as the Adams sugar deal and the Clayton cotton control deal. A few of these will be outlined later.

The clearest demonstration of the purposefulness of the transmission of office within the Dynasty is the case of the secretaryships in the Navy Department which will be detailed.

In conclusion it should be noted that there is a unanimity of opinion among the Democratic and Republican representatives of the Dynasty that "Democracy is a failure". Thus Roosevelt and his New Dealers insist upon the inadequacy of Democracy. They insist upon the improvement that could be effected by the totalitarian devices they adopted. On the other hand, Mrs. George St. George, a first cousin of F. D. R., elected to Congress on the Republican "anti-Roosevelt" ticket from Hamilton Fish's Tuxedo Park district and with his support, has been reported to have pronounced with no qualification, the same New Deal concept, "Democracy is a failure". She has issued no denial of this report. They all subscribe to the views of Hoffman Nickerson on the need for an American monarchy.

The best commentary on the peculiar quality of the relationship that exists within the Dynasty to the nth generation which is characteristic of royalty, is a statement by Eleanor Roosevelt quoted by Westbrook Pegler:

"Although we are a lucky and somewhat robustious family given to contrariness and quarreling, nevertheless, in the great crisis of life, we close up like a fist in a common defense."

Undeniably they constitute a coherent and collusive, open and "behind the scene" government.

CHAPTER IV

MARXISM—COMMUNISM, NAZISM NEW DEALISM

MADE IN GERMANY

Two outstanding developments over-shadowed the events of the first half of the twentieth century. The first was the dissemination of Marxism. The second was the phenomenal rise of the Rockefeller Empire,

the greatest the world has even known. The two developments became closely connected and interwoven.

The point of origin of Marxism was Germany. Karl Marx was the son of Heinrich Marx whose correct name before it was "Aryanized" was Hirschel Levy, the son of Rabbi Marx Levy of Trier. His mother was a Polish Jewess derived from a family of rabbis, including Rabbis Meir Katzenellenbogen of Padua, Joseph Ben Gerson ha-Cohen and Joshua Heschel Lvov. His elder brother, Karl's uncle was also a rabbi.

In order to retain his post as counsellor in the Trier court, when the Rhineland was taken over by Germany, Heinrich Marx (né Hirschel Levy) was baptized in 1817, one year before Karl was born. He retained his court job and advanced to the position of Justizrat and a leader of the Moderate Constitutional party in Trier. Karl's Hungarian Jewish mother, Henriette did not become baptized until after the death of her parents in 1825. Karl and his brothers and sisters were baptized in the National Evangelical Church (Protestant) on August 24, 1824, when Karl was a little over six years old.

Karl Marx suffered from an acute inferiority complex regarding his Jewish origin. He never could bring himself to realize that those about him regarded him with questioning, if not contempt, because he pretended to be something he was not. He held the Jews responsible for his state. His paranoia and inferiority complex were compensated by an intense hatred of the Jews. This found expression in the first works he wrote for publication. In the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbuch* of 1844 he wrote in a review entitle "Zur Judenfrage" ("On the Jewish Question") the following:

"What is the basis of Judaism? Selfishness and greed.

"What is their faith? Swindling.

"Who is their God? Money.

"There can be no solution of the problems of the world without the destruction of the Jews and their religion, (Judenthum)."

In 1875 he wrote

"The Hebrew faith is repellent to me".

Thus Karl Marx, a neo-Lutheran, became one of the fathers of Nazism, acknowledged by Hitler and his crew.

At college, as a phase of compensation for his paranoid inferiority complex, Marx paraded as a Christian and undertook an intensive study of Canonical or Church Law. Thus he wrote to his father from Berlin on November 10, 1837:

"I confined myself to positive studies . . . some of Gauterbach's books . . . especially on ecclesiastical law."

In the Canonical Law he found sections which interpret profits in commercial transactions as usury and a cardinal sin. That meant that the Church law demanded "production for use and not for profit".

This left open only three legitimate vocations: one was to join the Church orders; the second was to labor; and the third was to assume the role of the baron who preyed on the laborers on the pretense of protecting them, as do the modern Labor Barons and their gangster henchmen, and to live by physical force or violence. This was Medievalism. The church later abandoned this doctrine except within its own orders, because it was found unsound and dangerous. It was largely responsible for the breakdown of civilization, law and order in the Middle Ages, and for the enslavement of mankind. It threw Europe into a reign of terror that lasted more than a thousand years.

But Karl Marx was not merely anti-Jewish, he was anti-religious and especially anti-Catholic. He wrote that he classed Christianity as a Jewish religion. In this respect his ideas coincided with those of Bismarck, whose anti-Catholic activities have been recalled by the Pope recently as the origin of Nazi activities in Poland. Marx attacked religion as an opiate for the masses. But he stole the doctrine, "to produce for profit is a cardinal sin", which the Church abandoned because it was proved false, and made it the basis of his new religion, Marxism or Communazism.

Marx's hatred, like that of his followers, the Nazis, extended to all non-Germanic peoples, even those that supported his movement. He disparaged the Negro and held the Russian revolutionaries in contempt.

Labor, Marx hated whole-heartedly, and he despised the individual worker. When he married he sought out a noblewoman, Jennie von Westphalen. When one of his daughters wished to marry a worker, he forbade it and ordered her to marry a bourgeois capitalist.

Karl came from an affluent bourgeois family and never did a day of labor in his life. The loss of the fortune which his father left him, as a result of his incompetence, bred him a paranoiac hatred of all who possessed property, the "Capitalists", because he regarded them as responsible for the loss of his fortune. This aligned him as a bitter supporter of the "have nots", not because he loved Labor but because he hated "the Capitalist" more.

His neurotic, paranoid character and overwhelming sense of inferiority gave rise in Marx to a compensatory illusion of superiority that insisted upon autocratic and absolute dominion and to violent suspicions that were the origin of the "purge" complex, that characterizes all his followers. Karl's sisters related that even as a boy, he was a fearful tyrant. He drove girls downhill at full gallop and compelled them to eat the cakes he made with his dirty hands out of filthy dough. His schoolmates feared him because of the satirical verses and lampoons he hurled at his enemies.

Utterly lacking in originality or capacity for lucid thinking, Marx showed faith in his concept of distribution of wealth only by plagiarizing the fallacious ideas of others. Foremost among the fallacies which he borrowed was the so-called "Law of Supply and Demand". In its converse form—"it is primarily scarcity that gives value"—he undertook to justify ethically its application to human beings and their labor. That became the basic idea underlying labor unionism.

But unionism is only a half way measure in carrying out the idea of maintaining a scarcity of human beings and their labor. The full and boldly carried program for creating a shortage of human beings is concentration camps and wholesale murder. Hitler alone carried out Karl Marx's precepts completely and to their logical conclusion. In this as in applying his anti-Semitism, Hitler was Marx's most faithful disciple. In faithfully following Hitler's footsteps, Stalin and his Communist cohorts are carrying out Marx's precepts.

Quite as fallacious was Marx's reasoning in justifying his German patriotism. As a defense against the Prussian attitude that Jews were aliens, Karl Marx developed an intense German Nationalism. Among the first words that he wrote were

"The emancipation of the German is the emancipation of Man".

His sham pacifism and internationalism vanished with the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, and was replaced by a martial enthusiasm and anxiety for a German victory. Expert at self-deception by dialectics, he justified his attitude in a letter to Engels as follows:

"The German working class is superior to the French from the viewpoint of organization and theory."

In a victory of Germany he pretended to discern a victory of the German working class, and most important, of his theories. Dialectics alone can match these views; or his advocacy of class hatreds and warfare, which in final analysis is the worst form of civil war, with his pretended internationalism and quest for common welfare.

But even more obvious is Marx's deception in offering his Communist program as an *improvement* on human freedom. For Communism necessarily means total loss of freedom, virtual or actual slavery. Under Communism, the government and the people who control it, own everything and everyone. They dictate all conditions of life, including wage and employment. Without freedom to earn a living, all other freedoms are meaningless. Only a dialectician trained to reason away the obvious and the truth can fail to realize that state ownership of the machinery of production also implies irresponsible ownership and neglect. For what belongs to everyone belongs to no one; and it is neglected by everyone, for a reason that is axiomatic and is clearly demonstrated by a psychological experiment on rats.

Three rats were placed in a cage that was provided with three levers which released food to them from an overhead trap. The rats rapidly learned to press on the levers and catch the food. More complex conditions were then introduced into this rat society. The levers were placed on the opposite side of the cage distant from the traps that released the food. Only one of the rats had sufficient intelligence to associate pressure on the lever with the distant release of food, and initiative and energy to do it. But this was of little avail to him. For the stupid and slothful rats learned to grab the food released by their ambitious colleague. Though he worked unremittingly he seldom managed to get the food which he released and died of starvation. Later the others died.

Most humans are like the stupid, slothful rats. For that reason Socialism, Communism and state ownership of machinery of production are doomed to failure. Eventually they degenerate into a dictatorship of the most forceful and most ruthless member of the community; for in final analysis the rule of the abstraction, the State, is the rule of the individual. The more absolute the power of the State, the more autocratic is the rule of that individual. Thus the Communist or Socialist State is inevitably a dictatorship. By its virtue, the dictator is owner of everything and everybody he surveys—he is a perfect feudal lord. Such over-centralization of power naturally implies the end of efficiency and initiative and the disruption or destruction of industry, commerce and social organization. For the rank and file it implies wretched slavery.

Within less than a century after mankind had attained its first legal formulation of the concepts of freedom, in the Constitution of the United States, Karl Marx undertook to lead them back to enslavement as vassals of fascistic Labor Barons and Communazi leaders. It is the very purpose of Marxism and Communism to destroy human freedom and make men the tools of an absolute dictatorship.

CHAPTER V

BISMARCK AND GERMANY PROPAGANDIZE MARXISM, COMMUNAZISM, NEW DEALISM

In the dissemination of Marx's doctrines several anomalous forces played highly important roles. Thus the New York Tribune, under Horace Greeley, employed Karl Marx as correspondent. For ten years it published articles by him that gave him a world-wide audience which he never would have reached to propagandize; and afforded him his only source of income, a pound a week. The really decisive initial force in the spread of Marxism however, was Bismarck and later, Germany.

Prince Otto von Bismarck, Teutonic Knight who was bound by the Order's thousand-year-old oath to conquer the world, originated the "welfare" and "social service" program that now parades as the New Deal.

Subsequently, he became the foster-father of Marxism and Communism. His objective in doing these things was world conquest, "Deutschland uber Alles". No one who knew the Iron Chancellor could be deceived for one moment into the belief that he had the remotest interest in the welfare of the weak or downtrodden. His mottoes were "Blood and Steel" and "Might Makes Right".

The program was a recrudescence of one which was old when it was introduced by the Gracchi in ancient Rome and eventually destroyed the Empire. It was given to Bismarck largely by Professor Adolph Wagner who was reputedly an ancestor of our Senator Robert F. Wagner. It served Bismarck's quest for personal power in several manners. First, it robbed the Socialists of the planks of their platform which made the greatest appeal to the mob—Social Security, Unemployment Insurance, Workmen's Compensation, Health Insurance, and all of the other quasi-benevolent and paternalistic clap-trap.

Bismarck shrewdly saw in these plans, devices fashioned to destroy liberty and to chain the working class to his program and to any jobs to which they might be assigned. He saw in the program a snare which would deceive them into accepting submarginal wages and the surrender of adequate present existence in return for a mirage of future security. As a means of winning the favor of the workers and of gaining some measure of power over industry and entrée to its records, a part of the cost was levied on the employers. This made of what conceivably might have been a boon to the worker, a penalty on industry for offering employment; and meant a tax on industry which materially increased the cost of production. Both factors ultimately operate to increase unemployment.

Bismarck also foresaw that with the working class tied to him by this program, he could force into line the German industrialist, the nobility, and finally the reluctant Prussian king, to support his plan of a united German Empire. Junker Bismarck, who had contemptuously spurned any traffic with the working classes, whom he called a "revolutionary rabble", had grown tired of being buffeted about and shelved by his liege lord, the weakling King of Prussia. Adversity had served to make of him a diplomat who could advance

from one compromise to another, from one treachery to another, to attain by a series of adroit maneuvers his ultimate goal—the consolidation of his own power by forcing his king to accept the position of Emperor of Germany. How well he planned, history reveals. With the Danish invasion, the elimination of Austrian interference in 1866, and the consolidation of his position by a treacherously conceived conquest of France in 1870, the German Empire became not only a reality, but also simultaneously a “first class Power”.

But for Bismarck, this was merely a beginning. With far greater vision, he planned the political and commercial conquest of the world—“Deutschland uber Alles”. He placed on Germany the stamp of a national paranoia which still drives it with mad singleness of purpose and signal “success”. The World Wars are mere interludes.

The conquest of world markets by German industry and commerce was planned by Bismarck. In such a struggle the burden of taxation and cost involved in the “welfare” program might have proved a severe handicap. Obviously it was necessary to overcome it by forcing the adoption of the same program and handicap on competitor nations. Resort was had for this purpose to subjugation by ideas, propaganda and “boring from within”.

There was launched one of the most persistent, persevering and skilled propaganda campaigns in the world’s history for the imposition of Bismarck’s “New Deal” on the entire world. Now almost a century later it still continues to sway history and the world.

In this “New Deal” propaganda Bismarck found many allies. The pretended humanitarianism of the program won over many unthinking, kindly persons as well as most religious sects. These groups are the best camouflage and front for any propaganda. Throughout the world these deluded groups still ardently advance Bismarck’s destructive propaganda.

Allies of unusual value were the labor movement, Karl Marx and his Socialism, and the Communist Internationale. Initially Bismarck had regarded them as the arch-enemies of his plan. He had called upon Lassalle for advice in his fight on them. On his counsel he plucked the “New Deal” from the program which they agitated, with the objective of deflating them.

But Bismarck soon came to recognize that Karl Marx

and his Revolutionary Socialism or Communism were shams. He saw that they offered no real menace among Germany's dull, plodding, intense, unimaginative, docile and disciplined workers. He discovered that Karl Marx was an intense German Nationalist who gloried in the vaunted "superiority" of the German worker and who sensed that his program offered no threat to his Vaterland. Marxian Socialism was therefore the ideal propaganda weapon with which to demoralize other lands.

The International Association for Labor Legislation was subsidized by Germany as a device to spread the Bismarxian "social welfare and labor" program. The Communist Internationale and the international and domestic labor unions were natural allies, made to order for Bismarck's purpose.

Labor unionism has played an all-important role in the Bismarxian and Communazi propagandas from the very beginning. It serves the purposes of Bismarck as a most efficient agency for paralysis of industry and commerce, and for fomenting misery and unrest.

Bismarck came to regard Karl Marx as an important ally in his Pan-Germanic propaganda. He appreciated that Communism planted in other lands would disrupt and demoralize them and would hasten the conquest of "Deutschland uber Alles". Bismarck eventually invited Marx to return from exile and offered him the editorship of his own paper, the "Acht-Uhr Abendblatt." Marx rejected the offer stating that he could serve the cause better in England. Marxist propaganda tracts printed in many languages became one of Germany's principal exports.

Germany's entire education system, as well as her diplomatic corps, was made part and parcel of the Bismarxian propaganda set-up. Subsidized learning and scientific achievement were widely advertised and publicized and lent color to claims of German intellectual superiority. Trading on this reputation, Germany was able to palm off on the world pseudo-sciences, such as sociology, social service and modern economics, which are nothing more than very thinly disguised, false propaganda.

A system of recognition, adulation and decoration of foreign educators and scientists fostered their teaching doctrines that served the purposes of the Bismarxian

propaganda. Germany thus made the education system of other lands a part and parcel of her propaganda machine. The Communist propaganda machine, which has recently been exposed as dominating our entire school and university system, is but a subsidiary of the machine which Bismarck built.

Harvard University was among the first in the U. S. to succumb to this subversive propaganda. It freely exchanged professors with the German universities. The German professors sent were official government propagandists. The American professors vied for the honor of recognition of the German universities. These honors they could gain only by serving the interests of the German Government by furthering its propaganda. Thus the American universities became foci of subversive propaganda. This intensified the Illuminist-Communist "educational" strain in America.

How Bismarck's "welfare" program served the purpose of destroying both the Socialist working class whom he abhorred and the smug industrialists whom he detested, is portrayed in the petition of the Federated Industries of Germany to their Government in 1929, in which they pleaded that the so-called "welfare" program of Bismarck's, fallen into Socialist hands threatened the existence of the nation and its industries. The report read as follows:

" . . . Appropriations for public undertakings . . . and increased outlays for welfare institutions offer less resistance than does an attempt to improve the standard of living through the natural process of economic development . . . The intervention of the state should be restricted and should extend only to such branches as cannot be served by private enterprise . . . The way of socialization leads to destruction of economy and pauperization of the masses, and German industry recognizes in it a danger not only to private enterprise and the workingman, but also to the nation at large . . . "

The German Republic disregarded this warning of crisis and of the dire consequences that would inevitably follow. The results of the Marxian fallacies we all know.

Bismarck and Marx were the guiding spirits of Nazi Germany. They had foreseen the docility of the German worker and the absolutism it made possible

Nazism or some other form of dictatorship and slavery were the inevitable consequences of Marxism and of the "welfare" program of the "New Deal" launched by Bismarck. Its development was guided by Hitler's "Brain Trust", Professor Haushofer and his Geophysical Institute. The class hatred of Marx was converted into another equally absurd hatred—the Aryan. Marxist "internationalism" translated itself into Aryan "internationalism". The war on Capitalism logically assumed the form of raping of other lands. For Marx's definition of "capital" in final analysis is "the other fellow's property". Restriction of the supply of labor is most effectively obtained by slaughtering workers. The philosophy of Marxism and of Nazism is obviously identical. Nazism is the active tense of Marxism. And it is but natural that Communism should take over where Nazism left off.

The first of the formidable competitors of Germany that succumbed to the propagandized Bismarxian program was England. The Fabian Society was the chief agency of the propagandists. A few years before the World War I, Great Britain was forced by the agitation among her working classes to swallow the whole bait—hook, line and sinker. German industrialists openly urged upon Parliament the adoption of the program. Thereby were set in operation forces which are now speeding the disintegration of the British Empire. Premier Ramsay MacDonald in an address before Parliament in 1929 frankly blamed the welfare, dole and health insurance laws for the insoluble economic problem presented in England by the unemployment situation.

From the point of view of American affairs, even greater significance was lent to the situation when the wholly alien ideas were given an aura of respectability in the eyes of American Tories by their adoption in England. This was accentuated by the fact that British industry was now in the same position with respect to the cost of the "welfare" program in its competition for world markets. It became of interest also to British industry that the United States should adopt an identical handicapping program.

It was not long before Sir Arthur Newsholme, representing the British Ministry of Health, began to visit this country to lecture systematically on the advantages

of the "Security" and "Socialized Medicine" plans. He joined forces with the local agitators for the adoption of the program, in spite of the fact that it has resulted in England in a steadily rising death rate that culminated in 1938 in one of the highest death rates in the civilized world.

Russia was the next to succumb. In the stalemate of World War I, in 1917, Germany averted the need of fighting on two fronts by planting German made Communism in Russia. Colonel Nikitine, head of Russian counter-espionage relates with fidelity in his book "The Fatal Years", how the German General Staff transported Russia's exiled band of German-trained Communist agitators in sealed trains from Switzerland through Germany into Russia. Rockefellers financed the Communists through their banker, Jacob Schiff, with millions of counterfeit ten ruble notes with which to buy the votes of the soldiers and sailors.

Russian Communism was "made in Germany". The unity of purpose of Bismarck-guided Germany and Communist Russia was fully confirmed by the Communazi alliance. It is still further proved by Russia carrying on the Communazi program from the point where Nazi Germany left off.

France was next to succumb. That the evolution of the program in Germany and England is not an isolated accident but is a natural consequence is revealed by the experience of every country that has adopted it. The experience of France is a clear-cut demonstration. Succumbing to the propaganda, France adopted the Bismarck program in 1932, after Minister Loucheur had assured the Chambre de Députés that its costs would merely be ten per cent of the national income. At that time there was practically no unemployment in France in spite of the depression which raged in the rest of the world. No sooner was it put in force than the cost of living in France rose forty percent. As a consequence the workers, whose existence has always been a marginal one, were forced to strike to avoid starvation. As usual, the "security" program precipitated economic collapse and insecurity, as its author had designed. This is well portrayed in Van der Meersch's "When Looms Are Silent".

The earliest published record of the launching of the Bismarxian propaganda in the United States is

found in the report of the German subsidized International Association For Labor Legislation (reported in the American Labor Legislation Review. V. 4, p. 511, 1914) :

"Work toward the formation of an American Section was initiated in 1902, when the Board of the International Association began to make its objects known in the United States and to form connections with interested individuals."

The formation of the American Association for Labor Legislation in 1906 marked the beginning of the United States drive for the adoption of the Bismarxian program. Among the original founders of the Association were Richard T. Ely, the economist, Edward T. Devine and Mary K. Simkhovitch, social workers. R. O. Lovejoy noted in radical circles, Mary van Kleeck, Director of the Industrial Division of the Russell Sage Foundation and left winger, and John B. Andrews, Director of the Association. These were later joined by John A. Kingsbury, Charles C. Burlingham, William Hodson, and Homer Folks, social workers, Ida M. Tarbell, biographer of the Standard Oil Company and the Rockefellers, Frances Perkins, later New Deal Secretary of Labor and Harry L. Hopkins, later New Deal ringleader, and Eleanor Roosevelt.

The initial support of the Association as might be expected, was German. Acquisition of control of the Russell Sage Foundation, several years later, through Mary Van Kleeck and Leon Henderson, helped to provide amply for it. The same group reorganized Illuminist Socialism as the Communist Party in the United States almost a decade before Russia was saddled with Communism. This element was sufficiently influential to carry out successfully a drive on capitalism as exemplified in the most vilified and largest of the "ogre" trusts, the Standard Oil Company and Rockefeller that culminated in a court order for dissolution of the Standard Oil Company. That brought into play the most anomalous, but most important force that has fostered Communism in the U. S., the Rockefeller Empire. Thus Illuminist Communism, the college conspiracy, completed its cycle from Germany to the U.S.A., back to Germany and then to the U.S.A.

CHAPTER VI

THE ROCKEFELLER EMPIRE COMMUNISM, WAR AND OTHER "PHILANTHROPIES"

The Rockefeller Empire is an outgrowth of the Standard Oil Company. Rockefeller had built up with tremendous skill the powerful oil monopoly. By 1915, the Company produced almost one third of the oil yield of the United States. Complete monopoly of the oil business in the United States and throughout the world loomed as a conceivable goal and became the objective.

The dominant position in oil had been gained by gangsterism, that would make Al Capone blush. Special railroad rates and rebates extracted from railroads also played an important role in wiping out competition. In the process there had been used the unsavory methods, ranging from theft to slaughter, which were the custom of the time in business. Those methods did not differ materially from those of the respected Morgans, Vanderbilts, Goulds and a host of others of that time. Rockefeller's chief offense was his inordinate success and his taciturnity and independence.

Rivals who were less successful in the application of the identical methods used by the Standard Oil Company, organized the "liberals" and the "socially minded," the social service cliques of that era, together with the demagogues, politicians, and crooked newspapers, for another type of battle on their successful competitor—commercial blackmail.

As resentment against the Oil Trust grew, the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests were held up by the politicians through the device of "strike bills", and badgered by investigations and court actions. The muck-rakers, church organizations and social service groups exposed the ugly situation and further fanned public resentment. President Theodore Roosevelt, who had

succeeded Rockefeller's hand-picked ally, President McKinley, played to the gallery by attacking the Standard Oil Company while indirectly he demanded increased Standard Oil contributions to his campaign funds.

The situation reached its climax in 1907 with the decree handed down by Judge Kenesaw Landis against the Standard Oil Company imposing a fine of twenty-nine million dollars. Two weeks later the panic of 1907 was precipitated. In 1911 the dissolution of the Standard Oil Company was ordered by the Supreme Court.

Rockefeller fiercely resented what he regarded as government interference in his private business. He regarded its conduct as his own affair. It could hardly be expected that he would not fight back. He responded as keenly and as incisively to the virulent and well organized slander and persecution as he had to the other problems that had confronted him in his business. Two modes of approach to such a problem were habitual; first was to compromise with a powerful enemy and to join forces with him; the second was to engineer in the meantime to master and destroy him.

The enemies who confronted Rockefeller and who were responsible for the situation were three—the Wall Street crowd whom he had bested, the welfare and “liberal” crowd and the government. His score with Wall Street he paid rapidly. Within two weeks after the handing down of the decree, there broke loose the 1907 panic.

The effectiveness with which the welfare and “liberal” crowd had been used in the campaign against him and his Company impressed Rockefeller. They could be made to fit into the pattern of “philanthropy”. They were cheaply bought off; and he took them over lock, stock and barrel. Among these “welfare” agencies were the radical church element, the Federation of Churches.

The social service and “uplift” organizations and their allies were taken in hand and later organized through the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association, under the directorship of Harry L. Hopkins, into a nation-wide Social Service Trust. The control of social service and church organizations served a dual purpose. It muzzled the sanctimonious and self-righteous elements and covered all activities thus engaged

in with a cloak of respectability. But what was even more important, they tapped the pocketbook of the gullible to the tune of four billion dollars a year in normal times. That money could be put to many important uses.

Not one cent, for instance, of the money collected by the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association from the sale of Xmas seals under the direction of Harry L. Hopkins ever went to a person with tuberculosis or an institution for his care. It was spent in building up the Social Service Trust, in political activities, in building up a press censorship and for the personal use of its bosses especially Hopkins. (*Your Life Is Their Toy*, Chedney Press 1940, pp. 22-24). Harry Hopkins became one of the principal Rockefeller almoners. Frances Perkins also ranked high.

The Rockefeller "philanthropies" were conceived for the dual purpose of taking the curse off the Rockefeller name and enabling the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests to carry on without interference from a hostile public or the government. One could hardly expect a man of Rockefeller's efficiency and financial ability to fail to expect to profit handsomely from the disarming advantages of a "philanthropic" front. That Rockefeller realized the profitable business possibilities of a "philanthropic" set-up is indicated by an interesting and revelatory story told of the inception of the plan to buy over public opinion and confound his detractors. It was conceived by Rev. Frederick Taylor Gates who had won John's D.'s respect by his sharpness clothed with piety. Rockefeller had profited handsomely from deals engineered by Gates through religious activities as an executive officer of the American Baptist Education Society. Especially appreciated was his aid in gaining control for a pittance of the Mesabi Mines, one of the richest iron deposits in the country. It netted many millions of dollars when later incorporated into the U. S. Steel Corporation. In *"John D. A Portrait In Oil"* John K. Winkler quotes Rockefeller Sr. as follows:

"'Fred Gates was a wonderful business man,' says John D. with satisfaction. 'His work for the American Baptist Education Society required him to travel extensively. Once, as he was going south, I asked him to look into an iron mill in which I had an interest. His report was a model of clarity!'

"Then I asked him to make some investigation of other property in the west. I had been told this particular company was rolling in wealth. Mr. Gates' report showed that I had been deceived.

"Now I realize that I had met a commercial genius. I persuaded Mr. Gates to become a man of business."

Mayhap one can judge with reasonable correctness that if religion helped net Reverend Frederick T. Gates inordinately large profits in his dealings with his fellow men, the manipulation of millions certainly would not fail to do so. The "philanthropies" established by this "wonderful business man" could be expected to be highly profitable, directly or indirectly. They have been more profitable than investments of identical sums in even the Standard Oil Company.

The objective that lay at the back of Gate's and Rockefeller's minds at the inception of these "philanthropies" were clearly stated by Gates in the first publication of the General Education Board, the "Occasional Letter No. 1", as follows:

"In our dreams we have limitless resources and the people yield themselves with perfect docility to our molding hands. The present educational conventions fade from our minds, and unhampered by tradition, we work our own good will upon a grateful and responsive rural folk. We shall not try to make these people or any of their children into philosophers or men of learning, or of science. We have not to raise up from among them authors, editors, poets or men of letters. We shall not search for embryo great artists, painters, musicians, nor lawyers, doctors, preachers, politicians, statesmen of whom we have ample supply. The task we set before ourselves is very simple as well as a very beautiful one, to train these people as we find them to a perfectly ideal life just where they are. So we will organize our children into a little community and teach them to do in a perfect way the things their fathers and mothers are doing in an imperfect way, in the homes, in the shop and on the farm."

It is noteworthy that the ultimate object of the "educational philanthropy" is the opposite of its current "windowdressing" activities.

The degree in which their objective has been attained is illustrated by the unanimity of views between all political parties aired by Assistant Attorney General

Thurman Arnold which already has been mentioned. This unanimity is traceable to the influence of the Rockefeller interests on the educational institutions of the country and to the power which their interests exercise in the councils of all major political parties.

The objective was fundamentally propaganda of the type that is now regarded as essential for the establishment of a dictatorship or a totalitarian regime, such as was the goal envisioned by Bismarck a generation prior. In some respects the goal sought was tantamount to the restoration of the caste system that characterizes feudalism and medievalism.

The school of thought which this objective represents found its fullest expression in Hoffman Nickerson's masterpiece "*The American Rich*," which anticipated Hitler's regime and advocated a similar form of government for the United States. He suggested the abolition of universal franchise, restriction of the vote to wealthy property owners, elimination of education because of the spirit of inquiry which it creates so that there may be restored the medieval mind and its submissiveness, and ends with a plea for establishment of a de facto monarchy in the U. S. A.

Gates shrewdly realized the advantages of poisoning and perverting public opinion at its fountainhead, the schools, colleges and universities. Gates took full advantage of the cloak of piety and the support offered by his position in the Baptist Church in accomplishing his purpose. He had Rockefeller endow the University of Chicago, as the first step in gaining control of education.

In 1901, Rockefeller established and endowed the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. The Rockefeller interest in medicine is explainable on a number of grounds. First is the realization that there is no more vital interest for mankind than health; and those who offer to promote health are naturally regarded as benefactors. Folks are generally willing to spend all they have to recover their health. This makes the business aspects of medicine very profitable. Rockefeller was well aware of this because his father "Doc" William Rockefeller had earned his livelihood as a quack doctor selling petroleum oil as a fake patent medicine "cure" for cancer. The Rockefeller interest in oil had in fact arisen out of their interest in patent medicine.

A few benefits have accrued to mankind from the activities of the Rockefeller endowed medical research organizations. These have been surprisingly few in comparison with the large sums expended. Most of them that have had any real value have been sanitation projects that bore some relation to commercial or industrial developments. It is notable that in era of vast strides in the chemistry of medicine, no basic discoveries and few significant ones have emanated from the Rockefeller group. Some outside investigators have been subsidized, however, after they made significant discoveries.

A large proportion of the discoveries announced, on the other hand, have proved unfounded. Among them are the following:

The discovery of the organism that causes infantile paralysis.

The discovery of the organism that cause smallpox.

The discovery of the organism causing mumps.

The discovery of the organism causing measles.

The discovery of a curative serum of pneumonia.

The discovery of a preventive vaccine and curative serum for yellow fever, and numerous others.

Tremendous medico-political pressure has been brought to bear to protect the reputations of these supposed discoverers and of the Institute.

The vast funds of the Rockefeller endowed Institutions have been utilized for the purpose of gaining control of educational institutions, hospitals and other medical and research facilities. It has created vested interests and rackets in medical research. Institutional and personal jealousies, intensified by tremendous power acquired by small cliques with the funds of the Foundation, have resulted in the suppression of needed researches by really capable, independent workers. It has barred many of them from the opportunity to engage in research. It has served to enable its employees to reestablish medieval dogmatism in medicine in order to protect their reputations and interests. Their efforts to protect their jobs have served to retard medical advance and to injure the interests of the public.

The Rockefeller Institute was founded for the avowed purpose of directing medical practise in channels desired for various reasons by Gates and Rockefeller. It was designed for the purpose of control of medi-

cine. Gates was convinced that the medical tradition built up through the ages was unsound and must be replaced by an arrogant "Medical Science" which insists that what it does not know is untrue. This ignorant dogmatism coupled with research politics has resulted in the Institute retarding the advance of medical knowledge, prostituting it to commercial interests, and has cost many lives.

Discoveries such as the improvement of the method of preparation of tryparsamide have been patented by the Institute and licensed to manufacturers. Whether the anti-pneumococcus serum processes, many of which were developed in the Institute, are patented or licensed has not been made public. But at least one of the firms which exploits the serum has been identified in the public mind with the Rockefeller interests.

The Institute denies that it receives any royalties on its patents. It does not state whether it, or its sponsor, owns any stocks in the companies involved. It also refuses to make public its stock holdings. This refusal is surprising in view of the full and detailed publication made by the Foundation of all its holdings.

The Rockefellers have large interests in the chemical and pharmaceutical industries. They also have very large holdings in the German Dye Trust, I. G. Farbenindustrie, on the directorate of which the Standard Oil of New Jersey was represented by its president, the late Walter Teagle. The Chase National Bank, with which the Rockefellers are closely identified, has floated Dye Trust securities on the American market; and its attorneys, Milbank, Tweed, Hope and Webb, headed by A. G. Milbank, Chairman of the Board of the Borden Company and the Milbank Memorial Fund, have acted for these interests.

It is reasonable to suppose that an institution operated with the efficiency and in the spirit of the Rockefeller "philanthropies" would not be so unbusiness-like as to cast to the winds the large profits which have devolved from some of the Institute's products. Gates undoubtedly was a "business genius" of the rarest foresight and perspicacity.

There is at hand evidence that profits rather than charity or humanitarianism were the prime objectives of the Rockefeller medical "philanthropies." An instance of commercial advantage of "research" endow-

ment leading to the disregard of human values is the million dollar endowed "research" on ethyl gas and the danger of lead-poisoning that it inflicts on the nation. The U. S. Public Health Service and the U. S. Government had barred the use of ethyl-lead gasoline after a series of poisonings and deaths of workers who made the mixture.

Then a munificently endowed research led the Government and the U. S. Public Health Service to withdraw its prohibition of this type of gasoline. As a result, the entire nation is now exposed to the danger of chronic lead poisoning by lead-filled, automobile-exhaust gases. In due time the mental and physical health of the people is certain to suffer.

Another instance is the tryparsamide patent licensed to Merck and Company by the Rockefeller Institute. Tryparsamide is a dangerous drug that not infrequently causes complete and permanent blindness. Nevertheless the anti-venereal disease campaign that has been conducted by the government under Rockefeller controlled Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, Dr. Thomas Parran, has compelled the use of this blinding remedy in the treatment of often benign and quiescent cases of syphilis. Many persons have been totally and completely blinded by the use of this Rockefeller Institute licensed patent drug.

Enormous profits are being made in drugs and chemicals that exceed even those made from oil. In more recent years oil and gas are being used to supply the raw materials for drugs. The Rockefeller interests are known to have extensive holdings in the drug industries. They control among others American Home Products, Sterling Products, Winthrop Chemical Company, American Cyanamide and its subsidiary Lederle Laboratories, and numerous other highly profitable enterprises in the drug field. It is probably safe to say that the Rockefeller profits from drugs and chemicals match their profits from oil.

The Rockefeller interests in the medical and allied industries has been reinforced by the control which they have acquired over medical education through the agency of the Institute and their other "philanthropies".

In the field of medical education, they met with early and easy success. They joined forces with the

American Medical Association and its rackets. Medical education is one of the more lucrative medical commercial rackets which the A. M. A. bosses sought to monopolize by destroying their competitors. Alone they could not manage to put the competing schools out of business. But with the aid of the Rockefeller power they forced through legislation in all parts of the country that drove their rivals out of business, after public opinion had been prepared by a specially designed report on medical education by Abraham Flexner.

More than half of the medical schools in the country were driven out of existence; and the Rockefeller interests gained control over medical education and over medical business that eventually enhanced materially the possibilities of profits inherent in the "philanthropies". By some odd quirk the quest for profits in medicine has led them to support the cause of "socialization" of medicine. They do not seem to have stopped to consider that the "socialization" of medicine will point the way to the "socialization" of industry and of "philanthropies" as well. They have saddled on the medical school Bismarxian or Communist propagandists and agitators, in the case of Johns Hopkins University Medical School in the guise of "professor of the history of medicine."

Professor Henry Sigerist, their protégé whom they have planted in that school has signed, with Earl Browder and Robert Minor, all the important manifestoes issued by the Communist Party, including that approving of the alliance of Russia with Hitler. He is a ranking agitator for "Socialized Medicine", a key Communist program.

The General Education Board which is by far the most important of the Rockefeller propaganda agencies was founded in 1903, by John D. Rockefeller Jr. and a group that included as collaborator, George Foster Peabody. This is the same George Foster Peabody who later turned over Georgia Warm Springs to Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the maneuvers that prepared the way for his serving the Rockefeller interests as President of the United States of America. Initiated as a Baptist Church endeavor to promote education among the Negroes, the General Education Board was granted a charter by Congress through a bill intro-

duced by Rockefeller's agent in the Senate, Senator Nelson W. Aldrich. The charter was virtually unlimited in its scope in the field of any activity that might be construed as remotely resembling education.

The General Education Board was the chief agency employed in the drive for the destruction of democracy and the establishment of a dictatorship in the United States. For this purpose it fosters, as did Bismarck, Communism as the shortest route to dictatorship in a Democracy, and has converted the U. S. educational system into Communist propaganda agencies.

The progress made by the Board was disclosed in an article in the *New York Globe* on March 28, 1919, by Dr. W. S. Spillman, formerly Federal Farm Management Chief, as follows:

"... I was approached by an agent of Mr. Rockefeller with the statement that his object in establishing the General Education Board was to gain control of the educational institutions of the country so that all men employed in them might be 'right.' I was then informed that the Board has been successful with smaller institutions but that the larger institutions had refused to accept the Rockefeller money with strings tied to it. My informant said that Rockefeller was going to add \$100,000,000 to the Foundation for the express purpose of forcing his money on the big institutions."

The Board eventually succeeded in gaining control of almost every school, college and university in the country. They found it hard to resist the lure of the jingle of ready cash. They were forced to turn over to the Board power of dictation of their personnel and curriculum. Senator Kenyon, of Iowa, reported this to the U. S. Senate in January 1917.

The Board has saddled on our educational system, in the guise of teachers and professors of the "social sciences," the high priests of class war and revolution, professional agitators and the chanters of the abacadabra of the "social philosophies" a la Bismarck and Marx. It has made them the haven of Socialists, Communists, distributors of wealth and other crack-pot New Dealers. It has helped make the foundation source of prostituted "professors" and "authorities" for the *agents provocateurs* (also known as "leaders") of labor. These professorial propagandists make most of their incomes

as front-men, partners, catspaws and agents of labor union racketeers and as "neutral arbitrators" of labor disputes under the Wagner Act. To-day there are few professors in the larger American Colleges who are not thoroughly Marxist or openly Communist. Particularly the professors of social sciences, who are so often appointed by Presidents and other public officials to commissions as representatives of the *public*, can be depended upon to support the Communist or radical labor elements. The Commissions thus appointed under the New Deal, are "loaded" and biassed. They can be depended upon to betray the public. They are on the payroll of the unions.

In this respect, the General Education Board has been most damaging and dangerous. It has used its power over the schools, colleges and universities throughout the country to place on their teaching staffs hosts of advocates of radical isms and outright propagandists of alien doctrines. It has placed its resources at the disposal of enemies of our country and its government.

Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, in 1917 foresaw and sounded a warning of this danger in the U. S. Senate. He stated:

"The Carnegie-Rockefeller influence is bad. In two generations they can change the minds of the people to make them conform to the cult of Rockefeller or to the cult of Carnegie, rather than to the fundamental principles of American democracy."

His prophecy is already fulfilled.

The direct dividends derived from the activities of the General Education Board were many, including:

Favorable publicity for the founders and advertising of their interests that was worth millions.

The power to influence public opinion and the policies of the Government by propaganda distributed through the schools, colleges and universities

Control of researches and discoveries, and their application and profits.

The power of voting the stock holdings of the institutions which they control and of dictating the expenditure of their funds.

The power of appointment of personnel of the institutions which can be converted to the uses of nepotism and favoritism.

Directly following the Supreme Court decision in 1911, ordering the dissolution of the Standard Oil Company, Rockefeller sought of Congress a charter for the Rockefeller Foundation "to promote the well-being of mankind". Congress twice refused a charter to hold one hundred million dollars, on the grounds that it was a device for evasion of payment of taxes, that it was primarily intended for propaganda for seduction of public opinion and influencing politics, and that it would be a menace to the nation. The Foundation succeeded in securing from New York State in 1913 a charter to hold five hundred million dollars.

The bill chartering the Rockefeller Foundation was introduced into New York State Legislature by a man who has discreetly served the Rockefeller interests though he has never permitted himself to be too closely identified with them in the public eye—Senator Robert F. Wagner.

The Foundation has supplemented the activities of the Institute and the General Education Board and has extended them into as many quarters of the world as go the ramifications of the Standard Oil Company subsidiaries and successors. It combines the functions of a tax-exempt business relations agency and super-diplomatic corps. Through its well-advertised and publicized subsidies it has gained entry into many governmental circles from which the interests which it represents would be excluded.

Through a Director of its International Health Division, Dr. Thomas Parran, Surgeon General of the U. S. Public Health Service, for instance, the Foundation is directly represented in a division of our government that is important for its sponsors. He also interlocks the directorship of the Milbank Memorial Fund and a host of other agencies. Significant names on the directorate of the Foundation are: Arthur Hays Sulzberger, the publisher of the *New York Times*, John Foster Dulles and John J. McCloy.

The creation of the Foundation followed closely on John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s shift in religious attitude toward the "new" or "liberal" theology which pragmatically decried fundamentalism and sectarianism in Protestantism. It is interesting to note that the fundamentalist ministers such as John Roach Stratton accused him of seeking to standardize education and religion through *German rationalization*.

The Foundation supplanted the activities which had formerly occupied Baptist missions. It is the diplomatic corps that prepares the way for commercial conquests. By elimination of inter-denominational antagonisms attached to missionary work it no doubt proved more efficient. In China the medical missions prepared the way for the conquest by Standard Oil of the kerosene and oil market. They also lent impetus to the creation of modern China. The Bible-selling oil merchant, Soong, was the father of the commercial dynasty which now leads China. Oil is also an important factor in the background of the Chinese-Japanese wars.

The Rockefeller Foundation liberally supported Organized Social Service, especially the organizations that have been devoted to the exploitation of disease under the guiding genius of Harry L. Hopkins. For a period of more than a decade John D. Jr. might have been termed the "angel" of Harry L. Hopkins. This implies that the Rockefellers have sponsored the political machine financed with funds gathered for social service activities, which eventually created the "New Deal." The Rockefeller interests are well represented on the directorate of most of the more important social service agencies.

It has been related that German-born Senator Robert F. Wagner, whose name is synonymous with all the specious doctrines and the most destructive measures of the "New Deal," has been identified with the Rockefeller interests and originally secured the New York State charter for the Foundation. Harry L. Hopkins acknowledged his debt to the Rockfellers, when he was appointed Secretary of Commerce, by offering the post of Assistant Secretary to Nelson Rockefeller. This was reported by Walter Winchell, who later announced that the Rockefeller publicity staff had vetoed Nelson Rockefeller's acceptance of the post. The reason may be discerned in the quiet but persistent propaganda conducted by the Rockefeller publicity men in the press, especially in the Rockefeller controlled or dominated papers such as the Hearst publications and in the *New York Times*, to pose John D. Rockefeller Jr. as a business-men's candidate for the job of President of the United States. It is noteworthy that the "New Deal" has dealt most kindly with the Rockefeller interests.

Absurd and dangerous doctrines have been promulgated and incorporated into the law for the deliberate purpose of creating chaos for sinister ulterior motives. This explains why the resources of the General Education Board and of the Foundation have not been used to promulgate and to influence the adoption of a more rational concept of economic and social structure.

With the aid of the machinery of the Foundation it would not take much effort to teach the nation that the menace to its security does not lie in accumulations of wealth, however large they may be; that on the contrary such accumulations constitute a factor of safety for the nation as well as for the individual. The real menace lies in the stupidly conceived and irrational monetary system which so limits the amount of money in circulation that accumulation of reserves by the nation and by individuals results in paralysis of exchange; and bars the setting up of reserves of essential commodities, the raw materials of the necessities of life.

Little more than a century ago the distinguished economist Malthus enunciated, on the basis of a tremendous amount of statistical research, what was named the "Law of Malthus." The "Law" states that population increases by geometric progression and must outstrip the production of food, which it says increases only by arithmetic progression.

From this economic "Law," Malthus deduced the idea that the world would become over-populated and consequently reduced to starvation. Instead we are now ploughing under crops in order to prevent destruction of their value by supposed over-production. Man's ingenuity in improving production and in creating machinery of production was disregarded by Malthus. And they proved his "Law" an absurd fallacy.

An equally fallacious economic "law," that of "supply and demand" and "marginal utility" (a euphuism for speculation, which is the real determining factor) bars us from remedying the reverse condition of that predicted by Malthus—an apparent over-production of food for our present-day populace. If one were to resort to the practice of framing fallacious thinking into "laws," the modern version would read as follows:

"The population and commodity production of

the world grow to exceed the dimensions of its monetary system. For survival of that monetary system population and commodities must be destroyed."

And that is being done by means of wars.

In final analysis the economy of the world requires one of two choices: Either the population and material wealth of the world must be destroyed to the point of bringing it within the scope of our present monetary system by a process of war and starvation, in conformity with the above-stated modernization of the "law of Malthus;" or the currency and medium of exchange must be rationally based and soundly expanded to match expansion of population and real wealth.

It is the first plan that rules throughout the world at the present time—identically in Russia as in the United States. It is taught dogmatically and without question in all our schools and universities, whether conservative or radical. Karl Marx in his "Socialism" has justified its application to fixing the value of human beings and their labor. It is the mainspring of the so-called "New Deal" and is the fundamental premise of all social service "philosophy" and thought.

It is apparent that there has been a deliberate fostering of these fallacious views in the classroom, in the land and in the rest of the world, for the insane purpose of precipitating a smashup of the world's economy that will result in absolute concentration of all the wealth and power of the world in a single hand.

The insanity of such an objective is obvious to anyone who stops to think or to consider history. Stability or security, which, in final analysis, all men seek in the brief span of life, can never exist in the presence of a system that breeds starvation and violence. In such a system the master is as likely to succumb to the forces which he has set loose as are the mastered.

There was far greater wisdom in John D. Jr.'s Sunday School homilies which taught that wealth is not essentially evil but a blessing. They did not point out that it is the stupid economic organization to which society clings that converts that blessing into the semblance of a curse.

The General Education Fund has suppressed such views as those of the son of its founder. It has done much to crush the originality of thought that might

have enunciated and popularized such rational views. Instead the Rockefeller "philanthropies" have dogmatized the teachings of institutions of learning, and they have fostered destructive Bismarxian propaganda.

It is significant that the Foundation was conceived at the time of the dissolution of the Standard Oil Company. Undoubtedly it had become apparent to the Rockefellers that in order to avoid interference with their enterprises by governments they must take them over more directly and completely than they had thus far done. Taking over governments would not insure absolute submissiveness. This required that the form of the governments of the world must be changed to absolute dictatorships and that all concepts of democracy must be wiped out. That purpose is the obvious explanation of the objective of the Rockefeller interests in giving unlimited support to Communism, Nazism, Fascism, New Dealism and any other type of dictatorship.

The international activities of the Foundation were invaluable in paving the way for the formation of a world-wide oil monopoly. Rockefeller personally directed these maneuvers. This is clear from the report made by Chairman Walsh of the United State Commission on Industrial Relations, who reported:

"... Mr. Rockefeller is the Foundation. The testimony shows that the trustees exercised no authority that does not come from him."

The Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests have fostered dictatorships and used them as pawns on their game of international diplomacy. Their all important game since gaining control of the oil reserves of the Americas has been the play for oil lands in the East and the Near East, Caucasus, Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia with which to supply their European and Mediterranean markets. Their chief competitors and adversaries have been the British, the Royal Dutch and Shell Companies. The British government has been closely tied up with the companies and adamant in blocking the Rockefeller interests from the oil reserves in their sphere of influence. It was evident that nothing short of destruction of the British Empire would serve to open its territories to the Standard Oil. The Rockefeller interests proceeded to destroy the British Empire in World Wars I and II.

The objective of Kaiser Wilhelm's Berlin to Bagdad Railroad plan, that was one of the principal precipitating causes of World War I, was to wrest Near Eastern oil from the control of the British. The fine hand of Standard Oil can be seen in this move that precipitated war. It was only when the British agreed to let down the barriers to Standard Oil that the U.S. was pushed into the "War to Save Democracy"—a rather high-sounding title for oil. Following the war, Standard Oil obtained concessions in Roumania, Bulgaria, Ethiopia, Sumatra, Persia, Kamchatka, Turkey and Saudi Arabia. It also obtained oil monopolies in France in which the French Government was a partner, in Czecho-Slovakia and in China.

After World War I the British took over the Baku oil fields from the Turks and Germans, who had seized them. After their withdrawal they supported the Denikin Army. In the meantime in 1920 the Standard Oil of New Jersey purchased the Baku oil holdings of Nobel Oil Co. For eight years the Rockefeller Standard Oil group battled Royal Dutch and Shell for Baku oil, in the diplomatic field. The Rockefeller-Standard Oil group came out the winner. They offered to grant recognition of the Soviet Government by the United States and the support of Communism in the U. S. in return for oil. After placing Roosevelt in office, they did effect recognition. In 1935, the Socony Vacuum announced that it had bought oil heavily from Russia since 1927.

In the meantime the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests were busy developing another source of oil in the Mediterranean. A subsidiary, the Anglo-American Oil Company had obtained in 1933 an exclusive concession in the northern half of the Harrar Province in Ethiopia. There is no record of any effective development of the concession, no doubt due to British pressure.

In 1933 there was organized, the African Exploration and Development Company affiliated with Socony Vacuum for exploration of Ethiopian oil. Sir Francis Rickett, Rockefeller-Standard Oil negotiator made no headway with Haile Selassie. He turned to Rome and offered Mussolini a deal on Abyssinian oil. In return for invasion of Abyssinia he offered the assurance of the Rockefeller Empire that no sanctions would be exercised by the Rockefeller-controlled League of Na-

tions of which Raymond B. Fosdick, a Rockefeller employee, was executive. The Standard Oil undertook to supply Mussolini with Roumanian oil in return for a thirty year monopoly of the Italian oil market. And after the war started, Socony Vacuum built two refineries in Naples for him. After two months of war, in December 1935, peace was offered Haile Selassie in return for the cession to Italy of the oil-rich Fafan Valley and the lands west of it. The Rockefeller interests did not get complete control of Ethiopian reserves until 1947, when a concession was granted Sinclair Oil, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana.

In the Chaco in 1933 Standard-British rivalry precipitated the war between Bolivia, backed by the Rockefellers, and Paraguay, by the British. Paraguay openly brought charges against the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey which in the meantime increased its leases in the war area from 386,000 to 2,703,000 hectares.

The invisible Rockefeller Empire is a super-government that is rapidly encompassing the entire globe. It has entered into partnership or other deals, and has dominated the governments of numerous countries throughout the world including France, Italy, Roumania, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, China, Abyssinia, Japan and Soviet Russia; and in the Western Hemisphere, Canada, Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, and Argentine.

For the past thirty-five years, the government of the United States has been a completely dominated and minor dependent bureau of the Rockefeller Empire that has always done its bidding. For more than half a century, the Rockefeller Empire has controlled by its contributions the nominations in the major political parties. Under Franklin Delano Roosevelt, their agent, the Rockefeller Empire entered into open rule of the United States.

CHAPTER VII

BLUEPRINT OF THE NEW DEAL HOFFMAN NICKERSON'S "THE AMERICAN RICH"

Monopoly of every necessity of life and of national existence, and absolute dictatorship are the basic doctrines of the Rockefeller Empire. For this purpose

the Rockefeller "philanthropies" have fostered Marxism as the shortest cut to dictatorship in a Democracy. The world-wide chain of dictatorships which they seek would not be complete without an American dictatorship. In this idea of an American dictatorship, the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty fully concurs. It was quite natural that an alliance should be formed between them.

So complete is the contempt of America's rulers for the moronic level of intelligence of its people that they sponsored the open publication of their program in the form of Hoffman Nickerson's book "The American Rich". It was published by Doubleday Doran & Company at the time that Theodore Roosevelt Jr. was its president. It was a blueprint of the New Deal subsequently adopted in the Roosevelt regime, published in 1930, three years before it was launched. Hoffman Nickerson was the prophet of the Empire and Dynasty whose counsel and blueprint were followed closely.

The schemers of the New Deal left nothing to chance but prepared to flim-flam the nation well in advance, in this matter, as well as in others. Thus the Agricultural Allotment Plan was drawn up in 1932 by a Hindu, Svirinas Wagel, Barney Baruch's Hentz & Company's economist, to appear to be a boon to the farmers,—whereas it was a made-to-order godsend for the speculators in commodities and designed to make their gambles "sure things".

The theme of "The American Rich" is a familiar one.

Democracy, the "Cult of Equality", is, always has been, and always will be a failure, it relates. It must be eliminated under the pretense of improving it. The objective to be sought and attained by finesse, is Medieval feudalism and serfdom — a masterful upper class dominating, the rest of the population reduced to slavery. And at the head there must be a king. That is the form of government the United States must have if it is to have a perfect government.

It is to the interest of the group that can be called perpetually rich, because they can always dip their hands into the pockets of the people through the Treasury, to see to it that the United States attains a perfect, feudal monarchic government. To accomplish this the rich must organize amongst themselves to fight

a common cause and pick their agent, who will be made to appear to desert and betray his class. They must then undertake by sly undercover methods to "divide to rule". The people must be dealt with not as Americans, but as minorities set at each other's throats, Labor vs Capital, Black vs White, Catholic vs Protestant, Christian vs Jew, for example. Then the selected agent must be made to appear the champion of all causes, the indispensable composer of differences, while from behind the scenes he must never cease to foment.

This agent then can assume readily the role of popular leader and be elected President. Once in office, everything must be done to keep him there by repeated reelections. The government must be converted into a huge propaganda agency and perverter of popular thought. He must cater to the mob. But all the while he must discredit and break down the checks on monarchic power of the President incorporated in the Constitution—the Supreme Court and Congress. But in the process he must be made to appear to seek an improvement on democracy. The gullible, moronic public must never suspect that he seeks to wipe out democracy—"The absurd Cult of Equality".

Once elected, the President must be continually re-elected. The opposing candidate must merely be a straw man selected by the same group, to be knocked down and defeated. The people must be deceived into believing that they are exercising the democratic right to vote, while they have been robbed of the right of choice, i. e. the right to vote, by restriction of nominations by the same group, to men subservient to them.

When the President will have been reelected often enough, he will have had an opportunity to appoint to the Supreme Court all the justices, who will do his bidding. The Supreme Court, packed thus or otherwise, will have ceased to be a check on the monarchic power of the President, as required by the Constitution. Instead it will have become a prostituted agency serving the President and the invisible powers behind him.

The problem of eliminating the power of Congress, of effecting "the twilight of legislature", Nickerson points out, is a bit more complicated but it must be done.

" . . . they (legislatures) must be abolished or

their bases and functions changed" (p. 259).

"The first step toward complete monarchical (Presidential) initiative is the executive budget plan now prevailing in the Federal government and in thirty-four of the forty-eight states. Even the logical second step of limiting the constitutional powers of the legislative bodies has been taken in seven of the thirty-four, Maryland, West Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, California Nebraska and Wisconsin. **THE RICH THEREFORE MIGHT DO WELL TO HELP FORWARD SUCH A DEVELOPMENT**". (p. 261).

Nickerson goes on to suggest:

"The resistance of legislature to the pruning of their sovereignty could easily be broken down by the imperative mandate. Candidates for legislative office might be compelled to swear that if elected they would support measures curtailing parliamentary and increasing monarchical initiative. In this way the executive budget laws could be made more and more drastic". (p. 293).

In practice, Nickerson's suggestion was adopted effectively by abdication by New Deal legislatures. It was materially aided by the practices of Congress. Thus the gag rule limiting Congressmen's speeches on the floor of the House to one minute and barring publication of "extensions of remarks" in the Congressional Record unless unanimous consent is obtained, has served to muzzle the people's elected representatives.

Nickerson's blueprint was materially improved on by the New Deal practice of grafting on to it the Rockefeller-sponsored Communist program for attaining their goal by pseudo-philanthropy and by a mechanism that was so well expressed by their agent, Harry Hopkins:

"Tax! Tax!! Tax!!! Spend! Spend!! Spend!!!

Elect! Elect!! Elect!!!"

Under the New Deal the budgets presented by Roosevelt to Congress were so huge that no member of Congress dared add to them; so voluminous and complex that Congress did not have the time to consider them; and so fraught with self-interest for special groups and with "pork barrel" that few Congressmen cared to attack them for fear of losing their "cut". Congress abdicated its constitutional power of initiating budge-

tary legislation year after year, until, as the advocates of the plan expected, it has become the accepted practice that the budget bill shall be initiated by the President.

When that goal has been attained, Nickerson's blueprint then proceeds to the next step that reduces Congress to a mere advisory or consulting body, that is compatible with a feudal monarchy. He writes:

"When financial initiative had thus been fully secured to the monarch, the same principle might be extended to all legislation. The monarch is already charged with the duty of presenting at the opening of each legislative session a message as to legislative changes he thinks desirable. Constitutional amendments might enlarge this traditional function so as to make it his duty to draw up a formal 'budget' of legislation, and might compel the legislature to say Aye or Nay to each item of this program before embarking on any new proposals of its own. In normal cases public opinion could then be counted upon to compel the legislature to adjourn and leave the community in peace until the beginning of the next session. There would remain the right of the legislative body to *discuss public affairs* (ed. 'debating society') to *criticize* the elective monarch, and to veto such new departure of his as they might think unwise". (pp. 293-294).

This phase of the plan has been materially improved upon in New Deal practice even though it has not arrived at the point where they dare propose a Constitutional amendment to rob Congress of all right to legislate, and leave them merely the power of talk and veto. During Roosevelt's regime the conspirators used the "*national emergency*" device to prevent Congress from enacting any legislation introduced by individual Congressmen. The device was very simple and completely effective. Repeated situations were engineered by the conspirators that were declared "*national emergencies*". Manipulation of national finance and the money system enabled the engineering and continuance of the depression. Disrupting the commerce and industry of the nation with an N. R. A. or an O. P. A. served to disrupt production and stimulate inflation. The very measures that were presented to fight infla-

tion were designed to stimulate it for the purpose of creating a "*national emergency*". Robbing workers of the right to work implicit in the Constitution, and farming it out to their agents, so-called "labor-leaders", in return for a share of tribute levied by them for the privilege of working, provided not only a source of revenue but also a dictatorial control of the rank and file of the nation. It permitted creating "*national emergencies*" at will by blackmailing industry and by strikes. And when all else failed the conspirators deliberately precipitated a real but tragic national emergency, Pearl Harbor and World War II, to further their commercial and political schemes.

All of these deliberately engineered "*national emergencies*" were used as the means of dragooning Congress into accepting the dictates of the conspirators. They utilized the too familiar device of innumerable messages to Congress on the state of the nation. The Constitution calls on the President to send to Congress at the time it convenes a message on the state of the nation. It was in no wise intended as a dictatorial device to force the will of the Executive on Congress. It was intended to be, and had been, an informative device.

The New Deal with its tremendous propaganda machine that was built up in the executive branch of the government with public funds for perverting and manipulating public opinion, used these messages as a device to force Congress into submission, abdication, and renunciation of the role assigned it by the Constitution. The function of initiating any legislation was thus fraudulently usurped by the President, in complete violation of the Constitution. There is no need for the renunciatory amendment to the Constitution demanded by Nickerson's blueprint. For this flaunting of the Constitution has become accepted practice in the conspiracy to destroy democracy and establish an open American monarchy.

With regard to the form that will be given American monarchy, whether elective or hereditary, Nickerson advised caution:

"Changes like the executive budget deriving most of their force from moral sources rather than from statute law, may creep in gradually . . . But even to give the President a longer term or to disregard the very strong tradition handed down from Wash-

ington himself against a third term for any individual President would be a sharp and noticeable change not to be masked by any form of words. Hence, though most elective monarchies of the past have been for life, all such questions must be left to the future".

Nickerson obviously reckoned not on the effectiveness of the General Education Fund and the Rockefeller Foundation in their control of education, of the press, radio, films, the government propaganda machine and every other avenue of exchange of information, in perverting and warping the minds of a nation. He reckoned without the *savoir faire* of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil regime, and the experience of its ally, the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty. So thoroughly had their task been performed that a little over a decade after Nickerson wrote, the third and fourth Presidential terms and the numerous other violations of the letter and spirit of the Constitution, that he could not conceive as being accepted by the nation, were accomplished facts.

Nickerson points out a technique whereby the people could be painlessly robbed of their franchise, by which "all pretense of an election dependent on popular will would have vanished". (p. 295). It is a technique with which the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty have had extensive experience—the third party movement. The idea is to split the electoral vote so that no candidate gets a majority, thus throwing the election into the lap of Congress.

It is significant that the salary of Henry Wallace as editor of the New Republic was reported to be \$75,000 a year. The New Republic has not made that many pennies profit in its entire existence. It has been subsidized by Anglophile Willard Straight of J. P. Morgan & Company and his son, Michael Straight. Undenied reports state that Henry Wallace's salary, travelling and campaign expenses are being paid by Michael Straight, Jock Whitney and Nelson Rockefeller.

After pointing out the great strength of the case for hereditary monarchy, Nickerson concludes:

"Come what may, monarchy in its elective form is firmly established as the chief American organ of government. It is the instrument through which, when the time is ripe, we may hope for a solu-

tion of our problems, for an honorable but separate status for the negro and jew, permitting us to utilize their distinctive gifts while preserving us from too much racial contact with the first and from the alien soul of the second . . . " (p. 302).

He points, in support of the first idea, to the proposal of the Town Board of Sudbury, Massachusetts in 1927, that Coolidge be made President for life; and to the fact that the Presidency "within a few generations has been clothed with awe and reverence which shone on the kings of old". His judgment has been fully confirmed by the obeisance and veneration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, engendered by adroit propaganda in a large section of the populace.

"Already" he writes, "we are not far from 'divine Caesar' . . . " Indeed. no. Sadly enough, we are far beyond it.

As for his concept on alien minorities, Nickerson's ideas have been closely followed by the conspirators. They are being "utilized" or used to attain a destruction of democracy and the establishment of the American monarchy. They are being put in the forefront, in the firing line to take all the blame and punishment. But in a properly regulated feudal monarchy, there is no room for any minority. Their elimination is planned when the goal of feudalism has been attained.

There is an amusing phase to Hoffman Nickerson's "omniscient" prattling. He holds the "jews" in such abysmal contempt that he will not even capitalize their name; and he regards as one of the functions of his program, the elimination of the Jews. But he supports much of his blueprint, and justifies other sections with the Federalist writings of "the great Alexander Hamilton" (p. 246) whom he acclaims as the outstanding American patriot and the greatest mind among the founders of our country.

If he is as wise, well-informed and omniscient as he poses, he would know that his hero Alexander Hamilton was born Levine, the son of a Danish Jewish West Indies planter John Michael Levine. Alexander was the son of a Jewish father and a mulatto mother. Alexander's mother Rachael was unfaithful and left his father to live with James Hamilton. When her husband divorced her, she was forbidden to remarry but

continued to live with Hamilton and changed her son's name from Levine to Hamilton. ("Money Changers", Gertrude M. Coogan, Sound Money Press, 1935, p. 188).

Posthumously his descendants undertook to attribute fatherhood to James Hamilton. They preferred to stigmatize their ancestor as a bastard, to acknowledging his Jewish and Negro ancestry. The absurdity of the effort is attested to by the fact that they place Alexander in charge of one of the largest mercantile businesses of St. Croix at the age of twelve years. Precocity they call it! But they place the date of his birth two years before that of his mother's divorce in 1759, and within a few months after her marriage to Levine.

CHAPTER VIII

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the pathetic puppet of the conspirators scheming the destruction of democracy and the establishment of an American monarchy. For the role for which he was picked, he had every qualification.

F.D.R. was a direct scion of both the Roosevelt and Delano clans. On the Roosevelt side, he was descended from Claas Martenszen van Rosenvelt (or Rosenfeld) descendants of proselytized Sephardic Jews who had settled in Holland and later migrated to New Amsterdam in 1649. Claas, his son, was father of Johannes, the direct ancestor of Theodore Roosevelt, and of Jacobus, the direct ancestor of F. D. R.

Jacobus Roosevelt married one of the most affluent and picturesque woman of the time, Catherina Hardenbroeck. According to tradition, she was the hardest drinking, hardest cussing, hardest fighting woman who ever sailed before her own mast as skipper in the rum, molasses, slave and smuggling trade. Isaac, her son, was the man whose invitation to attend a wife's funeral, was rejected by George Washington because of a question of propriety.

The intervening ancestors were German, Swedish, and principally English, so that the original Dutch strain is thoroughly diluted. Col. Theodore Roosevelt, 26th president was a fifth cousin. F. D. R.'s half-niece,

Helen Rebecca Roosevelt married Theodore Douglas Robinson, son of Theodore Roosevelt's sister Corinne, the grandmother of Joseph and Stewart Alsop, the columnists.

By direct line of descent from Thomas Shepard and Anne Tyng, John Adams, second president, and John Quincy Adams, sixth, were sixth and seventh cousins. But the relationship of the two branches of the family have been maintained in closer degree by intermarriage. The marriage of Fred B. Adams to Ellen W. Delano, a first cousin of F.D.R. has been mentioned.

Less directly, through intermarriage of the Van Deursens and the Van Burens, F.D.R.'s great grandfather was a third cousin of Martin Van Buren, eighth president.

On the Delano side F. D. R. was more or less remotely related to George Washington, James Madison, 4th president, General William Henry Harrison, 9th president, General Zachary Taylor, 12th president, Andrew Johnson, 17th president, General Ulysses S. Grant, 18th president, General Benjamin Harrison, 23rd president and William Howard Taft, 27th president. As has been stated, President Grant was F.D.R.'s closest relative among the presidents. It has been noted also that on the Delano side, F. D. R. proudly traces his ancestry to the King of England, Henry II, and through the Astors, by marriage, to George VI. The numerous intermarriages with European nobility have been mentioned. The royal background and ancestry were calculated to engender ambitions and fire the aspirations of a Pretender to an American throne; and the Dynasty's influence has made it a possibility.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the son of fifty-two year old James Roosevelt, vice-president of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad, director of several other corporations and retired country squire, and Sara Delano, twenty-six year old daughter of Warren Delano, merchant and clipper ship operator in the China trade, who made a sizeable fortune in opium smuggling. The Kean gang also entered the picture.

By the first marriage F. D. R. had a half-brother, James Roosevelt Roosevelt, a banker and appointee to the diplomatic corps by Grover Cleveland, a kinsman of his father. It is amusing to note that this brother has been kept a dark secret by the New Dealers because it

would not be compatible with the picture of F. D. R. "throwing the money lenders out of the temple". James Roosevelt Roosevelt's first wife was Helen Schermerhorn Astor, daughter of the society leader, Mrs. William B. Astor and aunt of Vincent Astor.

Sara Delano Roosevelt, dominating mother, did not send her boy to school to mix with schoolmates but kept him home under the tutelage first of French and German governesses, and then of tutors until he was fourteen. Almost every year he was taken to Europe for several months. He attended public school at Nauheim two years, studying map reading and military topography. At an early age he conceived a great admiration for things German and became thoroughly imbued with Prussian militarism, and their lust for war on land, and especially, on sea. Summers were spent at Campobello.

Under the influence of his mother, who was derived from a sea-faring family and whose cousin, according to Daniel W. Delano (Pic, July 8, 1941), had designed and built the first armor-clad, screw-driven warship, F. D. R.'s keenest interest, at the age of twelve, was warships and navies.

At fourteen he was sent to school at Groton, which tries to be ever so British and mimics Eton. At eighteen he entered Harvard. He did little studying but managed to get by. His social life was more successful; and he attained an editorship on the *Crimson*. His guiding star was his distant cousin, Theodore Roosevelt. In his conversation he talked so much about his birth, social position and aspirations that he was twitted by his classmates about his "Royal Family". In 1904 he left Harvard and went to Columbia Law School.

Shortly after he had entered Harvard, F. D. R.'s father died. In his will he intimated that he did not trust Franklin's competence and left him nothing outright but merely \$100,000 in trust. His mother inherited the estate, held the purse strings and "managed" him. She took up residence near Harvard to superintend his education.

Against his mother's will, F. D. R. proposed to Eleanor Roosevelt, niece of President Theodore Roosevelt. It is apparent that F.D.R. was dazzled by his distant cousin in the White House and that Eleanor's close relationship to him gave added lure. When the point for opposition had passed, Sara Delano acquiesced.

Teddy gave his niece, and godchild, away on March 17, 1905 at the homes of Eleanor's cousin, Mrs Henry Parrish, Jr. and of her mother, Mrs. E. Livingston Ludlow, 6 and 8 East Seventy-sixth Street, New York City.

F.D.R. had no resources of his own. He was completely dependent on his mother's gifts, and she bossed the newlyweds thoroughly. She provided them a house at Hyde Park, a summer home at Campobello, and built for him a house adjoining her own on East Sixty-fifth Street. The bride reports she had no voice in the furnishing of her own homes. But marriage to Eleanor had its rewards for F. D. R. He was now especially welcome and became a frequent guest at the White House or at the home of Theodore Roosevelt's brother-in-law, Rear Admiral William Sheffield Cowles and he came in closer contact with his hero, the ruling Dynast. He had an opportunity to become thoroughly imbued with tradition and methods, and was able to make contacts which served him well later. He learned at first hand from the Master the use of showmanship and opportunism as political tools.

Mrs. Henry Parrish, on her death, left \$250,000 to "my beloved niece Eleanor Roosevelt", and an equal amount "to my nephew, Sumner Welles". It is in the person of Sumner Welles, former Assistant Secretary of State during the Roosevelt regime, that certain family failings of the clan have come to light most notoriously. "CONFIDENTIAL" magazine, in its issue of May, 1956 (vol. 4, No. 2) openly accused Sumner Welles of homosexuality, quoting from public records. No mention is made of a predilection for colored minors.

In this connection, it might be noted that FDR's cousin, Ellen Roosevelt, reported that Eleanor Roosevelt's mother was a woman of some degree of color, who was indiscreetly attached to Theodore Roosevelt. Teddy's ne'er-do-well, dissolute brother, Elliott, appears on the family tree as Eleanor's father. But her mother is curiously glossed over in it

F. D. R. was uninterested in his law studies and was never able to graduate in law. He had no patience with rules or laws. As a spoiled brat he had always changed the rules of games to suit his whims. As a Dynastic heir, he planned to make his own laws, in the fashion of a Pasha. He gloried in the idea of laying down the

law. Whenever he signed a new bill, even on his dying day, he would say to his secretary: "Here is where I make a new law." (Time, April 23, 1945, p. 18). But the influence of the Dynasty was great. The Bar Association made a rare exception in his case and admitted him to the Bar without a law degree; and, it is reported, without a rigid examination. He was given a job by his cousin's (Sara Delano, daughter of Warren Delano III) husband Roland L. Redmond, senior partner of Carter, Ledyard and Milburn.

His chief interest during this period, as previously, was military and naval history. He spent a large part of his time at Hyde Park in the role of country squire, and in summer at Campobello. His mother was still his main source of income for the support of his family. Indicative of his breadth of mind was the clause that appeared regularly in his advertisements for help for Hyde Park: "No Catholic need apply." This anti-Catholicism in later political activities was thinly disguised, but repeatedly emerged, and James Farley need not have been surprised at the treatment he received.

F. D. R.'s start in politics he owed to the power of the Dynasty and the popularity of the Roosevelt name. The members of the Dynasty then in control of the local political machine provided the opportunity. Chief Theodore Roosevelt was then engaged in vengefully wrecking the Republican Party and defeating Taft in the interest of Morgan. F. D. R. was dilly-dallying with law and other avocations at the time but was not making a living and had to be provided for. And he could not be provided for better than to place him on the public payroll where he could serve the Dynasty. They gave him the nomination for State Senator for Dutchess County and Putnam County, the old stamping ground of Martin Van Buren who had built up the political machine in that district almost a century earlier. His running mate for the Assembly was a distant relative, Louis Stuyvesant Chanler, great-great grandson of John Jacob Astor. The Senate district had always been Republican and it was not expected that there was any chance that the Democratic candidate would win. The Poughkeepsie Eagle commented on the situation:

"Presumably his (F. D. R.'s) contribution to the campaign funds goes well above four figures

but the Republican nominee will not be disturbed by Mr. Roosevelt's candidacy."

But Theodore Roosevelt had disrupted the Republican Party in New York, characteristically following the pattern of disgruntled ex-officeholders of the ever treacherous and disloyal Dynasty, and had assured a victory to the opposition, the Democratic Party. F.D.R. was carried in by the landslide.

In the campaign he showed that he had learned from his paragon, Theodore Roosevelt, the device of catch-penny demagoguery which later proved a favorite device throughout his career. In the campaign there were elements of Ku Klux Klanism; and F. D. R. shone in the light of champion of the Protestant White Americans. Though his nomination had been given him by the local Dynastic bosses who controlled both parties, he made a sham fight on "Bossism" and a pretense of deserting his social class, for demagogic appeal. F.D.R. proved an apt pawn.

In the New York State Senate, the upstate Dynasty political machine once again made good use of the Roosevelt name and built up the repute of their man, F.D.R. The occasion was the unpopular plan for nomination of William Sheehan, candidate of Tammany's boss, Charley Murphy, to succeed United States Senator Chauncey Depew. Six district leaders, as well as J. Sergeant Cram, chairman of the New York Democratic County Committee, worked actively for his defeat.

The "fight" took the form of "passive resistance", refusal to attend the Democratic caucus, so that the majority would not be present. In all, seventeen Democrats under the leadership of the Osbornes led the "fight". Most of the upstate Democratic leaders who traditionally opposed Tammany, sought Sheehan's defeat. The influence of the Dynasty plus the news value of the Roosevelt name combined to credit the "fight" on Sheehan to F. D. R. and rob the Osbornes of credit for their leadership. The New York Times was particularly helpful in thus building up F. D. R. Inasmuch as the Times, belying its early-day virility and the public spirit that marked its fight on Tweed, has made obsequiousness to the powers that be its consistent policy, there can be seen the hand of Theodore Roosevelt and the Dynasty in the "build-up" of cousin F. D. R.

Word got around that there was an important element of anti-Catholicism in Roosevelt's opposition to Sheehan. In view of his previous exhibitions of anti-Catholicism and the Klu Klux Klanism, this was not surprising. With the objective of allaying resentment thus aroused, the "insurgents", after a prolonged holdout, voted for a Tammany candidate of Murphy's, Justice James A. O'Gorman.

Once he had gained the limelight, F. D. R. had no difficulty in holding it. In whatever he did he had the backing of the Dynasty and he played to the gallery with all the studied effort that he had learned from his cousin "Teddy". The Dynasty had prepared some new raw material for the White House to carry on its line of succession.

Roosevelt's campaign for reelection to the State Senate brought on the scene Louis McHenry Howe. He largely accounts for any element of political talent that Roosevelt is supposed to have possessed. Howe took over at the point that the Dynastic bosses left off. He was a one man "brain trust" who cooperated with a full time staff of reliable workers, including Margaret LeHand, in creating the Roosevelt known to the public, about whom there centered the Roosevelt myth. Before F. D. R. had reached the point where Rockefeller subsidized professional staffs did his thinking for him, Louis Howe did the job single-handed. Much of what the public has been led to believe is the personality of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, is merely a reflection of his ghost personality, his ghost thinker and ghost writer, Louis Howe.

Howe, who was the Albany correspondent of the New York Herald and Telegram, took complete control of Roosevelt's 1912 renomination campaign. Roosevelt was stricken with typhoid fever at the time. An uncannily shrewd politician who had studied the game from a point of vantage in Albany for many years, Howe drew up a platform for cooperative distributing and shipping societies and farmer's banks, with licensing of commission merchants by the State Department of Agriculture, which he knew the farmers had sought and would acclaim. On this platform of which Roosevelt had never conceived and had not the slightest knowledge, Howe secured his boss's reelection. From then until his death, Louis Howe was F. D. R.'s alter and wiser ego.

CHAPTER IX

THE DYNASTY'S NAVAL INTERESTS

F. D. R.—HEREDITARY NAVAL SECRETARY

President Wilson was a quite synthetic creation of the Wall Street interests. The principal figure in building him up and imposing him on the nation was his intimate friend and life-long associate Cleveland H. Dodge, a Princeton classmate of Wilson's and an in-law of the Rockefellers who together with Cyrus Hall McCormick, gave him the Princeton professorship, privately supplemented his salary in conjunction with Percy R. Pyne (National City Bank), promoted him to Princeton's president, and through George Harvey, the Morgan-Ryan-Rockefeller agent and president of Harper's Publishing Company, secured him the governorship of New Jersey from Democratic boss, Senator James Smith, Jr. on payment to him of \$75,000 by Dodge. (McCombs' "Making Wilson President", p. 20) In 1908, Harvey predicted in Harper's Weekly, on behalf of the Wall Street crowd, that Wilson would be elected Governor of New Jersey in 1910, and President in 1912. And the clique carried out their scheme on time and without a hitch, while making it appear to the public that Wilson actually opposed the political bosses who put through the deal that made him President.

Dodge was not engaged in politics for his health. He was director of the National City Bank, a principal of the Phelps Dodge Copper Company, and heavily interested in the munition industry—including Remington Arms Company, Winchester Arms Company and Union Metallic Cartridge Company. With such heavy interests at stake it was necessary that he be assured that his pal, Woodrow Wilson, would take orders without question and that Wilson assure his associates of it. This Wilson did in dinners arranged with representatives of the Rockefeller-Morgan crowd. Among them was a dinner for Wilson held at Beechwood, home of Frank A. Vanderlip, President of the National City Bank, which was attended by James Stillman and William Rockefeller. (John Winkler, *The First Billion*.)

p. 210). Wilson agreed to permit Vanderlip to write the monetary views for his speeches. But Wilson would not take these views directly from Vanderlip because he did not want the public to realize that his pretended opposition to the financial interests and the trusts was a fraud. William G. McAdoo served as go-between. (Frank A. Vanderlip and Boyden Sparks, *From Farm-Boy to Financier*, pp. 225-226).

At the time of Wilson's inauguration, Dodge was under indictment in the Territory of New Mexico and Arizona for a land deal fraud. Following Wilson's inauguration, the case was promptly dismissed.

Peace is not conducive to great profits in the munitions industries. Dodge was more than a little interested in a good sized war. Franklin Delano Roosevelt had campaigned for Wilson with the support of Dodge and his Rockefeller-Morgan allies. The hold that the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty had on Wilson is illustrated by his appointment of Frederic A. Delano, F. D. R.'s uncle, as vice-governor of the Federal Reserve Bank, a key position in national finance.

On Wilson's election, nothing could have been more readily taken for granted than the appointment of Senator Franklin Delano Roosevelt, thirty-one years old, to the post of Assistant Secretary of the Navy, just as previously Theodore Roosevelt had been appointed to the post by McKinley. For naval armor, armaments and shipbuilding is one of the principal interests of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty. As Daniel W. Delano relates in "My Cousin In The White House" (Pic, July 8, 1941) it was a Delano, a cousin of F. D. R.'s who built the first armor-clad, screw-driven warship and for generations the family engaged in shipbuilding and seafaring. Under the influence of his mother, F. D. R. had passionately devoted himself to seafaring and specialized in a study of naval vessels and naval warfare to prepare him to carry on a family tradition.

For in the past half century the job of Naval Secretary has become a hereditary prerogative of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty. In every administration which has not been headed by one of its members as President, it has been represented by one or more Secretaryships in the Navy Department, to take care of their naval interests. A list of these is impressive.

HEREDITARY NAVAL SECRETARIES OF ROOSEVELT-DELANO DYNASTY

<i>President</i>	<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Asst. Sec'y.</i>
McKinley		T. Roosevelt
T. Roosevelt		
Taft		
Wilson		F. D. Roosevelt
Harding		T. Roosevelt Jr.
Coolidge		T. Roosevelt Jr.
		T. D. Douglas
		(T. R.'s nephew)
Hoover	Chas. Francis Adams	
F. D. Roosevelt		Henry L. Roosevelt
		Nicholas Roosevelt
		Delano
		Delano
		Delano

Arrived in Washington, Franklin was still under Teddy Roosevelt's tutelage, as his Dynastic heir-in-the-making. He took residence in the home of Teddy's sister, Anna Cowles. To provide the brains, press relations and ghost writing, Louis Howe went along and was placed on the Navy Department payroll.

One of the most important shipyards in naval construction is the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock. It was built and privately owned by Collis P. Huntington, builder of the Southern Pacific Railroad. Miss Helen D. Huntington was the first wife of Vincent Astor, nephew and cousin of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. E. A. Adams was Secretary-treasurer of the Company and Charles Frances Adams, Hoover's Secretary of the Navy, became a director in 1940 when the stock was first sold to the public.

It is interesting to note how the business of the Newport News Shipbuilding soared whenever the Roosevelts were on the job. The Company received its first naval construction contracts—three gunboats—in 1897 when Teddy Roosevelt was on the job as Assistant Secretary. It received no new contracts until T. R. became President—two battleships in 1900, a third in 1901, a monitor in 1902, a fourth battleship in 1903, three cruisers in 1905, a fifth and sixth battleship in 1906, a seventh battleship in 1907, a fourth and fifth cruiser in 1908. Under Taft, Newport News did not do

so well; merely two destroyers and one battleship in 1910, one destroyer in 1911, and a destroyer and ammunition lighter in 1912. The drop in tonnage was even more significant. During Teddy Roosevelt's presidency Newport News had built 134,243 tons and under Taft a mere 23,652.

With a Roosevelt back on the job, this time F. D. R., Newport News business began to pick up again; in 1913, two colliers, 38,000 tons, more than the whole Taft administration; in 1914, one battleship and two oil barges, total 28,670; in 1916, one battleship, 31,400 tons; in 1917, one battleship, 32,000 tons. The total tonnage built by the shipyard *prior to our entry into the war* was 130,000, right back to the old standard.

F. D. R. was ready to realize his childhood dream, a real naval war with real battleships! The benevolent, philanthropic Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests provided him with not one, but with two wars.

In Mexico, the Rockefeller controlled Pierce-Waters Oil Company demanded of Diaz that he permit the importation of Standard Oil products from the United States tax free. Diaz refused. The Rockefeller interests financed Madero to stage a revolution. (They told Barron, p. 141). The British oil interests and Lord Cowdray backed Victoriano Huerta who in February 1913, ousted Madero and executed him. Wilson's angel Dodge and his Rockefeller-Morgan allies then financed and furnished with munitions Venustiano Carranza and Pancho Villa despite an embargo. When a German ship attempted to land arms at Vera Cruz, in April 1914, American warships shelled the town. On July 15, 1914, Huerta was forced out and Carranza took over for the Morgan-Rockefeller interests. Villa then turned on Carranza, resulting in American intervention. There was little naval action in the Mexican incident to delight the heart of F. D. R. and his munitions industry associates.

World War I, provided by the Rockefeller-Standard-Oil-British-Royal Dutch feud, made up with action aplenty. When the British capitulated to the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests in Saudi Arabia and the Near East, we were doomed to enter the war. But the conspirators delayed the declaration until after they had engineered Wilson's reelection on a "keep us out of the war" platform. But they had made sure that

their plans would not fail, by putting up an opposition candidate, Charles Evans Hughes, who was equally their agent. In the meantime F. D. R. had strained at the leash, he was so anxious to have his nice little war to play with. He reported, according to the New York Times (April 7, 1937, 20:6) that the Navy had begun extensive purchases of war supplies in 1916.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was 35 years of age and in good physical condition at the outbreak of World War I. But through the same family influence that enabled him to manage to evade the Bar examination requirement for the practise of law, he was able to evade the draft and active military service, by appointment to a swivel chair job as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. In that job he was in a position to help his kin profit enormously from naval construction

The support that F. D. R. had from the behind-the-scene bosses of the Wilson administration is clear from the fact that though he was merely Assistant Secretary, he exercised full and absolute authority and deliberately violated all laws and regulations with perfect assurance and absolute freedom of any checks or restraints. His rampant militarism and wild, unrestrained and profligate spending on munitions must have delighted the hearts of the Dodges and other munitions and armament interests among his backers and the Dynasty.

After the armistice, when plans of naval disarmament and of junking vessels in the service and scrapping many under construction, were under consideration, Franklin Delano Roosevelt continued to demand a greater Navy, more men and more ships "to put the Navy in fighting trim". He demanded a supplemental appropriation of over eighteen million dollars.

Investigation by the House Appropriations Committee subsequently revealed that under Franklin Delano Roosevelt's direction the keels of ninety-six destroyers costing \$181,000,000 had been laid after the armistice; and that ten cruisers costing, on a "cost plus" basis, a total of \$100,000,000 had been rushed ahead to completion after the armistice. When completed they proved defective or worthless. They were scrapped. The performance was little short of criminal and should have barred F. D. Roosevelt forever from holding public of-

fice in the opinion of the investigators.

Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock Company delivered twenty small destroyers in 1919 and 1920. Business was good.

The next big spurt in Newport News Shipbuilding's naval construction business came in the mid-thirties when Congress authorized President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to spend a small fraction of P.W.A. appropriations on national defense. What money was spared from hoeing leaves was spent on naval construction. Newport News delivered between 1937 and 1939, two aircraft carriers, two light cruisers, and two destroyers, a total of 73,885 tons. During World War II Newport News fared splendidly.

In later days the "Big Three", Newport News, Bethlehem and New York Shipbuilding shared fairly evenly in the contracts so that all the interests got a break. The smaller shipbuilding companies did not fare so well. A representative of the Bath Iron Works testified before a Senate investigating committee that when he sought a Naval contract he was advised to "see" Eleanor Roosevelt's secretary.

John T. Flynn reports in his "Country Squire In The White House" (p. 23) that Franklin Delano Roosevelt boasted before an audience at the Brooklyn Academy of Music about wasting money during the war.

He did not hesitate to undertake huge expenditures even before Congress had made any appropriations. He even then had the contempt of Junker Bismarck for legislatures. "Roosevelt was a devotee to the use of commandeering orders", writes Ernest Lindley, his campaign biographer (Franklin D. Roosevelt, p. 143).

"It is perfectly true that I took the chance of authorizing certain large expenditures before Congress had actually appropriated the money," F. D. R. was forced to confess at a Congressional committee hearing in 1920.

He acknowledged that he had violated enough laws to send him to jail for 999 years. But Dynastic law-breakers do not go to jail. They become presidents, dictators and kings.

When the Navy adopted oil-burning Diesel engines, and required oil for fuel, the interests of the Dynasty naturally turned to oil. The outcome was the Teapot

Dome scandal—a conspiracy to divert, by corruption of government officials, a large tract of Naval oil reserve land involving the Sinclair and Doheny oil companies, and in the background, the Standard Oil of Indiana, the Midwest Oil Company and others.

Theodore Roosevelt Jr. resigned from his position of director of the Sinclair Refinery Company to become Assistant Secretary of the Navy. At his request Harry F. Sinclair in 1919 gave the position of vice-president to his brother Archibald Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt Jr. then arranged to secure the release of oil lands by the Navy to Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall for disposal to Sinclair. Roosevelt then arranged to have President Harding sign an executive order drawn up by Secretary Fall giving the land to the Sinclair and Doheny interests.

Subsequent investigation and prosecution revealed that the deal was characterized by bribery and corruption on a large scale. Archibald Roosevelt was assigned the task of carrying a little black bag containing \$100,000 in cash to Fall. Secretary Fall received a total bribe of nearly \$500,000 of which \$100,000 was paid by Doheny, and \$230,000 in Liberty bonds and \$106,000 in cash, including \$35,000 for a trip to Russia to negotiate oil leases by Sinclair. Fall was found guilty of criminal malfeasance and sent to jail in 1931. The Standard Oil of Indiana, through its subsidiary Midwest Oil Company was paid \$1,000,000 to relinquish claims to the field.

Rockefeller stood by Col. Stewart, President of the Standard Oil of Indiana in spite of exposure of this corruption. But when investigation revealed in 1928 that Stewart, like the other participants in Continental Trading Company had failed to turn over to their companies a 25¢ commission per barrel on over 33 million barrels of oil purchased for them, Rockefeller was compelled to display indignation on behalf of stockholders. He retired Col. Stewart on a mere \$75,000 a year pension. But his sons Robert G. and James Stewart were well cared for in the role of Standard Oil executives. The investigation revealed that Harry Sinclair had boasted that the entire deal was "protected" by the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests.

The Roosevelts involved in the Teapot Dome deal were shielded and immune from prosecution, as is

usual with members of the Dynasty. The incident did make it very clear, however, that they are not in politics for their health. The Dynasty and its Navy interests are distinctly of commercial character. The Dynasty's interests in Rockefeller's Saudi Arabia oil, in the pretended interest of the Navy, will be related later. It was on so far grander a scale that it makes the graft in Teapot Dome look like peanuts.

CHAPTER X

FOLLOWING IN COUSIN TEDDY'S FOOTSTEPS

VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

From the day he had entered the political arena at thirty-one as State Senator, F. D. R. had been invested with the Dynastic leadership of the Hudson Valley Democrats handed down from cousin Martin Van Buren and with the full support of their political, commercial and industrial allies. He was pushed forward on every occasion.

In 1914 the Dynasty placed F. D. R. in the primaries for United States Senator against Murphy's candidate, Wilson's Ambassador to Germany, James W. Gerard. As usual, it was a case of an upstate political machine against a down state political machine.

In June 1918, Charles F. Murphy a henchman of Wilson's and F. D. R.'s sponsors, the Morgan-Ryan-Rockefeller crowd, offered the New York Democratic Gubernatorial nomination to Roosevelt. But the Acting Naval Secretary Roosevelt was enjoying himself too much with his bright new war. He condescendingly replied, according to Lindley, that in his opinion in time of war "when all questions of religion and party association were sunk" Alfred E. Smith would do as a candidate. (Franklin D. Roosevelt, p. 165).

In 1920, however, instead of being imprisoned for the 999 laws which he frankly acknowledged he had broken, for exceeding his authority as Acting Naval Secretary, and for other malfeasance of which he was

guilty, Franklin Delano Roosevelt continued to follow in Teddy's footsteps. The Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty thumbed their nose at law, Congress and the nation, and nominated their agent, F. D. R., Democratic vice presidential candidate. The Dynasty had made its peace and merged with the Rockefeller-Standard Oil crowd and the nomination went off without a hitch.

James Cox, the presidential candidate, like Taft and Harding, were all Ohio henchmen of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil Ohio political machine. They selected Cox from the Democratic side of their machine to oppose Harding from its Republican side, in a framed fight. Cox published a chain of newspapers and was an associate of Charles G. Dawes, Comptroller of the Treasury under McKinley, in the Pure Oil Company.

Cox and Roosevelt were both reliable pawns of the bipartisan Rockefeller Empire. But the sanctimonious corruption of Wilson had so far lost popular favor, that it was decided to let the Republican pawns win. This was signalized by an apparent defection of Harvey, the agent of Ryan and the Rockefeller-Morgan group, from the original Wilson backers who were now supporting Cox and Roosevelt. Harvey predicted Harding's victory with his usual precision that derived from the dominant role that he played for the Wall Street crowd in manipulating elections.

In the course of the campaign some newspapers pointed out that the scandalous corruption in Franklin Delano Roosevelt's conduct as Assistant Secretary of the Navy that had been exposed by the Congressional investigating committee and the contemptuous disregard of the law to which he had confessed, should bar him forever from holding public office. Roosevelt bluffed and threatened to bring suit for libel. But he never did sue.

Following his defeat, Roosevelt was given, in January 1921, the job of Vice President in charge of the New York office of the Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland by an admirer, Van Lear Black, President of the Company and owner of the Baltimore Sun. He received a salary of \$25,000 a year. This was the first salary that he had earned that was in anywise commensurate with his needs for supporting his family and maintaining a scale of living that had been much beyond his income.

Roosevelt devoted only one or two hours, when he was in town, to the Fidelity job. This left him free to exploit his name in many different directions. He was eager for "easy money" and had no scruples whether he worked for it or not, or how he got it. He became a partner in the firm, Emmett, Marvin and Roosevelt in 1921, and in 1924, he formed a law firm with Basil O'Connor as partner. He devoted a little time in the afternoon to his law clients. He took the job of President of the American Construction Council, formed to whitewash the corruption in the building trades that had been exposed recently by a legislative investigation. But the ugliest of his money-making activities were the malodorous stock deals to which he gave his name and in which he participated; and his Georgia Warm Springs business.

However, there were some reports of "irregularities" in his accounts. The money is supposed to have been paid up by subscription among his friends before he was inaugurated as Governor.

CHAPTER XI

INFANTILE PARALYSIS

"MY GEORGIA WARM SPRINGS BUSINESS"

In August 1921, Franklin Delano Roosevelt yachted to his summer home at Campobello, New Brunswick, with his employer Van Lear Black. There he succumbed to a paralyzing illness which had only recently begun to appear on an extensive scale in this country. The disease was called poliomyelitis or infantile paralysis by an orthopedic specialist who was not a specialist on acute infectious diseases.

Many rumors have circulated about the true character of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's illness. The rumors relate that he was delirious for an extended period in the acute stage of the illness. They point out that it left him with mental stigmata that are not characteristic of true poliomyelitis; that his judgement became impaired and he became so highly suggestible that he would agree with everyone and act on the counsel of the last person who advised him; and that he suffered

from prolonged and uncontrollable attacks, or fits, of excitement and laughing alternating with depression and crying, that often were brought on by displeasure and stress at being thwarted, and sometimes by pleasure; and were publicly witnessed on a number of occasions.

So persistent were these rumors that Dr. Lindley Rudd Williams, son-in-law of Kidder of the Morgan affiliate, Kidder, Peabody and Company, and director of the Rockefeller subsidized New York Academy of Medicine, was called upon, just prior to the Presidential nomination, in 1932, to write for Collier's Magazine an article vouching for the state of Roosevelt's *physical and mental* health.

Roosevelt's condition can be very simply explained. There are two types of "infantile paralysis". There is the type that involves the spinal cord and only the lower, respiratory areas of the brain. That is known as poliomyelitis. This condition had become fairly well-known to the American medical profession after the severe epidemic of 1916.

There is a second type of "infantile paralysis" that was very little known and rarely recognized in 1921. Prior to that time it had begun to appear extensively among animals, especially horses; and to the veterinarians it was known as *equine encephalomyelitis*. In 1932, the first extensive human epidemic of the disease occurred in St. Louis.

The encephalomyelitic form of "infantile paralysis" also causes paralysis involving the spine and the lower centers of the brain. But in addition it involves the upper centers of the brain and generally damages them severely. Sometimes the disease assumes the form of "sleeping sickness". But almost always it leaves mental stigmata in addition to paralysis.

It is reasonably certain that Franklin Delano Roosevelt suffered from an attack of encephalomyelitis that was unrecognized because his was among the earliest group of human cases in this country. The diagnosis serves to explain the stigmata above mentioned. Eleanor Roosevelt and shrewd and loyal Louis Howe, carefully withheld the facts regarding F. D. R.'s true condition for fear that it would interfere with his career, if he recovered.

On his recovery, and his return to business, Franklin Delano Roosevelt became involved in a series of malodorous, messy stock flotations that the S. E. C. would now label highly fraudulent. There was absolutely no need for him to become entangled in such deals because of the many friends, relatives and business associates indebted to him anent war activities. It is obvious that his judgement was far from what it might be and that it was so seriously impaired that he was excessively suggestible and too easily talked into things.

George Foster Peabody, New York confederate of Rockefeller, approached F.D.R. during his recovery, in 1924, with a story of a Georgian, helpless victim of infantile paralysis who had recovered from the paralysis sufficiently to walk, by swimming in a pool at Warm Springs, Georgia. Peabody had bought the Springs and wanted to turn them over to him. Roosevelt visited the Springs and Louis Howe was on the job to see that he got a good press. A syndicated article entitled "Swimming Back to Health" brought Warm Springs into the limelight and kept the spot on F. D. R. The article brought a number of victims of infantile paralysis to the Springs. Roosevelt accepted Warm Springs from Peabody, attracted the attention of the Orthopedic Society, at its convention in Atlanta in 1926, by the device of asking for an investigation; and organized it as a hydrotherapeutic institute under the supervision of Dr. Le Roy W. Hubbard of the New York State Department of Health. In July 1926, at about the time that he invited investigation by the Orthopedic Society, F. D. R. organized in Delaware a business corporation that has been carefully shielded from the public eye, the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation Inc. of Delaware. Title to the property was placed in this holding company. Not even Lindley, Roosevelt's biographer knew about it.

According to Ernest K. Lindley, in his "Franklin D. Roosevelt, A Career in Progressive Democracy," Georgia Warm Springs Foundation was incorporated in the State of New York in January, 1927, to be given title to the Warm Springs property obtained from George Foster Peabody. Lindley does not relate the accurate data contained in the following letter, which has entirely escaped his notice:

STATE OF DELAWARE
OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE

Walter Dent Smith
Secretary of State

Dover, Del.
March 6, 1936

Dr. Emanuel M. Josephson
108 East 81st Street
New York City
"Dear Sir:

"Replying to your communication of February 1, kindly be advised the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation, Inc., incorporated under the laws of this State June 29, 1926, changed its name to Meriwether Reserve Inc. by Amendment filed in this Department August 1, 1927.

The annual report filed for the year 1934 shows office at 120 Broadway, New York City, together with the following named officers and directors:

President, Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, The White House, Washington, D. C.

Vice President and Assistant Secretary, Raymond H. Taylor, 120 Broadway, New York City.

Secretary-Treasurer, Basil O'Connor, 120 Broadway, New York City.

Assistant Treasurer, Arthur Carpenter, Warm Springs, Ga.

Directors, Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Basil O'Connor, Raymond H. Taylor.

"Delaware corporations are not required to file a list of stockholders in this Department; therefore, we regret to be unable to furnish you with same."

"Yours truly,

"(Signed) Walter Dent Smith,
Secretary of State."

The existence of a holding company, obscure and hidden from public gaze, in the President's widely publicized philanthropy, strikes one with justifiable surprise. For President Roosevelt fought holding corporations of this type with the utmost venom and vigor. If Georgia Warm Springs is a private commercial activity of the President, one would have expected his own pronouncements in the case of Mayor James Walker to impel him to take the public into the secret, rather than to hide it in an obscure Delaware corporation. The generous gifts of the nation, amounting to millions of dollars in the past two decades,

State of Delaware



WALTER DENT SMITH
Secretary of State

Office of Secretary of State

DOVER, DEL.

March 6, 1936

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President	Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt	The White House Washington, D. C.
Vice-Pres.)	Raymond H. Taylor	120 Broadway, N.Y.
Asst. Secy)		
Secretary)	Basil O'Connor	
Treasurer)		
Asst. Treas.	Arthur Carpenter	Warm Springs, Ga.
Directors	Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt	
	Basil O'Connor	
	Raymond H. Taylor	

Delaware corporations are not required to file a list of stockholders in this Department; therefore, we regret to be unable to furnish you with same.

Yours truly,

Walter Dent Smith

Secretary of State

SN

THE STORY OF MERIWETHER RESERVE, INC. (DELAWARE)

Mr. Walter Dent Smith, Secretary of State of Delaware, gives facts regarding Meriwether Reserve, Inc. listed with his office. The "representative citizens", later classed as "malefactors of great wealth", whose names are found on the board of Georgia Warm Springs Foundation, Inc. and who contributed heavily to its support, are strangely missing in Meriwether Reserve, Inc.

should have compelled a frank publication of the accounts of this "holding company." But an inquiry directed to the Treasurer of the Foundation, Basil O'Connor, law partner of the President, elicited the following reply:

GEORGIA WARM SPRINGS FOUNDATION, INC.
120 Broadway
New York

President
Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Treasurer
Basil O'Connor

July 1st, 1935

Dear Sir:

No annual reports have been issued by Georgia Warm Springs Foundation, Inc.

MERIWETHER RESERVE, INC., (DELAWARE) HOLDS
TITLE TO THE PROPERTY.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Basil O'Connor

Treasurer

The source of the half million dollars required for purchasing the surrounding property and the initial development of the Springs was kept a secret even from Lindley. He stated that "where this money came from has always been a mystery." (ibid p. 211). The names of only two of the donors were released, because they had no political implications. Henry Pope of Chicago gave twenty thousand dollars, and Frank C. Root of Greenwich, Connecticut, an unspecified sum. It may be reasonably inferred that the Rockefeller-Morgan-Ryan-Dodge group were as generous in their donations to Roosevelt's venture as they were to his campaign funds. They had spent considerable time and funds in grooming the heir-apparent of the Dynasty as their tool. His illness made him potentially even more valuable for the role for which he was being groomed. But his identification with their interests by publishing their names and contributions would be politically bad.

Mr. and Mrs. Edsel Ford, Lindley relates, contributed the money to build a glass-enclosed pool; and other gifts were received for specific purposes. The literature of the Foundation states vaguely:

"The funds required by the initial capital investments were subscribed by the Governor and a group of his friends".

GEORGIA WARM SPRINGS FOUNDATION, INC.

120 BROADWAY

NEW YORK

PRESIDENT
MR. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
TREASURER
MR. BASIL O'CONNOR


July 1st, 1935.

Dear Sir:

No annual reports have been issued by Georgia
Warm Springs Foundation, Inc.

Meriwether Reserve, Inc., (Delaware) holds
title to the property.

Very truly yours,


Treasurer.

MERIWETHER RESERVE, INC. (DELAWARE) HOLDS TITLE TO GEORGIA
WARM SPRINGS FOUNDATION, INC. (N. Y.)

This letter from the treasurer of the Foundation, Mr. Basil O'Connor, President Roosevelt's law partner, leaves no doubt as to the ownership of Georgia Warm Springs.

By 1927 Roosevelt and the Dynasty felt that his build-up had been sufficient to insure victory at the polls; and the Rockefeller-Morgan crowd felt that their plans would soon call for a change in political party on the national scene, just as had been done in 1920 to appease popular clamor, and decided to take their synthetic "statesman" out of mothballs. That he was directed no longer to refuse political office is indicated by the sudden change of name of the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation, Inc. of Delaware, the business corporation, on August 1, 1927, to Meriwether Reserve Inc.

To be sure, in the following year, Smith, Lehman Raskob, and others at Albany, made a great show of extending the nomination to F. D. R. across the country at Georgia Warm Springs. Roosevelt made the grand-stand Caesarian play of thrice rejecting it with truly royal disdain. Louis Howe saw to it that the press was at hand and ate it up. The entire country was being held in suspense.

" . . . he put it by thrice, every time gentler than the other; and at every putting-by mine honest neighbors shouted." (Julius Caesar, Act 1, Sc. II.)

Julius Caesar and his "falling sickness" were child's play as compared with this scene for rousing public sympathy. Far indeed has the art of perverting public opinion progressed.

Finally Roosevelt who never missed a chance to turn an easy penny, interposed what he pretended was his main "objection" to accepting the nomination:

" . . . my Georgia Warm Springs business."

Raskob is reported to have shouted impatiently, "Damn Georgia Warm Springs, we'll take care of it."

Undeniably this enterprise was well taken care of. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was magnificently bribed to run for office. By the end of 1930 some seven hundred thousand dollars had been poured into the coffers of the Foundation. It is reported that Raskob contributed a quarter of a million dollars with a proviso regarding the nomination of Al Smith in 1932. A Board of Trustees was set up which read much like the board of directors of the enterprises identified with the Morgan, Rockefeller, Chase National and National City Bank groups. They were:

James A. Moffett, Vice President of the Standard Oil of New Jersey. He was rewarded among others

with an appointment as housing czar under the New Deal; and was able to secure for his Rockefeller-Standard Oil employers from the Government, a thirty million dollar appropriation of American taxpayers' money to be paid by the British Government to the King of Saudi Arabia to avoid the cancellation of the concession, in Saudi Arabia, of the Standard Oil of California and Texas Companies, and hundreds of millions more to maintain the Rockefeller-Standard Oil crowd in the good graces of the King, Ibn Saud. Recently Moffett sued the companies for \$8,000,000, the price he alleges they agreed to pay him for his influence with Roosevelt and the New Deal in the successful raid on the U. S. Treasury. If he collects the eight million dollars he will be amply repaid for his donation to Georgia Warm Springs. He was also instrumental, on behalf of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests, in bringing Roosevelt's innate duplicity into play in promising Palestine to both the Jews and the Arabs, to hold the loyalty and cooperation of both.

Jeremiah Milbank, Director of the Rockefeller-controlled Chase National Bank and Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. His family are heavily interested in the Borden Company and operate it for the controlling Chase National Bank-Rockefeller interests. A. G. Milbank is President and Chairman of the Board of Borden. His \$55,000 gift, or bribe, to Roosevelt through Georgia Warm Springs-Meriwether Reserve brought magnificent returns. Shortly after its receipt, Governor Roosevelt secured the passage by the New York State Legislation of favorable milk laws that increased the price of milk from 5¢ to a minimum of twenty-two cents a quart and put billions of dollars into the coffers of the Rockefeller-controlled Milk Trust.

But that was only the beginning of the story of what Jeremiah Milbank got for his \$55,000 "contribution". He is the familiar brand of "philanthropist" who insists upon having his odds very long. For example in 1928 he contributed \$10,000 to the Republican Campaign fund, Vice President Garner revealed that this was followed by the following tax refunds:

"Jeremiah Milbank, New York, Director Chase National Bank, refunded \$41,239 in 1928; Director Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, \$32,102 in 1929, and \$77,848 in 1930; son of Joseph Milbank whose estate was granted a refund of \$46,344 in 1929."

Eugene F. Wilson, Vice President of the Rockefeller-Morgan controlled American Telephone and Telegraph Company. His company was munificently rewarded by the New Deal. Despite the attack on utilities and holding companies by Roosevelt and the New Deal, the A. T. & T., the greatest utility monopoly was never molested. The sham investigation, launched against it to quiet public outcry against its outrageous staggering of rates even during the depression, was conducted by the Telephone Company's own loyal employees. And when unfavorable evidence got into the records, they were destroyed by a mysterious fire and the investigation was hurriedly dropped. Under the New Deal the monopoly of the A.T. & T., instead of being broken down, had been greatly intensified. Even the use of radio-telephone that served so well in the war, is, by absurd licensing requirements, barred to the public except through payment of exorbitant tribute to the Telephone Company.

William H. Woodin, President of the American Car and Foundry Company; Director of General Motors; Member of the Executive Committee and Director of the American Ship and Commerce Company; and Director of Remington Arms Company. He was a J. P. Morgan and Co. henchman who stood high on their preferred list. He received the appointment of Secretary of the Treasury.

Leighton McCarthy, President of Canadian Life Insurance Company, Vice President and Director of Union Carbide Co. and of the Bank of Nova Scotia; and Director of Aluminum Ltd.

George Foster Peabody, President of Broadway Realty Co. and close associate of John D. Rockefeller, who participated with them in the foundation of the General Education Fund and other purposeful "philanthropies", of which this is a sample.

Frank C. Root.

There can be no question that Roosevelt paid his debts handsomely, — *with the taxpayers' money and when required, with their lives and the security of the nation.* This makes it hard to draw the line as in so many other similar situations involving the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty, between "contribution" and plain bribery and corruption.

It is interesting to note that none of these generous trustees are to be found on the Board of Directors of Meriwether Reserve Inc. So far as has been determin-

ed, Meriwether Reserve is owned outright by FDR and his family. The land adjacent to the Springs, which normally sold at ten to twenty dollars an acre, was sold to families of the victims who wished to live near them at \$500 a lot, in the name of Sara Delano Roosevelt, the supposed owner and mortgagor.

In 1931 and 1932 Governor Roosevelt engineered important changes in the milk industry, that were highly profitable to Milbank's Borden Company. The sale of synthetic milk, labelled "homogenized" and sold at higher prices, previously had been barred, as adulterated and inferior. It was now permitted. Likewise adulteration of milk with alkalizers, in violation of the Pure Food and Drug Act, and the misrepresentation of pasteurized milk, as absolutely safe, was given the official stamp of approval.

By curious coincidence, in the self-same year which witnessed the momentous changes in the milk industry which added billions of dollars to the milk bill of the public and by the same amount enlarged the take of what Wallace termed the "Milk Trust", Governor Roosevelt's Warm Springs Foundation, received an additional grant of \$5,000 from the Milbank Memorial Fund, the income of which is derived from the stock of one of the components of the "Milk Trust", Milbank's Borden Company.

To collect funds for President Roosevelt's "philanthropy", there were organized the "President's Birthday Balls". The moving spirit behind their origin was the notorious Cities Service utility magnate, Henry L. Doherty, whose dishonest manipulations cost the investing public hundreds of millions of dollars. He shuddered at the fate of Insull and the rest of the utility crowd who were not in Roosevelt's favor. Shying at attempting direct bribery, he turned for advice to his publicity man, Carl Byoir, who enjoyed the strategic position of also representing Roosevelt's Georgia Warm Springs. The outcome was the Birthday Balls which netted Roosevelt's "philanthropy" millions. Doherty calculated well. He was never harassed or prosecuted by Roosevelt's New Deal in spite of the flagrant character of his activities. The Birthday Balls had worked as a "pay-off".

For years, physicians throughout the nation bombarded the Foundation with applications to secure free admission of poor victims of infantile paralysis to Georgia Warm Springs. Though millions of dollars had

been contributed by the nation for this purpose, applications for free services were made without success, except in rare cases. In the years 1933 to 1935, the physicians were flatly told by the Foundation that it did not welcome charity patients, except under very special circumstances.

Such special circumstances appear to have been primarily publicity value. A paralyzed newspaperman sponsored by the Hearst newspaper chain closely identified at the time with the President was one such case accepted gratis. Poor patients for whom communities gathered funds and paid the charges were accepted. To be sure, amid clicking cameras and nation-wide publicity, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, with great ostentation, turned over to a poor victim of the disease the thousand dollar prize awarded her by Gimbel & Company *for the specific purpose that it be spent at Georgia Warm Springs*. It looked much like taking money out of one pocket and putting it into another.

When favorable publicity was not involved, however, the physician was informed that the basic rate for stay at Warm Springs was about forty-five dollars a week, with various charges for extras. This charge is made in a section of the country where the cost of living is so low that the average Relief allowance a week for a family of six was two to three dollars. If the physician made so bold as to inquire what was being done with the millions gathered for the treatment of poor folks at the Springs, he was belatedly informed that in very special cases the basic charge would be reduced fifty percent.

With election in sight, and with an eye to an undercurrent of unfavorable comment on the activities of the Foundation and due to quiet but persistent investigation by interested parties, the tactics of the Foundation were changed. After the "Birthday Balls," a pretense of an accounting was made in the press. It related that part of the fund gathered from the parties was left with the local committee to pay expenses and to provide for local infantile paralysis work; and that a small fraction of the sum turned over to the President's Foundation had been paid out to specific institutions and investigators for research work on the disease.

A written request was made by me to the Foundation in April 1936, asking that two poor patients, who could manage to raise only enough money to pay their train

fares to the Springs, be admitted for treatment of paralysis. It elicited the following reply:

THE GEORGIA WARM SPRINGS FOUNDATION
50 East 42nd Street
New York City

Franklin D. Roosevelt,
President

Keith Morgan,
Vice-President

Basil O'Connor, Treasurer

April 29, 1936

Emanuel M. Josephson, M. D.
108 East 81st Street
New York, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Josephson:

Your letter of April 28th has been received during the absence of Doctor LeRoy W. Hubbard, who is Director of Extension. Immediately upon his return, in about ten days, it shall be brought to his attention."

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Katherine Woods

On the specified date Dr. Hubbard communicated with me by telephone and explained that the capacity of Warm Springs is limited, and that only a few charity patients are taken. He offered the suggestion that the Springs therapy is not recommended for all victims of the disease. After inquiring the age of the patients, he definitely eliminated the school child, because he said the Springs were not advisable for younger children unless accompanied by nurse and governess.

He suggested that they might consider the admission of the adolescent victim, provided that after an examination by himself he felt that the patient might be benefited by the Springs. There was a change of tone and attitude as compared with previous communications; straightforward rejection of the charity patient was replaced by qualified evasion, which offers less startling contrast with the objects for which the public have been led to contribute to the institution.

My curiosity in the matter was aroused by my experience and information. I addressed the following letter to President Roosevelt:

May 27, 1936.

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, President
Meriwether Reserve, Inc.,
White House,
Washington, D. D.

Dear Sir:

In the course of a study of various types of social

service and philanthropic organizations, and of their financial structure, for a volume which I am writing on the subject, I have come across the data relating to Georgia Warm Springs Foundation of New York and the Meriwether Reserve Inc. of Delaware, concerning which I ask your help and explanation.

In reply to an inquiry, Mr. Basil O'Connor, Treasurer of the Foundation, has informed me that the Foundation has issued no financial reports, and that its property is held by the Meriwether Reserve Inc. of Delaware, a business corporation.

The Secretary of State of Delaware informs me, on the other hand, that the Meriwether Reserve Inc. files no financial reports or list of stockholders.

1. Where may I secure financial statements, lists of contributions, and stockholders' lists of the Meriwether Reserve, Inc. for the years since 1926, when it was organized as the Georgia Warm Springs Inc., Delaware, until the end of the last fiscal year?
2. What is the exact relation between the Meriwether Reserve Inc and Georgia Warm Springs Foundation of New York, and what is the objective and function of the two different organizations incorporated in different states?
3. As a business organization so incorporated, does the Meriwether Reserve Inc. pay dividends on its stock?
4. If so, what have the dividend rates been since the date of organization?
5. In what manner does this dual structure affect the handling of charitable cases, and what percentage of the cases are free and charitable, part pay, and full pay?

I would highly appreciate an early reply to these questions, for the survey must go to press in the near future.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Emanuel M. Josephson

This letter elicited several telephone inquiries from agents of the Meriwether Reserve Inc. about the source of my information. The inquiring agent assured me that I would receive a prompt reply. No reply has ever been received before or since the publication of the study.

Before the Birthday Balls of January 1938, there was announced a "reorganization of the philanthropy."

There was formed a new foundation, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. The public was high-pressured by such a foundation propagandist as the avowed left-winger, Paul de Kruif, into contributing to this new Foundation. Keith Morgan, vice-president of the Foundation, took over the publicity and management of the campaign, and even larger sums of money were mulcted from the public. Dr. Joseph S. Wall, professor of diseases of children of Georgetown University Medical School, stated before the Subcommittee on Public Health, Hospitals and Charities of D. C. on January 7, 1938, that the money for the Foundation derived from the Birthday Balls would be devoted to animal research. "Not a penny of that fund will go to buying a crutch for a crippled child. The majority of the dollars in that fund will go for the purchase of monkeys," he testified.

About one month after the January 1938 Birthday Balls of the reorganized Foundation, a naive, pathetic letter by Mrs. Martha Hickok appeared in the *Miami Daily News*. She related the experience of her mother in her persistent attempts for six years to gain free admission of her child, a victim of infantile paralysis, to Georgia Warm Springs.

The application was repeatedly rejected by the "board of advisers" though Dr. Hoke considerably assured the mother that the child's dependence on crutches could be eliminated in two years at the Foundation. He offered as an explanation for the child's rejection the information that the Foundation limited its charity cases to a ratio of ten charity cases for every ninety full pay cases, the writer stated.

Mrs. Hickok related that not even the intercession of her postmaster or of Postmaster General Farley helped. She stated that she had a large collection of correspondence from the Foundation extending over a period of six years which showed she believed, that unless one had loads of money Georgia Warm Springs is just a crippled child's dream of paradise. She stated that her motive in writing was to correct the false impression that the Warm Springs Foundation is open and available to any infantile paralysis sufferer who admittedly might be helped.

A million or more dollars was raised by the 1938 Birthday Ball and by subscriptions for the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. The active principals of that Foundation nevertheless participated in in-

roducing legislation at Albany in March 1938 which provided free medical care by the State or City of New York for the victims of infantile paralysis.

Accounts of some of the money collected for the Foundation were published in December 1939. But they were very loose and failed to account for much of the money that has been taken in. They showed, however, that at least some of the money collected for the relief of infantile paralysis victims may be used for that purpose.

There is much additional evidence on hand that Roosevelt cared as little for the victims of infantile paralysis as he cared for the interests of the nation at large, except where political and financial advantages accrued. Most flagrant was the death of scores of humans resulting from the administration of the so-called "immune serum" in the treatment of the cases suspected of having infantile paralysis during the epidemic of 1931. This was a case of deliberate risk and sacrifice of human life by experimentation, engaged in by a Committee of the New York Academy of Medicine which was headed by the late Dr. Linsley R. Williams, whose position interlocked Organized Medicine and Social Service. Dr. Williams also was mentioned as the prospective incumbent of the post of Secretary of Health which it was reported was to be created for him on the Cabinet of President Roosevelt, after he had written an article, published in *Collier's* magazine, certifying that Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt was physically and mentally fit for the Presidency of the United States.

The sale of the fake cure and the attendant publicity were designed to build up Dr. Linsley Williams as a national figure and to publicize the Medical-Social-Service Trust which he dominated, as a prelude to his expected political advancement and as a prelude to turning over the control of medicine, under national legislation, to the Trust. The infantile paralysis epidemic was used also as a pretext for raising the price of milk to the poor of New York City in the midst of the depression to a higher figure than prevailed in time of prosperity, by the elimination of loose milk. The Milbank Memorial Fund and the Rockefeller Institute played dominant roles in both campaigns.

In this exploit, the Medical-Social-Service Trust, under Dr. Williams, was up to one of its old tricks—stealing the stale thunder of medical experimenters as

a pretext for a wild burst of quackish publicity. The "immune serum" was known to be worthless and dangerous long before the human experiment was started. Within two weeks before the date when it was advertised and publicized as a "cure" for infantile paralysis, the National Health Institute of the United States Health Public Service reported on a series of cautious experiments and studies made with it on monkeys over a period of three years. The Institute reported that the serum was both worthless and dangerous when used in many of the manners suggested.

The serum goes back to the days of the French investigator, Levaditi, who discovered in 1911 that the virus contained in nasal drippings of victims of the disease, which would cause infantile paralysis when injected into the nervous system of monkeys, could be neutralized and made harmless by the blood of adults or of persons who had had infantile paralysis, when the two were mixed in a test tube. In the New York City epidemic of 1916, Dr. Herman Schwartz had tried out such a serum on a group of his patients. He reported that he found it not only worthless but actually injurious and deadly when used in certain manners.

The best informed authorities on the subject including Dr. Josephine Neal and Dr. William Parks of the New York City Health Department Research Laboratories, both of whom were members of the Committee, constituting a minority, had unequivocally condemned the serum on the basis of accumulated data. They pronounced it to be of questionable value and actually injurious when used in certain manners. As early as 1929, Dr. Josephine Neal had pointed out in her publications the danger of the use of the serum in poliomyelitis, and had condemned it in no uncertain terms. All the cumulative evidence pointed to the fact that this supposed "cure" exploited by the Academy was both worthless and injurious.

Dr. Williams, himself, characterized the use of this serum at a hearing, of the Board of Censors of the New York County Medical Society of March 11, 1932, as a "clinical study," or experiment on humans, undertaken by the Committee to prove or disprove the value, or lack of value of the serum. Dr Williams stated at the hearing,

"This study was made, really, upon the recommendation of Dr. Simon Flexner and Dr. George Draper.

Dr. Flexner and Dr. Draper were particularly interested and also was Dr. Amoss and Dr. Aycok. Dr. Neal did a great deal of work on this subject some eight or nine years ago in the 1918 epidemic, and I think she has always had the feeling that this serum was of very doubtful value."

In other words, Dr. Williams placed the responsibility for this disastrous experiment squarely on the Rockefeller Institute, of which he was a director, and on its staff.

At a discussion before the Society of Medical Jurisprudence on October 12, 1931, Dr. Josephine Neal said:

"I have always opposed the use of serum intraspinally on account of the consequent meningeal irritation that so often follows . . . *sometimes with disastrous results.*"

Dr. Sobel, an eminent pediatrician, confirmed Dr. Neal's statement in the following words:

"If the truth were told about the use of the serum intraspinally I am afraid that some sad stories would come out. I have some good reason to believe that several deaths have occurred as a result of its use in this way, and while names such as status thymolymphaticus have been used for the cause of death, it has been more directly attributable to meningeal irritation than anything else."

The concurring statement of Dr. Neal and Sobel make it clear that it is widely known in the medical profession that it is a common expedient of the Medical-Service Trust in its exploitation of public health to falsify records to make them show results desired by them. In this manner they often hide from the public the sacrifice of human life that results from their activities.

In spite of its worthlessness and its known danger, the Committee on Poliomyelitis of the New York Academy of Medicine undertook to experiment on humans with this "cure" in manners that were known to be most dangerous, including injection into the spine. It solicited the serum from former victims of the disease among the public, most of whom contributed their blood free of charge. Governor Roosevelt contributed 500 c.c. of serum. In the role of an "authority" on the subject, he wrongly informed the public that doctors who would not use the "cure" were ignorant and not to be trusted. This statement proved as true and reli-

able as have many of his other statements on the subject of health, medicine and other topics.

The Academy then sold this serum to the public through its agents, young and inexperienced physicians, for as much as the traffic would bear, usually twenty-five dollars a dose. In violation of the municipal law of New York City, even charity patients in municipal hospitals were compelled to pay a minimum price of twenty-five dollars for this supposed cure; and were led to believe that failure to use it meant death or worse.

The outcome of this experiment was exactly what might have been expected on the basis of accumulated data, highly disastrous. The published report of the Committee stated that the serum had been used only in cases which had developed no paralysis. This meant that many of those cases did not have infantile paralysis to begin with; for there is no positive method of diagnosis of the disease until paralysis develops. The death rate, however, among the group treated with the serum was considerably higher than among the proved victims of infantile paralysis. The incidence of paralysis among the former was also higher than among those not treated with the "cure."

The case of Marvin Zanger illustrates the danger of the serum. The story is best told in a letter which his mother wrote me.

November 28, 1931.

Dr. E. M. Josephson

Dear Sir:

Read your statement in the papers of a week ago pertaining to the serum which was used during the epidemic. May I state my case, please.

On August 19, my boy, nine and a half years old, became ill . . . We took him to the Morrisania Hospital at 168th Street and Walton Avenue, The Bronx. While admitting my child who was so, so very ill, I was told that it was necessary to use serum and it would cost twenty-five dollars. I'm an American woman, and had been reading the paper, but had never noticed a fee for serum mentioned. I spoke of this to one of the doctors and he informed me there was a charge for it at all times. Of course, being a mother and so frightened, I borrowed the twenty-five dollars to pay for it. I sat with my dear child for three hours before Dr. . . . [an agent of the New York Academy of Medicine] came . . .

My child died anyway. I have not been able to write you before this, as my heart is broken. But in order to help others who may not be able to borrow as I did, and to help you who are brave and big enough to come forward [I write].

Mrs. Diana Zanger
1925 Gerard Avenue

The circumstances and the records of the case left little room for doubt that the death was directly due to the irritation of the serum and its mode of administration.

Another equally tragic case was related by another mother who wrote to Mrs. Zanger:

"Several weeks ago, I read in the New York *American* about your suit against the New York Academy of Medicine for the loss of your child from infantile paralysis.

"Your sufferings find an echo in my heart, for I am also an unfortunate mother who lost a four-year-old son. I have a daughter aged twenty, in the hospital, who is a sufferer from the same dreadful scourge.

"My boy was running around well in the hospital until the serum was administered. He died within five days.

"My daughter was paralyzed following the serum. She is in the hospital for the past seven months. God, if I could only lose my memory completely!"

The suit brought by Mrs. Zanger for the death of her child was settled by the parties out of court.

To stop the sale of this quack cure, I filed charges with Governor F. D. Roosevelt against the Academy and its Committee, accusing them of sacrificing human lives in what they chose to call an "experiment." The Academy pleaded "charity" in defense and extenuation of its acts but stopped the sale of the serum. The fate of these charges reveals in its full extent the sincerity of Roosevelt's "humanitarianism."

My indictment of Dr. Williams, and of the Academy Committee and their serum was embarrassing to Governor Roosevelt for several reasons. First, Dr. Williams was a personal friend and an important political ally. Second, his Georgia Warm Springs enterprise had been widely publicized as supplying some of the serum used for the "cure." Third, Roosevelt and his campaign managers had used the serum as the basis of large number of "human interest" press releases, and his campaign had played up his "humanitarianism" thus manifested.



STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
ALBANY

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
GOVERNOR

February 15, 1932

Dr. E. M. Josephson,
993 Park Avenue,
New York City.

My dear Dr. Josephson:

I have read very carefully the latest charges which you have submitted to me under date of January 30, 1932. I have also read the several previous communications you addressed to me and to the State Health Commissioner, Dr. Thomas Parran, Jr.

I have been fully informed concerning the activities of the State Department of Health in its splendid efforts to minimize the effects of the poliomyelitis epidemic and to limit the spread of this disease, for which I requested a special appropriation from the Legislature and received their approval.

The charges you make are not substantiated by facts, and are therefore dismissed.

Very sincerely yours.

This letter was received in reply to my protest against State Commissioner of Health Dr. Thomas Parran's dismissal of my charges branding the infantile paralysis "curative" serum a worthless and dangerous quack remedy, the use of which resulted in many deaths. This letter constituted in substance an affirmation of the value of the serum. It is dated months later than the report of the Poliomyelitis Committee which fully supported my charges. Dr. Parran has risen to greater heights of authority and power since this incident, on appointment by President Roosevelt. The use of the serum has been abandoned.

For obvious political reasons, the Governor failed to act on the charges himself. He passed the buck to New York State Commissioner of Health, Thomas Parran, later Surgeon General of U. S. Public Health Service. Dr. Parran owed his appointment as Commissioner to Dr. Linsley R. Williams and had himself actively advocated the use of this infantile paralysis "cure."

As might have been expected, Dr. Parran refused to hold hearings on the charges. Several months after they had been filed with him, Parran brushed aside my charges in a letter released to the press, in which he stated that he himself was involved in the charges, consequently they could not be true. Dr. Parran's denial of the truth of the charges followed closely upon the tacit acknowledgment of the Committee in its own report that my charges were absolutely true.

Commissioner Parran recommended, furthermore, that my zeal in protecting the health of the public and in preventing human sacrifice should be rebuked. He recommended that I be censured for my efforts.

I protested in vain to Governor Roosevelt against this formerly un-American procedure of permitting a man accused of a crime, and confessedly guilty, to be his own judge. The Governor replied affirming, in substance, the value of the "cure," directly contradicting the report already rendered by the Committee.

The trail of deaths arising from human experiments with infantile paralysis did not terminate with the tragedies of the "curative" serum. On the contrary, the protection offered to human experimenters by government authorities and the powers of State Medicine, constituted by the Health Departments and their Commissioners, seconded by the great influence of the interested social service rackets, encouraged further human experimentation.

Financed in part by a small grant from the moneys collected through the "President's Birthday Balls," Dr. John A. Kolmer of Temple University, Philadelphia, undertook to infect a group of children with infantile paralysis virus that was supposedly attenuated by treatment with sodium ricinoleate, a soap made from castor oil. On October 8, 1935, Dr. T. M. Rivers of the Rockefeller Institute, reported the results at a meeting of the American Public Health Association. Dr. Rivers' announcement read as follows:

"Only eight out of twelve thousand children who

were injected (with the infective material) developed the disease."

In defense of this situation, Dr. Rivers offered the "In the case of the eight children, *it is probable* that they had incurred the malady before they had been injected."

It is also possible, nay probable, that the infections and deaths were caused by the injected virus.

These deaths illustrate the menace of authoritarian, irresponsible State Medicine to the health and life of the public. They should be a warning to repudiate the various compulsory health insurance schemes which the self-same group as were responsible for these killings are now seeking to foist upon the public.

In 1943, in response to the pressure of an aroused public opinion which demanded a truthful statement of the uses made of the moneys raised for Georgia Warm Springs, a report was issued by the Foundation. No mention was made in the report of the huge individual donations that had been subscribed initially by the Moffetts, the Milbanks and others; or of Meriwether Reserve Inc. of Delaware, its resources or its connection with the Foundation or the uses that it made of the moneys that had been diverted to it; or of how much of the funds raised by the public goes to help the 63% of the victims which it classes as "aid", in contrast to the fully and exorbitantly charged "pay" victims; or if any of the victims are really full charity cases or if a large income is required to supplement the help given the "aid" cases; or if discrimination against colored victims despite acceptance of contributions from colored folks, will ever be eliminated in the institution controlled by a family who have given so much lip service to the colored cause.

There is no record that any colored victim of infantile paralysis has ever been admitted to Georgia Warm Springs. It is a case of "Do as I say, not as I do."

Dr. Haven Emerson, Emeritus Professor of Public Health Administration at Columbia University condemned the racket that has been built up about Georgia Warm Springs in no uncertain terms, in giving the annual Cutter Lecture at the Harvard University Medical School November 28, 1947. He stated:

"There is no more pitiful picture of the importance and ineptitude of popular enthusiasm about widely publicized disease than the *fantastic promotion of un-*

profitable measures financed with reckless extravagance for the control of poliomyelitis.

"These manifestations of newspaper or public relations experts *concerned with dime collections on a percentage basis* makes monkeys of honest health officers while hysterical warnings and inflated news items inflame local fears of a disease *which no health officer has yet said with honesty that he has modified as to prevalence or fatality.*"

The last statement is of exceptional interest because Dr. Emerson was himself a member of the New York Academy of Medicine Poliomyelitis Committee that sold the phony serum "cure" in 1931. He confirms the charges which I made against the Committee to Governor F. D. Roosevelt and which quack "Dr." Roosevelt denied, in company with his distinguished Commissioner of Health, later Surgeon General of the U. S. Public Health Service, and Trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation, Dr. Thomas Parran.

"Voluntary agencies", Dr. Emerson continued, "rising high on the emotional appeal of the dramatic deformities and sudden deaths from infantile paralysis so mask the truth and exploit the seasonally recurrent prevalence of this disease that rational education of the public *as to the state of our ignorance of effective measures* is almost unheard amid the din of personalities.

"The health officer is humiliated and his prestige is lowered before the public when daily bulletins come to the press from the hirelings of philanthropy instead of from the responsible officers of the United States Public Health Services, which is (Ed. this unfortunately is not true because of the calibre and allegiance of some of its Surgeon Generals) the only trustworthy source of reliable information of any of such epidemic disease and its national aspect."

Though there appears an element of professional jealousy in Dr. Emerson's statements, there emerges a picture of the enormous commercial and political pressure that was brought to bear on him, and other honest health officers, to have compelled him before his retirement to support such frauds as the New York Academy of Medicine's "immune serum", Georgia Warm Springs, and other equally creditable "philanthropies" that have been wrought by Bismarck's imitators as political devices.

The use of foundations and other pseudo-philan-

thropies for commercial and political purposes is quite commonplace. The "non-profit" corporation is the only type that can be readily chartered in New York State for medical and social service purposes, and have the advantage of being tax exempt. Many of them have proved extraordinarily profitable to their operators. No clear statements have ever been issued by Georgia Warm Springs Foundation, and no statements have been issued by Meriwether Reserve to indicate what profit, if any accrued to Franklin Delano Roosevelt or his family from them, in addition to the publicity and political advantage. But the Dynasty members are far too practical to go into any venture solely for their health or for principle.

The picture presented by Roosevelt's infantile paralysis activities does not bespeak integrity or even humanitarianism. It confirms the picture presented by so many of his activities, cupidity, corruption, low cunning and duplicity.

CHAPTER XII

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT HIGH FINANCIER

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, as poor relation of some of the wealthiest clans in the world, could have become identified through them with some of the leading enterprises in the country. But the mental aberration and lack of judgement, that made it impossible for him to attain a passing grade in his law studies and to graduate, was aggravated by the after-effects of the attack of encephalomyelitis that intensified his high suggestibility. This led to his being used in a number of off-color stock jobbing deals that rooked the investing public. It is questionable whether any one man was more consistently identified during the prosperous 1920's with enterprises that trimmed the investors than "high financier" Franklin Delano Roosevelt. His record was consistently putrid.

It is more or less consistent with his admiration of things German, with which he was imbued in his childhood, that three of the four stock flotations with which he was identified related to Germany. The fourth re-

600,000,000 German Marks

Divided into 60,000 Common Shares, par value 10,000 Marks each
Application will be made to increase the Common Share Capital of this company.

UNITED EUROPEAN INVESTORS, LIMITED

(Incorporated under Charter of the Dominion of Canada)

PRESIDENT

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt

Vice-President, Fidelity & Deposit Co. of Maryland

VICE-PRESIDENT & CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

William Schall
William Schall & Co., Bankers, New York

TREASURER

August Scherer
45 William St., New York

SECRETARY

A. R. Roberts
7 Pine Street, New York

DIRECTORS

William Schall

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Almet F. Jenks, New York

Andrew Haydon, Ottawa, Canada

ADVISORY BOARD IN GERMANY

Senator August Lattmann

Former partner, G. Amsinck & Co., New York

Senator John von Berenberg Gossler

Partner, John von Berenberg Gossler & Co., Hamburg

Alfred Arntholt
Hamburg

BANKERS AND DEPOSITORS

Deutsche Bank, Hamburg

William Schall & Co., New York

Norddeutsche Bank, Hamburg

TRANSFER AGENTS

The Bank of America, New York

The purpose of this company is to exchange its shares for German marks held by American investors, and to invest these marks in actual values in Germany. Carefully selected investments will be made in real estate, mortgages, securities and participation in Industrial and Commercial enterprises.

The company's facilities and connections enable it to secure attractive and sound investments; the directors will take advantage of the present money stringency in Germany and of the purchasing power of the mark, which is far greater than is reflected by exchange quotations.

Mr. William Schall, Chairman of the Executive Committee, was sent to Germany by the company on a special mission to make a careful survey of German economic conditions. Mr. Schall conferred with the leading German financial authorities, and with their assistance selected the German Advisory Committee.

We summarize as follows the correspondence received recently from Mr. Schall:

"Since arriving in Germany on July 18, 1922, I have been in frequent conference with leaders in Banking, Industrial and Commercial circles.

I find that the purposes of your Company meet with general approval here and are deemed financially and economically sound. . . .

There is a great stringency of money and credit in Germany at present; and sound and attractive investments can be secured for marks at prices which should ensure profitable returns coupled with safety of principal.

We are fortunate in having secured the services of men composing our German Advisory Committee. Their standing and record in business and financial circles in Germany and their intimate knowledge of German conditions and opportunities ensure adequate supervision of the company's investments.

I have also arranged that the Deutsche Bank and the Norddeutsche Bank at Hamburg shall be the Company's depositories."

The shares being of Mark denomination enable all owners to acquire them in exchange for their holdings of German Marks.

PRICE Par: 10,000 Marks per share

Applications for subscriptions to the Common Shares of the United European Investors, Ltd., at 10,000 German Marks per share, will be received by the undersigned, if, as and when issued. Subscriptions will be entered in the order in which they are received. The right is reserved by the Company to reject any application, to make allotments on subscriptions, or close the subscription books at any time without notice.

This company does not in any case advocate the further purchase with American dollars of German marks. Its purpose is solely the placing of actual values behind marks already owned in America.

The legality of this issue has been approved by counsel for the Company: Jenks & Rogers, New York, and McGiverin, Haydon and Ebbs, Ottawa, Canada.

Application will be made in due course to list these shares on the N. Y. Curb Market.

Application for these shares may be filed with any recognized broker or financial institution or with:

William Schall & Company

45 William Street

New York

(The statements contained herein, while not guaranteed, have been obtained from authoritative sources, and we believe them to be correct.)

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt was President of the UNITED EUROPEAN INVESTORS, LTD. a Canadian corporation. Its object was "to take advantage of the money stringency in Germany". The SEC would be sure to reject its offer of "profitable returns and safety of principal". As might have been expected under the circumstances, the German government adopted regulations which trapped money invested by foreigners and eventually wiped out the principal.

lated to the elimination of labor from merchandizing. As in the case of Cousin Ulysses S. Grant the glamour of the family name was peddled to none too scrupulous manipulators to assist them in unloading questionable stocks on the sucker public.

The first of these dubious ventures, launched in 1922, was the United European Investors Ltd., that was incorporated under the charter of the Dominion of Canada. Its president was listed as Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, then vice president of the Fidelity & Deposit Company of Maryland. His associates in the enterprise included August Scherer, William Schall, Senator John von Berenberg Gossler, partner of the Hamburg banking firm of the same name and Alfred Arnthal of Hamburg. Its stock was payable in German marks and was sold to the public in denominations of 10,000 marks a share, with a total capitalization of 600,000,000 marks. Its purpose as stated in its advertisements was "to take advantage of the present money stringency in Germany". The advertisements represented that "sound and attractive investments can be secured for marks at prices *which should ensure profitable returns coupled with safety of principal*". At a time when many colossal fortunes were piled up in Germany by shrewd, able manipulators such as Stinnes, Thyssen, Cagliostro and others by taking advantage of the manipulation of currency, FDR's enterprise came to an ignominious end.

In 1927 Franklin Delano Roosevelt was identified with another stock jobbing scheme for the benefit of Germany that cost the American investment public heavily—the International Germanic Trust Company. Its purpose was to further trade with Germany and to deal in German acceptances. The enterprise showed losses from the very start. The stock which was sold to the American public for \$170 a share was eventually liquidated for \$19 a share.

The following year found Franklin Delano Roosevelt used as "sucker bait" on the board of directors of the Consolidated Automatic Merchandising Company abbreviated to "Camco." The purpose of the enterprise was to eliminate labor from the sale of an ever increasing array of merchandise, and to sell by means of automatic vending machines. Eleven million dollars were extracted from the public purse for stock in units of one common and one preferred share at \$55 a unit, in July 1928. At about this time Roosevelt secured the gubernatorial nomination.

New Issue

200,000 Shares
\$3.50 Cumulative Convertible Preferred Stock, No Par Value

200,000 Shares
Common Stock, No Par Value
(Voting Trust Certificates)
Listed on Chicago and Boston Stock Exchanges

Consolidated Automatic Merchandising Corporation

"CAMCO"

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

ALBERT C. ALLEN, New York,
Executive Vice-President and Director, United
Cigar Sales Company of America.
ROBERT E. ALLEN, New York,
Vice-President, Central Union Trust Company of
New York; Director, General Vending Corporation.
ALBERT M. CHAMBERS, New York,
F. J. Lisman & Company.
A. GRANAT, New York, Vice-President,
Vice-President, United Cigar Sales Co. of
America.
F. J. LISMAN, New York,
F. J. Lisman & Company;
Chairman, General Vending Corporation
SAUNDERS NORVELL, New York,
President, Remington Arms Company.

STANLEY NOWAK, New York,
Vice-President and Director, General Vending
Corporation.
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, New York,
Vice-President, Fidelity and Deposit Co. of Maryland.
A. J. SACK, New York, Chairman,
Chairman, Automatic Merchandising Corporation
of America.
JOSEPH J. SCHERMACK, New York, President,
President, Schermack Corporation of America.
NATHAN A. SMYTH, New York, Vice-President and
General Counsel,
Smyth, Kaufmann & O'Connell, Attorneys.
ROBERT P. SNIFFEN, New York,
Formerly Director, Sears, Roebuck & Co.

Transfer Agents:
Equitable Trust Company of New York
The National Shareholders Bank, Boston
First Trust and Savings Bank, Chicago

Registrars:
Central Union Trust Company of New York
The Old Colony Trust Company, Boston
Illinois Merchants Trust Company, Chicago

Preferred Stock entitled to cumulative preferential dividends of \$1.50 per annum, payable quarterly on March 15, June 15, September 15 and December 15 in each year. Convertible for five years into Common Stock on the following basis: The first 50,000 shares tendered for conversion, 1 1/4 shares Common for each share of Preferred; the second 50,000 shares, 1 1/2 shares for each share of Preferred; the third 50,000 shares 1 3/4 shares for each share of Preferred; and the fourth 50,000 shares for each share. Callable as a whole or in part on 60 days notice at \$55 per share and accrued dividends, the conversion privilege to be added to the 1935 day before the redemption date. After 1935 conversion privilege ceases, a 1% cumulative sinking fund applicable to the maximum amount thereafter outstanding will operate by purchase in the open market or by drawings of \$25 and accrued dividends. The Preferred Stock and the Common Stock will have one vote for each share. The Common Stock will all be deposited in a voting trust.

CAPITALIZATION

	Authorized	To be presently Outstanding (not exceeding)
\$3.50 Cumulative Convertible Preferred Stock, No Par Value	200,000 sha.	200,000 sha.
Common Stock, No Par Value	4,000,000 "	*2,050,000 "
*Assuming acquisition of all stock of subsidiaries.		
Balance to be held in the Treasury for future requirements of the Corporation, including stock subject to outstanding warrants and options and stock reserved for the conversion rights of the \$3.50 Preferred Stock		1,950,000 sha.

VOTING TRUSTEES (Common Stock)

ROBERT E. ALLEN, New York,
Vice-President, Central Union Trust Company of
New York.
A. E. BATES, New York,
Vice-President, Equitable Trust Co. of New York.
JOHN GASTON, New York,
Hirsch, Lillenthal & Company.
A. GRANAT, New York,
Vice-President, United Cigar Sales Co. of America

F. J. LISMAN, New York,
F. J. Lisman & Company.
A. J. SACK, New York,
Chairman, Consolidated Automatic Merchandising
Corporation.
E. S. STEINAM, Broker,
37 William Street, New York.

Offered in Units of:

One Share of \$3.50 Cumulative Convertible Preferred Stock, No Par Value
(bearing dividends from August 1, 1935)

and

One Share of Common Stock, No Par Value (Voting Trust Certificates)

Price per Unit: \$55

These Shares are offered by us only, as and if issued and received by us and subject to the approval of counsel.

Legal Opinion: For F. J. Lisman & Company: Cravath, deGardner, Swaine & Wood, New York.

For the Corporation: Smyth, Kaufmann & O'Connell, New York.

Auditors: Haskins & Sells and Klein, Hinds and Fink, New York.

All statements herein are based on information which we regard as reliable, and while to no extent are they to be construed as representations by us, we ourselves have relied upon them in the purchase of this Stock.

F. J. LISMAN & CO.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Vice President, Fidelity and Deposit Co. of Maryland, was window trimming for "CAMCO" that rooked investors to the tune of \$11,000,000. It lost money from the very start and failed in one of the periods of highest prosperity in the nation's history. But the American investor has been swindled just as ruthlessly by all of the New Deal measures supposedly designed for their protection.

It is a curious fact that in this instance, as in others that involve Roosevelt and the Dynasty, the radicals and so-called "liberals" made no outcry of "Wall Street candidate" against Roosevelt. In publications that attacked the wealthy, no mention was ever made of the Roosevelt-Delano clan except in the most favorable light. Thus left-winger Ferdinand Lundberg in his "America's 60 Families" advertised as a "sensational exposé" of "malefactors of great wealth", makes no mention of the Roosevelt family or of the Delanos except to mention Fred Delano's position with the Federal Reserve Bank. This appears to make it clear who inspired these attacks.

The advertising and literature which was used in the sale of "Camco" stock was so laden with deception and misrepresentation as to be notorious even in those days. The advertising dilated in glowing terms on the prospects of the industry, quoting numerous authorities, including Babson, on automatic sales machines, in a manner as to lead the prospective buyers to believe that they commended Camco.

But they mentioned nothing about the assets. To cover up the question of assets, the publicity matter expounded on "good-will industries" in which it classed Camco with the William Wrigley Jr. Company and the Coca Cola Company. It stated that the Company had a five year plan, of the type that is so familiar in the world of crackpots; and it represented that by the third year the dividends would be 18%.

Despite the prosperity which prevailed in the nation at the time it was started. "Camco" lost money from the beginning. A little more than a year after the stock was unloaded on the public, it was selling for fewer pennies than it had had originally sold for dollars. Virtually the entire sum was a dead loss to the American public. It is difficult to understand why those involved were not prosecuted for using the mails. Their political influence was probably what accounted for their immunity.

By 1935, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, ex-Wall Street buccaneer, had "got religion" and assumed the appearance of virtue. Pontifically he pronounced in one of his fireside broadcasts, in December of that year,

"One of the greatest curses of American life has been speculation".

At the very time he was making this broadcast, he was

engaged in making life easier, and making plucking the public safer, for the nation's grand-scale swindlers by advocacy, support and administration of his Agricultural Allotment Plan, his SEC, the I.C.C. which he had packed in favor of Dynastic plunderers of the railroads, and his utility death sentence.

The American investor has been swindled out of more money under the New Deal in a decade, by measures that it pretended were designed to protect the public, than it had been by all the prior frauds in a century of Wall Street's history. The New Deal made swindling ultra-safe, ultra-legal and enormously profitable for the Dynasty and its allies, by arranging to have the frauds perpetrated for them by government agencies, with the full sanction of the law; and has given them a virtual monopoly of all important industries.

From the viewpoint of the Dynasty, the business and stock market policies of their agent, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, were a "New Deal" indeed. From the viewpoint of the public, they were the same, swindling "Old Deal" intensified to the *nth* degree, with all possibilities of legal redress against the swindlers wiped out, and their swindling legalized and perpetrated for them through government agencies which they control.

CHAPTER XIII

SYNTHETIC "LIBERAL"

NEW YORK'S DYNASTIC GOVERNOR

Georgia Warm Springs, Meriwether Reserve Inc. and their principals were munificently provided for by the interests that wanted to use the Roosevelt name for their own political and financial advantage. F. D. R. was groomed to be advanced along the path followed by two of his Dynastic predecessors—Martin Van Buren and Theodore Roosevelt—to the post of Governor of New York State, as a stepping stone to the White House.

For almost half a century the Dynasty, with its allies in politics, commerce, industry and the press, had devoted all its efforts and spared no energies in making the name "Roosevelt" a magic word by which

to conjure mobs. First Teddy and then Franklin had been made to espouse every rabble-rousing cause and device by the ghost-writers who thought their thoughts and wrote their speeches for them. Great care was exercised, however, so that their thoughts and acts in the fields that immediately concerned their bosses such as finance, commerce, industry, and raids on the public treasury would be all that they should. The lack of public interests in those vital topics simplified the situation. This made it possible for President Theodore Roosevelt with absolute impunity to further the cause and advocate the views and objectives of Morgan bankers who constituted his cabinet; and even to have ghosted such statements of policy as his third annual message by James Stillman, President of the National City Bank.

Especial efforts were made by the Dynasty to identify the Roosevelt name with so-called "Liberalism". By "Liberalism" is meant following the pattern of Marxism disseminated by Bismarck, that pretended an interest in the "lower" or working classes and supported warfare by them on the community and the "upper classes". Anyone who questioned the wisdom of such class warfare or the consequences of the adopted measures, in disrupting the unity of community life, was labelled "reactionary".

The powers-that-be and the shrewder elements among the banking and commercial fraternity including the Rockefellers and the banker-masters of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty, were quick to recognize, as had Bismarck, that the mechanism of Marxist or Communazi totalitarianism could serve their dictatorships and monopolies excellently, if properly framed and manipulated. Thus while the monopoly of industry and commerce was forbidden by law and was railed against by the demagogues and by the "Liberals", a monopoly of labor, through labor unionism, was fully approved by them. And a monopoly of labor is even more effective in attaining a monopoly of industry than monopolist control of industry itself and far more completely enslaves of the worker.

Consequently the politicians formed alliances with the labor "leaders" or barons, extended to them privileges which put them above the law, rendered them completely immune from liability for any of the consequences of their monopoly, and extended them the privilege of levying a private tax on workers for the

right to work. The politicians in effect preyed on labor through the agency of the Labor Barons, and collected their share of the extra-legal tax levied on the workers, in return for having robbed them of their Constitutional rights and sold them out. To the befuddled workers these malefactions were misrepresented as championing labor's "rights". When industry provides jobs that pay the workers salaries, the "take" runs into the hundreds of millions and possibly billions of dollars; and when business depression deprives workers of jobs and incomes, the politicians can still dip their hands into the pockets of the public, worker and non-worker, through the Treasury and taxes.

At the back of the politician, taking the bulk of the spoils, are the real overlords of Labor, the banking element. With their remote control of Labor through Labor Barons, they are in a position to call strikes and manipulate wages to suit their purposes, whether they be crushing a competitor, slowing production so that surplus can be dissipated by industry freed of the need of paying wages, or numerous other malevolent purposes. The ultimate disruption and disintegration of national economy and security which this program implies is exactly the effect that, like Bismarck, the Rockefeller-Standard Oil and the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty allies seek in their plan to attain an American dictatorship and monarchy.

Over a period of fifteen years, the Dynasty had thrown its energies and influence into building up its heir apparent and puppet "leader", Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt, himself, had chosen the husband of his favorite niece as his heir, to carry on in the opposition party when his own would have been voted out. Teddy had not only groomed F. D. R. but had used his presidential patronage to further the latter's career in the Democratic Party. Then he assured the success of that Party by splitting the Republicans with his Bull Moose, third party movement.

The Dynasty's "brain trusters", who served in lieu of F. D. R.'s brains, modified the activities, speeches and platforms on which they ran him for office to match the temper of the times and the audience. Thus in his first Dutchess County campaign, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's platform was highly satisfactory to the Ku Klux Klan element that preponderated in the community; and it truly represented F. D. R.'s own inherent anti-Catholic sentiments that were as deeply root-

ed as his Sephardic Jewish, Huguenot and Episcopalian ancestors. One must appreciate this to understand fully F. D. R.'s treatment of Sheehan and James Farley.

The same opportunism that dictated Klanism and anti-Catholicism in Dutchess County politics, forbade it on the wider, state and national scenes. There F.D.R. was built up as an eager friend of the Catholic, the Jew, the Negro, and all other minorities and fragments. For they still have votes! Al Smith was F. D. R.'s Catholic foil. Roosevelt rejected the New York gubernatorial nomination in Smith's favor, in 1918, condescendingly suggesting that the issue of religion made no difference to the electorate *in wartime* (Lindley, p. 165.) F. D. R., of the Roosevelt name, was volunteered to put Al Smith in nomination at Madison Square Garden in 1924, and again in Houston, in 1928, in order to give him and his newly developed and politically motivated tolerance of the Catholic, a national build-up.

So successful was this maneuver that even the supporters of Smith who had rallied to him and financed him as a champion of Catholicism, supported F. D. R. with alacrity. Raskob agreed to support Georgia Warm Springs Foundation to bribe F. D. R. to accept the Democratic nomination for governor, and contributed to that enterprise a quarter of a million dollars on condition that Roosevelt would not oppose Smith in 1932, if defeated in 1928. As might be expected of a Dynast F. D. R. accepted the money and double-crossed Raskob and Smith. The total "inducement" that Roosevelt received by way of Meriwether Reserve Inc. and Georgia Warm Springs Foundation is reported to have been more than three quarters of a million dollars. Al Smith's presidential backers furnished ample funds for F. D. R.'s campaign.

It is noteworthy that never once in a period of over two decades did the Dynasty fail to secure for F.D.R. the offer of some top nomination in each election. Though each time it was rejected, except the 1914 nomination for U. S. Senator, this device served to keep F. D. R.'s name before the public and build him up as a great white hope.

Roosevelt's "infantile paralysis" was an unfortunate accident that might have completely upset the Dynasty's plans. But fortunately for them, F. D. R. became more amenable than ever because of the very stigmata

of his ailment. His high suggestibility was especially valuable in this direction, when the right party was at hand to do the suggesting.

The designation of the suggesters as "Brain Trust-ers" is inappropriate. They are more appropriately termed "Brains", for they served in lieu of them. The first of these, Louis Howe was put on the job in 1907. Those men thought F. D. R.'s thoughts, wrote his speeches and often spoke his mind for him. They did arrange, however, to have his speech and radio voice trained for him and stylized, so that he would better serve as a mouthpiece for their ideas. His tongue was so glib it took a veritable host of ghostwriters to keep up with it—and they were all "Liberal" a euphemism for what we now recognize as Communist. Never has Charlie McCarthy had a better counterpart in real life.

Some amusing stories of ghost-writing for FDR and his ventriloquism have emerged. The ghost-writers of Roosevelt's speeches were a legion. Many of them had diametrically opposed views. The ghosts included Louis Howe, Raymond Moley, Hugh Johnson, Adolph Berle, Ernest Lindley, Tom Corcoran, Cordell Hull, Sam Rosenman, Robert Sherwood and numerous others. Some of them were written by several ghosts and expressed diametrically opposite views within a single speech.

Moley tells the story of the Chicago acceptance speech. A speech was written for Roosevelt by him and several paragraphs were added by Rosenman. But the orders from above were that it was not to be delivered unless it met with the approval of Louis Howe. In Chicago Howe had written another acceptance speech himself, the contents of which were unknown to Roosevelt. As FDR was being introduced to the convention, Howe handed him, to read, the speech he had prepared. Roosevelt arose with both Moley's and Howe's speeches in his hands. He started reading the Howe speech expressing Howe's views, which he had never seen before, and then went on with Moley's speech expressing the views of Moley and Rosenman, which in no wise agreed.

Roosevelt's tariff speech came into being in the same fashion. Moley asked Cordell Hull to write a speech on the tariff. Hull's production called for free trade or at least a 10% cut in all tariffs. Feeling that this was extreme, Moley called on Hugh Johnson, an advocate of protective tariffs and reciprocal trade treaties, to write another. The two were diametrically opposite.

Shown to Roosevelt, he glanced through them and then asked Moley to "weave the two together". ("After Seven Years," by Raymond Moley).

Roosevelt had practically nothing to do with the writing of his first inaugural address. FDR merely "Charley McCarthyed" expedient ideas prepared for him by the Dynasty's ghosts. Roosevelt had the faculty of mouthing the ideas of others with perfect ventriloquist effects.

The chief contributors to F. D. R.'s gubernatorial campaign funds were: Edward S. Harkness, of the Standard Oil Company; Vincent Astor of the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty; Bernard Baruch of the Ryan-Morgan-Rockefeller group; Owen D. Young of the General Electric Company, a Morgan henchman, Jesse H. Jones and Percy S. Strauss.

One of the first acts of the Roosevelt Administration as might be expected was the organization of a personal "publicity", or "news", bureau, at the expense of the taxpayers. F.D.R. and his financial backers never lost sight of the importance of a constant perversion of public opinion by a stream of "slanted" and poisoned propaganda labelled "publicity".

The Tammany elected and supported Governor of New York, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, paid off well the Rockefeller-Morgan interests that had "taken care" of Meriwether Reserve Inc. and Georgia Warm Springs Foundation, as has been related. He engineered a tighter monopoly for the Milk Trust and a tremendously higher price for milk; at the same time there was provided a special tax on milk compelling the public to pay for false advertising on the value of milk as a food, to encourage the public to drink more of the expensive milk; and an inferior grade of synthetic milk was approved for sale at a higher price than that of natural milk.

The Dynasty and its agent, F. D. R., rewarded the traditional enemy, Tammany Hall, with a sly double-cross that is characteristic of their treatment of everyone except their inner clique and their financial allies. The Rockefeller interests required a change of party in New York City because Tammany opposed the plan of the Rockefeller interests to have the City bail them out of their New York elevated railroad and subway bonds, which they had purchased at a large discount. They wished to force New York City to exchange them for City stock on an equal basis at full face value.

Tammany also traditionally supported the five cent fare and opposed any increase. The transit systems could earn ample with a five cent fare to pay a good return on money actually invested and to provide amply for replacements and new construction, if honestly managed. But the Rockefeller and allied interests had milked them dry and grossly mismanaged them. The Rockefeller plan was to have the City take over the transit systems, rebuild and repair them, build needed additional lines, unify them into a single system, increase the fare to ten cents, and then return the renovated system to them to bleed again. Fiorello LaGuardia was the man whom the Rockefeller interests chose to accomplish their skullduggery, when they could break Tammany's back. The back-breaking job was assigned to F. D. R.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, on the advice of his "Brain Trusters" refused to take any action on the corruption that Rockefeller controlled agencies and later Judge Seabury, by pre-arrangement, kept exposing to public gaze—until after he had secured the Democratic Presidential nomination at Chicago with the support of Tammany's votes. Two months after the nomination, in time to play a role in the pre-election campaign dramatics, it was arranged that Roosevelt should hear charges against Tammany's Mayor James Walker, with Martin Conboy as counsel. The strategy of letting Martin Conboy do the dirty work was that Conboy was a ranking Catholic and action taken on his counsel would not alienate the needed Catholic vote. By this action Roosevelt prepared the way for Rockefeller's LaGuardia and the Fusion ticket. He turned on Tammany only after having enjoyed the benefit of its support at the Chicago convention, when it was too late for that organization to withdraw support. To the voters he presented a pretense of virtue.

Roosevelt's term as Governor was marked by the usual clap-trap "social" measures, such as Workman's Compensation that protected the employers against lawsuits but fail to give adequate compensation to the injured; old age pensions that are totally inadequate for the aged to live on but bar the way to more adequate provision; labor laws that bolster and confirm the unconstitutional and dictatorial powers that had been given to the Labor Barons to levy private taxes on workers, to regiment them and to deprive them of freedom of employment. These gains for Labor Barons,

and their goon, thug and ex-convict henchmen, are sardonically referred to as "Labor's gains". Roosevelt manifested his financial incompetence by leaving the State a ninety million dollars deficit.

Roosevelt's suggestibility, evasiveness, and shiftiness became proverbial during his stay at Albany. He promised everything to everyone and courted the favor of all; but served only his Dynasty and its financial supporters while pretending to champion the "underprivileged" and Labor. As his circle of advisers, manipulators and Brain Trusters grew larger, his pronouncements grew even more contradictory. But they developed the technique of having F. D. R. say one thing and do the very opposite. The behind-the-scene rulers of the Dynasty discovered that with proper publicity the public paid attention only to what was said and forgot or failed to understand what was done. F. D. R. anticipated Goebbels and led the way in the technique of brazen lying that is so loud and insistent that the moronic mobs come to believe the lies more firmly than they ever believed the truth.

The Morgans and the banking fraternity identified with the Dynasty were served to good advantage by the wiping out of the Bank of the United States. In this crime Franklin Delano Roosevelt played a determining role through the New York State Banking Department. The Bank of the United States was then more solvent than the majority of its competitors. This was proved by its paying almost 100 cents on the dollar to its creditors even after it was mercilessly rooked in liquidation proceedings. The reason for it was that Morgan and others of the Dynasty's financial backers objected to the competition and multiplication of Jewish bankers. Roosevelt served them by eliminating the Bank of the United States and by forcing Jonas and his associates to turn over to the Morgan-Rockefeller gang the control of Manufacturers Trust Co.

CHAPTER XIV

HEARST, DUPONT AND ROCKEFELLER ELECT F. D. R.

It is questionable whether in all history a nation has been more completely flim-flammed than in the mat-

ter of the supporters and objectives of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. By the crudest type of deception, that depends for its effectiveness solely upon the uncritical gullibility, the defective memory and pathetic dullness of the average citizen, the public have been led to believe that Roosevelt was an enemy of the very people whose creature he was, who financed his campaigns and controlled him in office. Some of the ablest perverters of public opinion, otherwise known as publicity men, headed by Louis Howe and Charles Michelson engineered this deception.

The public have been led to believe that William Randolph Hearst, the Du Ponts and the Rockefellers were F. D. R.'s worst enemies. But it was they who aided the Dynasty and made him President to serve their purposes and do their bidding. Some of the facts can be gained from an examination of campaign contributions. Contributions to clean up the debt of the Democratic National Committee including \$345,250 owed to John Raskob, a Du Pont associate were: \$39,500 by Pierre S. Du Pont in 1931 and 1932; \$125,000 by Raskob in 1932.

To F. D. R.'s 1932 election campaign there was contributed by : *William Randolph Hearst*, \$30,000; Edward S. Harkness, of Standard Oil Company, \$12,000; John J. Raskob, \$23,000; Bernard M. Baruch, of the Ryan-Rockefeller-Morgan group, \$45,000; Francis P. Garvan, representing the Brady interests, \$15,000; and indirectly the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment supported Roosevelt with sums up to \$100,000 contributed by Lamont Du Pont; Pierre S. Du Pont, Vincent Astor and William H. Woodin, \$35,000 each; Cyrus and Harold F. McCormick contributed \$5,000 and Eleanor Patterson, \$2,000.

William Randolph Hearst's motive in supporting Roosevelt was a matter of urgent personal necessity. Hearst had repeatedly earned the enmity of Rockefeller. In the late 1920's Hearst and Brisbane had expanded their real estate holdings tremendously, financing them through S. W. Straus and Company which they are reputed to have controlled. When the American Bond and Mortgage Company, a competing real estate mortgage house affiliated with the Rockefeller-interests, collapsed directly after the 1929 panic, Hearst and Brisbane saw an opportunity to boost S. W. Straus and Company and their bonds. They ran a running campaign which on one day de-

manded criminal prosecution of the crude frauds perpetrated by the American Bond and Mortgage Company, and on the following day called on the public to buy, as the safest type of investment, S. W. Straus and Company bonds. "Never A Loss In Fifty Years" was the slogan of the Straus Company that they hammered away in their columns.

Intensive publicity of the type that Hearst and Brisbane hurled against the American Bond and Mortgage crowd easily might have led to criminal prosecution. To avert that eventuality, the interests involved had to do something to smash Hearst and Brisbane. The readiest way to accomplish the destruction, in view of their extended and highly mortgaged realty holdings, was to smash the real estate market throughout the country. And the quickest way was to force foreclosure of the highest quality real estate, business property in New York City. That was an important function of the Rockefeller Center.

Rockefeller's Radio City differs in its legal status from any real estate in the country. By Bill No. 296, the 72nd Congress, rushed through in the last hour of the session by Rockefeller's principal agent in Congress, Senator Robert F. Wagner, Rockefeller Center was made a free-port, the only free-port in the United States. This means that merchants on the west side of Fifth Avenue and Fiftieth Street, in Rockefeller Center, could import merchandise from abroad and display it for sale without paying duty.

This law implies discrimination against every other port in the country, which is prohibited by the Constitution. It also implies discrimination against all other property holders. For it enabled Rockefeller Center to lure tenants from other buildings with the inducement that it would require less capital to engage in the import business because the property was a free-port. To make matters worse, the ground on which the Center is built is tax-exempt because it belongs to Columbia University, and its rentals can be correspondingly lower.

The vacancies resulting from the wholesale exodus of tenants into Radio City from other properties in New York City was equivalent in its effect to "short selling" real estate, and it sharply depressed the property values in New York City. Interested parties were able to grab up property thus depreciated at bankrupt prices. The tactics employed in this process were the

basis of at least one lawsuit against the Rockefeller interests that has come to public attention, brought by August Heckscher. Its disposition has been kept secret. This sharp and highly lucrative business deal has been represented to the public as a philanthropic enterprise to combat depression by the Rockefeller publicity men.

Millions of people throughout the country lost their properties, their homes, their farms and their businesses as a consequence of this characteristic Rockefeller "philanthropy". Like all of the Rockefeller fake "philanthropies", this one also bore the feature of virtually tax-exempting the Rockefellers; and shifted the burden of their taxes on to the shoulders of the rest of the nation, on us whom the power-drunk conspirators delight in calling "peasants".

The terrific smash in real estate values thus stimulated, drove S. W. Straus and Company into bankruptcy and spread ruin among its mortgage bondholders including numerous widows and orphans. But Hearst and Brisbane were wiped out at the same time. The Hearst publications and the Hearst properties were taken over by the Rockefellers through their Chase National Bank.

In the meantime Rockefeller's money had put Dewey in the District Attorney's office in New York. Dewey was put to work on an investigation of the white slave and numbers rackets, which were backed by identical financial interests, in order to fill the headlines of the newspapers and divert public attention from the quiet dismissal of the American Bond and Mortgage fraud cases in Brooklyn. The service thus rendered marked this scion of the Dynasty for advancement to the top.

The only possibility open to Hearst of rescuing his cherished estates, San Simeon and Wynkoop, lay in a revaluation of gold. Hearst, through his ownership of a controlling block of stock in Homestake Mining Company as well as investments in other gold mining property, is one of the largest, or perhaps the largest, individual gold producer in the world. If he could increase the earnings of these companies, Hearst would be able to salvage his estates. That required a revaluation, a rise in the Treasury price, of gold.

For the purpose of obtaining a revaluation of gold, Hearst made a deal with Ex-Senator William Gibbs McAdoo, Wilson's son-in-law, who had control of the

California delegates to the 1932 Chicago Democratic Convention, with John Nance Garner of the Texas delegation, and with Mayor Anton Cermak of the Illinois delegation, thus insuring control of the Convention. McAdoo or Garner, who agreed to a revaluation of gold, were to be the candidates. But neither of them could get enough votes to capture the presidential nomination.

Hearst would not release the delegation except to a candidate who would agree to revalue gold. Roosevelt agreed to do so as the first act of his Administration as well as to take Garner as a running mate. Hearst made Roosevelt President by releasing the three delegations to him, even though he did not particularly trust him. Had Roosevelt been assassinated at Miami, Hearst's original choice of President would have prevailed.

However systematically F. D. R. violated his promise to the nation's voters, he rarely was permitted by the Dynasty to fail to live up to the letter of his pledges to his financial backers and bosses. He revalued gold as the first act of his Administration, after closing the banks.

Aside from Hearst and his financial predicament, the revaluation of gold was entirely uncalled for. Under the circumstances of the depression and the New Deal controlled economy, it did *not* serve to bring about inflation and a rise in wages and prices, though that was the principal excuse offered for the act. In recent years, when there has been good reason to fight price rises, it has served as a tremendous stimulus to inflation.

The revaluation of gold meant eventually that persons or groups permitted to retain ownership of gold, and producers of new gold, received an increased price of \$15.00, or 75%, per ounce. But the rank and file of the citizenry, every man, woman and child who owned gold which was surrendered, bonds, savings, insurance or liquid cash, were robbed to the same extent. It meant that the purchasing power of the American dollar in foreign markets was reduced by the same amount, and that each American living at home or travelling abroad was robbed by his government of that amount. Revaluation of gold was not merely uncalled for. It was downright dishonest as well as injurious to the country and served the nation no good purpose.

For the banking groups, who retained gold or who exported it to foreign countries in advance of the gold order, the revaluation meant huge profits. Such banks as Rockefeller's Chase National Bank exported billions of dollars worth of gold bullion successively to France and England, beginning in October 1929. They profited when they increased the price of gold in France, when they manipulated the rise in the pound sterling in England from \$3.05 to \$4.86; and when they returned the gold to the United States they gave themselves \$15.00 an ounce more for their gold, as a reward for helping to bring on the 1929 crash and the depression by exporting the gold.

Aside from its basic dishonesty, the gold order originally issued by Roosevelt was unconstitutional as I pointed out in letters published in the New York Times and other publications at the time. For the order called for surrender of the gold to the Federal Reserve Bank, a private, quasi-public stock company. Though the Constitution permits of confiscation for eminent domain, it bars confiscation for private interest.

F. D. R. called upon Congress to pass a bill in the following year compelling surrender of gold to the Treasury, supposedly to correct the illegality of his first gold order. But this law was treated with their customary contempt by F. D. R. and his New Dealers. After two years of investigation, I forced an admission from Secretary Morgenthau that \$10,000 gold notes were being issued by the Treasury Department solely to member banks of the Federal Reserve System for the gold that had been surrendered. In other words, the gold hoard that is being protected by the United States Army at Fort Knox belongs to the member bankers of the Federal Reserve Bank and not to the United States Treasury. This is a violation of both law and Constitution.

Revaluation of gold saved Hearst a part of his fortune. Profits of Homestake Mining Company and other gold mines rose enormously. The price of gold stocks rose accordingly, and Homestake Mining Company stock rose from \$50 to over \$500 within a short period after the gold order.

Republicans and honest Democrats alike condemned the gold order and fought it, in one case to the Supreme Court where it was speciously upheld. They

threatened to reverse the order when it would be in their power to do so.

Hearst was in abject terror over the threats to reverse gold revaluation. He had to get the higher price for gold over a long period of time to retrieve part of his fortune. It was imperative for him that Roosevelt should be repeatedly reelected. But he knew that his continuous championship of Roosevelt would drive his numerous enemies into the opposition.

The task of making Hearst a real asset to Roosevelt's re-election campaigns instead of a potential liability and of perverting public opinion, was placed before a group of outstanding publicity men. They advised that Nazism and Fascism was becoming extremely unpopular in the United States and F. D. R. was following public opinion in opposing them. They suggested that William Randolph Hearst and his publications launch a sham fight on Roosevelt, and at the same time pretend to support Nazism and Fascism, thus throwing the Anti-Nazis and Anti-Fascists into the Roosevelt camp.

The plan was a bitter pill for Hearst to swallow. He hated both Nazis and Fascists, if for no other reason—because they interfered with his news services. Nevertheless Hearst accepted the plan. With great ostentation and publicity he announced a visit to both Hitler and Mussolini, the outcome of which was the appearance in Hearst's publications, under control of the Rockefeller interests, of articles by Goebbels, Goering, Gayda and others. As the perverters of public opinion expected, the gullible public raged at Hearst and flocked to the standards of Roosevelt, blind to the fact that he was giving them another of the same brand of dictatorship.

The antagonism between Hearst and Roosevelt was utterly sham and an absurd hoax, as can be discerned from the things that Hearst was doing simultaneously for the Roosevelt family. Immediately after the inauguration, and after a threat made by F. D. R. to prosecute airmail overcharges, or "frauds", Elliott Roosevelt at the age of 21 and with no experience in aviation was given, with suspicious eagerness, the job of manager of the Gilpin Airlines with a total retainer of \$15,000 a year. The airmail "frauds" were never prosecuted.

The pattern of this situation, which became familiar and oft-repeated in the Roosevelt family during

F. D. R.'s administration, bore so many of the earmarks of a "payoff" that it started tongues wagging. The financial interests behind the Administration were frankly as worried about it as they were about the BeVier toilet kit scandal that involved New Dealer Harry L. Hopkins. In the midst of this concern, Hearst stepped into the breach and offered Elliott, whose major experience with aircraft was to watch them fly, the job of aviation editor of his newspapers at a higher straight salary than he received from Gilpin Airlines.

Thereafter Hearst provided munificently for the son of his "enemy", Elliott Roosevelt. Elliott's talents were turned to radio, working for Southwest Broadcasting Company which later turned over four of its stations to the open ownership of Hearst. His position was vice-president. Elliot Roosevelt handled for Hearst the radio presidential election campaign against his father in 1936. It hardly can be conceived that Elliott Roosevelt would have done anything really intended to harm his father. The trail of Hearst's benefactions anent Elliott goes further.

But Hearst did not stop with Elliott in his benefactions to the family of his "enemy", F.D.R. Anna Roosevelt Dall Boettiger, F.D.R.'s daughter, and her husband were both given highly paid jobs on the unsuccessful Hearst paper, The Seattle Post Intelligencer. Anna was made columnist with a reputed salary of \$12,000 a year and her husband, publisher at a salary running into six figures. May the Lord give us more "enemies" of that calibre.

The story of the enmity that the Du Ponts displayed against Roosevelt in public is much the same type of flim-flam staged for political, vote-getting purposes. The Du Ponts heavily financed the Democratic as well as the Republican Party. They carefully avoided financing Roosevelt's campaigns openly, but indirectly contributed heavily through the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment and other channels.

Shortly after Roosevelt's nomination, the two families got together and in true monarchic fashion the Du Ponts arranged an alliance with the Royal Family by sealing the engagement of young Ethel Du Pont and Franklin Delano Roosevelt Jr. It was a natural alliance because of the identity of interests. Both the Du Ponts and the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty are heavily interested in munitions and armaments, in war.

It was decided, however, that it would never do to

let the public know of this alliance, because its war-like character would be so obvious. Any stories that leaked out regarding the alliance and the engagement were promptly denied. It was kept a dark secret until exactly one week after F.D.R.'s second election.

The same policy was followed in making the Du Ponts an asset to Roosevelt, to help assure his reelection. As in the case of Hearst, the Du Ponts appeared to be enemies of their prospective in-law, Roosevelt. The Du Ponts were intensively publicized as war-loving, war-thriving munition kings. On the other hand fire was added to the pacifist movement that had been planted in the land by its designing enemies. The Liberty League was then set up for the ostensible purpose of attacking Roosevelt and fighting his reelection. This served to throw the entire pacifist vote into Roosevelt's camp and helped assure his reelection.

How fully deliberate was this malign purpose can be seen from the publicity about the Liberty League on which the Du Ponts spent millions of dollars. This publicity, as is instanced by the "Hate Roosevelt" dinner given in Washington, served to present the Du Ponts to the nation as a laughing stock. Ordinarily business men do not regard ridicule as good publicity and invariably discharge the publicists who make the mistake of heaping it on them. But the Du Ponts continued to pay publicist Jouett Shouse \$50,000 a year and an unlimited expense account, repeatedly to hold them up to ridicule. Apparently they were willing to go far to insure Roosevelt's re-election.

And curiously enough, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who was viciously vindictive and invariably sought to "purge" his enemies, did not resent the sham attacks of Hearst and the Du Ponts, in the slightest degree.

The Rockefeller-Standard Oil group carefully stayed in the background and made no open and direct contribution, other than those of Harkness, to Roosevelt's election campaign. But their hand in effecting Roosevelt's election is evinced by a number of facts. The majority of the members of the Roosevelt Cabinet were drawn from their crowd. These included: Harold Ickes, Standard Oil attorney for the Chicago area, Secretary of the Interior; Frances Perkins, Rockefeller almoner, Secretary of Labor; Henry A. Wallace, Rockefeller protege, Secretary of Agriculture; oil man, Jesse Jones; and Harry L. Hopkins, Rockefeller almoner and their key New Deal agent in controlling Roosevelt's

policies. A staggering number of appointive positions in policy-making agencies of the government were drawn from their subordinates. And for the first time in history an American President dared openly appoint a Rockefeller to office—Nelson Rockefeller in the ultra-strategic post of Coordinator of Hemispheric Defense.

Under Roosevelt the United States Government became totally subservient to the Rockefeller Empire and made possible its conquest of the world. The appointment of J. P. Morgan's nephew, Joseph Grew, as Ambassador to Japan prepared the way for Pearl Harbor, the rescue of Rockefeller-Standard Oil property in China, and the complete conquest of Japan by the Rockefeller Empire. At the same time it gave them, at the expense of tens of thousands of American lives and a huge proportion of the national wealth, the control of the enormously rich Saudi Arabian and other Near East oil fields.

CHAPTER XV

F. D. R. LAUNCHES "NEW DEAL" BUILDS PROPAGANDA MACHINE AND BANKING MONOPOLY

From the very start Franklin D. Roosevelt's Administration began carrying out the blueprint of the New Deal drawn up by Hoffman Nickerson. Some aspects of the plan were improved upon with the objective of better furthering the original purpose of serving the Dynasty and its rich allies, while pretending to guard the interests of the common man. Changes in the blueprint were made necessary by the fact that the Dynasty had completely merged with the Rockefeller Empire and the Empire's program called not merely for dictatorial domination of the United States, but of the rest of the world as well; for the Rockefeller Empire seeks a conquest of the world and a dictatorship dominating all lands.

The first move was building up a propaganda system that was so vast that it could distort in the desired manner any intelligence that reached the public. Roosevelt made two of his fellow members of the official

propaganda agency of World War I, the Naval Information Committee, his White House assistant secretaries: Marvin Hunter McIntyre, he placed in charge of appointments and political affairs; and Stephen Early, former Editor of Stars and Stripes, the A. E. F. propaganda agency, in charge of the press and public relations.

In every other direction Roosevelt, in 1933, rebuilt the war machine of World War I. From the start of his Administration it was quite apparent that its objective was another war to further the interests of the Rockefeller Empire and the Dynasty. The same "patriotic dollar-a-year men" were back on the job taking care of their interests. This was relatively simple because with the aid of the Rockefeller "philanthropies" and the General Education Fund the whole World War I machine, had been put in storage by the plotters in schools, colleges, universities and businesses, in the interim between the Wilson and Roosevelt Administrations. It was brought out of the storage and set to work as soon as Roosevelt entered the White House. They were ready for the bright new war in the making. In the meantime, they hatched up and played with other less amusing New Deal "emergencies".

Numerous censors and propagandists of World War I were assigned to perform the same job in the New Deal departments. Hundreds of editors and reporters, and many publishers were placed on the payroll of the various government departments and bureaus for purpose of suppressing or distorting the truth and of propagandizing the nation into acceptance of the "New Deal".

Through the Federal Radio Commission's power of life and death over radio stations, the radio was brought under censorship. The Motion Picture Industry later was forced, to serve the New Deal propaganda by the ambiguous but stringent Motion Pictures Code Authority, NRA, and by the planting of Roosevelt's son-in-law, John Boettiger in a high salaried position in the Will Hays organization. A similar code was imposed on the press, with a tongue-in-cheek proviso of freedom of the press, and pressure from the Post Office Department supplemented the frank bribery of newspaper men with offers of higher salaried government positions.

Pay was no object and some of the propagandists did very well for themselves. Thus J. Franklin Carter, Washington representative of the McFadden publica-

tions, who wrote "free lance" articles on politics for Liberty Magazine especially on the subject of agriculture under the name of Jay Franklin, at the same time drew a salary of \$5200 a year under the name of John Carter on the payroll of the Department of Agriculture. Previously he had been in the employ of the State Department until it was discovered that its secrets were leaking into the press in articles signed by "Jay Franklin" (Michael Handout, p. 182).

Books were ghosted by government employees on taxpayers' time and published in the names of Professor Rexford Tugwell, Henry Wallace, F.D.R., Eleanor Roosevelt, Anna Boettiger, Howe, McIntyre and Early, for their private profit.

One of the most important functions of this propaganda was to create the Roosevelt myth—to create the pretense that he was a deserter of the classes and a champion of the masses; to portray him as a saint who passed his days in the slaying of the demon Capitalism, who could do no wrong and was *indispensable*; to surround him with a royal aura, with a figurative crown, until a literal crown should come to hand; and finally to deify him. It was all done in the true tradition of the Caesars, even down to the New Deal largesse patterned after that of ancient Rome.

All who opposed the Administration or sought to expose its corruption were hounded, persecuted and bedevilled. They were made the victims of a persistent and unrelenting vendetta. Every government agency was brought into play in this, especially the Secret Service and the Income Tax Bureau. The author was trailed for three months and threatened by Allen Straight, head of the Secret Service in New York, on direct order from Roosevelt, because he published and distributed a biography of Harry Hopkins that he acknowledged to be truthful. The reason given was that Hopkins was regarded as the "brains" of the New Deal and found the truth with regard to his past activities embarrassing. Distribution of the biography was continued on a larger scale.

That biography, the author acknowledges, did not do Harry Hopkins full justice, as a Rockefeller-Soviet conspirator, in view of data which subsequently came to hand. In later years, Murray Garsson, the munitions manufacturer who was convicted for bribery and irregularities in connection with war contracts, reported that Harry

Hopkins had been very helpful to him in securing and handling those contracts. In return for his help, Hopkins had demanded and received liberal payment for his influence. Garsson regularly paid Hopkins's numerous losses on bets on the horse races. But one form of payment demanded by Hopkins, stood out as most odd, Garsson said.

Garsson maintained quarters at the Wardman Park Hotel in Washington, in connection with his war contracts. But he spent his weekends in New York with his family. Harry Hopkins demanded of Garsson that he permit him and his friends to use the quarters during the weekends, and that he defray the cost of refreshments and entertainment. Garsson permitted Hopkins and his guests to charge their expenses to his account.

In looking over his bills, Garsson noted the names of the persons who had signed the tabs charged to him. Among Harry Hopkins's associates who had signed tabs were Carl Aldo Marzani and the whole array of the members of what was later proved to be the Hal Ware (Communist) cell that operated in the Government. Garsson stated that he did not become aware of the fact that he was acting as involuntary host to Hopkins's Communist cell, until after Marzani had been convicted and sent to jail for perjury in swearing in his State Department application that he was not, and never had been, a member of the Communist Party.

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt himself was subjected to Dynastic censorship. George Michael reports in his "Handout", (G. P. Putnam, 1935, pp. 26-30) that Roosevelt was blocked from answering, or did not dare answer, questions asked at the supposedly "open-and-above-board" and "uncensored" press conferences, unless they had been submitted in advance. Members of the family or the secretariat interposed and engaged F. D. R. in conversation to block answering, and the conference was quickly closed. F.D.R. was used as a mouthpiece by the "powers behind the throne". He was not trusted to answer without instruction and coaching by them. Michael stresses the frequent presence of Cousin Henry L. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, at the press conferences. The same behind-the-scenes censorship of F.D.R. is revealed by his frequent overnight reversal of policies that he had freshly announced the day before.

The device of attacks by pretended enemies or on supposed enemies for the purpose of befuddling and bamboozling the public, as in the cases of Hearst and DuPont, was a technique that was systematically used by Roosevelt and his New Deal. Theodore Roosevelt had used it in successfully deceiving the public; but in the Administration of his cousin, Franklin, the technique was developed into a fine art. As a consequence, those who are well informed can usually feel sure that the reverse of any significant statements of policy emanating from New Deal Washington is the truth.

The adherence to the ultimate New Deal objective stated by Nickerson in his blueprint in "The American Rich", was clearly revealed in the trial balloon so characteristically released by the Administration through Vice President Garner and quoted by Michael (p 13):

"What this country needs to get out of the depression is a *dictator, a man like Roosevelt.*"

In the quest for dictatorship it was necessary to regiment the nation, through the device of a "managed economy". The Bismarxian program, originated by Karl Marx and propagated by Bismarck, or in other words Communazism, was accepted as the shortest road to dictatorship in the presence of the democratic spirit. The Rockefeller interests had prepared the way with their fostering of Communism for almost three decades through the General Education Fund and through the Rockefeller Foundation.

The first step in the regimentation of the nation has been long sought—the absolute monopolistic control of the nation's finances, banks and its Treasury Department by the Dynasty and its allies. From its inception Frederick A. Delano, Roosevelt's uncle, whose appointment was dictated to President Wilson, was Vice-Governor of the Federal Reserve Board. The Dynasty's hold on the finances of the nation was still further tightened by F. D. R.'s appointment of his cousin, Preston Delano to the key jobs of Comptroller of the Currency, and director of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. The absolute monopolistic control of the nation's banking and finances was the principal purpose of F. D. R.'s closing of the banks.

No greater service could have been rendered the nation at the juncture, the complete demoralization of the private banking system, than recapture for the government of the right which those banks had usurped that gave them a throttle hold on the nation's economy.

Had Roosevelt been intent on serving the nation, instead of his banker relatives and their allies, he would have withheld any Treasury support from the banks until the bankers had agreed to turn over their institutions and their control of the nation's life blood, its credit and currency, for nationalization. Never was there a more opportune occasion to accomplish this vital reform, that is so essential for a prolonged national existence.

Instead, the private bankers gave themselves, through their stooge, President F. D. Roosevelt even more complete control of the Treasury. With or without pretext, the banks which competed with the monopoly were not allowed to open up again, no matter what their condition. But the banks controlled by the Dynasty were freely assisted by the United States Treasury with loans amounting to a total of more than two billion dollars. They were reopened no matter what was their condition.

But while Roosevelt babbled for public deception about "throwing the moneylenders out of the temple", the Dynastic bankers were saddling themselves on the nation more firmly than ever and were rendering themselves another life-saving service at the expense of the Treasury and the taxpayers. The numerous barter plans which had arisen throughout the nation during Hoover's Administration were terribly feared by the bankers because they were making the people conscious that they need not depend on the bankers and pay tribute to them, but could exchange commodities and services directly. Also they were becoming acutely conscious of the fact that real wealth is not gold or money, but the necessities required for existence.

Logically the next step would have been to widen the monetary base and rest it on a wide array of the staple necessities of life. That would mean an end to the idea that "money must be scarce to have a value". Since money should be, rightly, a medium of exchange, not the medium of monopoly and control that it is now, it should bear a relation to business like that of the hat-check. Any man who tried to run down a hat-checking business with the idea that there must be fewer hat-checks than hats to be checked instantly would be recognized as insane. But that insane idea applied to money is the life blood of the existence of the banker's profitable credit function and of speculator's profits. Money should expand as rapidly as

does nation's wealth and should be as plentiful. Its value should be stabilized by recognizing that money must be, is, and should be based on the essentials that folks seek to purchase with money—staple necessities of life. No longer would it be necessary to manipulate scarcities and leave hosts of people in want to maintain prices. A sufficiency for everyone and the setting up of surpluses of commodities against the time of need would become possible. Money would be a mere medium of exchange and would cease to be a mechanism of manipulation. Business would be stabilized and the ownership of wealth would become secure for all mankind. The depression would have been relieved rapidly and automatically, and future depressions would have become impossible.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt averted the upset to the plans of the bankers and of the Dynasty by his edict abolishing all barter plans as soon as he took office. He exhorted the public to go back to their banks, to enshrine in their temples the moneylenders whom in the same breath he threatened to oust. But the public has been so completely befuddled on the question of money, that they had no intimation of the fact that Roosevelt was contemptuously thumbing his nose at them and dooming them perpetually to be fleeced by the Dynasty's bankers. Sardonicly he called it a "New Deal".

As an additional lure to the sucker public, to induce them to abandon their barter plans and once again throw themselves on the (not so) tender mercies of the bankers and speculators, there was set up the private Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. F. D. R. made his cousin, Preston Delano, director.

"Your banks are now safe and your deposits insured", he told the public. "Take your money back to the banks."

That "safety" and insurance will eventually prove to be a snare and delusion if present policies are continued.

The Roosevelts are well represented in the management of some of our leading banks: George Emlen Roosevelt, Secretary and Trustee of the Bank for Savings in New York, Director of Hanover Safe Deposit Company, Director of Guaranty Trust Company; Philip J. Roosevelt, Director and member of the Advisory Board of Chemical National Bank; W. Emlen Roosevelt, Trustee of Central Hanover Bank and Trust Compa-

ny, Trustee of Chemical Bank and Trust Company. All of them are partners of Roosevelt and Sons. Nicholas Roosevelt, Trustee of the Dry Dock Savings Institution; Oliver W. Roosevelt, First Vice President and Trustee of the Dry Dock Savings Institution; Charles Frances Adams, Director of the Old Colony Trust Company, Trustee of Providence Institution for Savings, Director, Security Safe Deposit Company, Trustee, Union Safe Deposit Vaults, Trustee of the Bank of New York and Trust Company; Vincent Astor, Director of The Chase National Bank of the City of New York. The Roosevelt-Astor banking interests tie in closely with those of the Rockefellers. There is no evidence that any of them have been thrown out of their temples; indeed they are more safely ensconced than ever.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the best friend the "moneylenders" ever had. He saved their hides and their rackets—until the next time they become thoroughly enmeshed in our absurd and unworkable banking and monetary system. Some day there will be no F. D. R. to stooge for them and bail them out. They will then regret that they ever had F. D. R. block the sound and logical solution of the money and banking system to which the barter plans would have led, that would have made them safe and secure in their wealth. For an honest currency system would benefit everyone and harm no one. He who has, would be secure in all his wealth. And he who has not, would be free to carve out for himself as much wealth as he cared to work for.

Control of the banking system enabled regimentation of the nation and its wealth in a tight scarcity economy—euphemistically called a "managed economy"—as the means to attaining the ultimate goal, dictatorship, enslavement of the nation, and a complete monopoly of its industries, commerce and wealth. The prime value to the conspirators of banking control was that, for the purpose of monopoly and dictatorship, it made possible one of the most dastardly and brutal acts of the Dynasty, the deliberate prolongation and maintenance of the depression throughout the 1930's. For, depression psychologically favored the acceptance of dictatorship, and depression prices and bankruptcies favored monopolies. The gold revaluation, which has been detailed, did not materially alter the situation of depression.

When Roosevelt spoke of "throwing the moneylenders out of the temple" and of "soaking the rich" he meant only *certain* moneylenders and *certain* rich. It was really designed to let the Dynastic rich grow richer, but as far as possible, to deny others the opportunity to acquire even sufficiency. The man who works for a living is taxed as high as 90%, of his income in the higher brackets. The man who does not work but merely speculates and takes only capital gains, is taxed no more than 25%. But if he joins the Rockefeller-Standard Oil crowd in oil production, he pays taxes on only 25% of his income. And if he makes money producing oil overseas, as in Saudi Arabia, with the money of the U. S. taxpayers, he pays no income tax at all.

CHAPTER XVI

WHY WARRING U. S. STARVED FOR SUGAR JIMMY WRITES INSURANCE

The New Deal developed strictly along the lines of the spoils system. Since "Charity begins at home", it was a New Deal first of all for the Roosevelt family and second for the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty. This is perfectly illustrated by the story of why the United States starved for sugar during the war.

The Adams branch of the Dynasty traditionally are heavily interested in the West Indies sugar industry. One of the cogent reasons for this patrician family throwing in its lot with the "rabble" during the Revolutionary War period was England's interference with the rum, molasses and slave trade with the West Indies.

When Franklin Delano Roosevelt entered office the Dynasty was well represented in its holdings in the sugar industry. "Cousin" Frederick B. Adams, in addition to his interests in the munition industry signalized by his position of Chairman of the Board of the Air Reduction Company and Director of the Remington Arms Company, held many key positions in the sugar industry including: Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Atlantic Fruit and Sugar Company, President of the Cuban Dominican Sugar Company, President of the Santa Ana Sugar Company, Director of the

Sugar Estates of Oriente, President of the Barhona Sugar Corporation, and President of the Tanamo Sugar Corporation; subsequently he became President of the West Indies Sugar Company. "Cousin" Charles Francis Adams, whose interests ran more to local utilities and to shipbuilding and naval construction, represented the Dynasty in only two sugar companies as Director of the American Sugar Refining Company and Director of the Central Aguirre Sugar Company. Robert C. Adams was Director of the Warner Sugar Company. In short the Dynasty was more than a little interested in sugar. Also interested in sugar were the Rockefeller-Morgan clique and the National City Bank.

The sugar industry at this time was in a state verging on bankruptcy and the condition of the West Indies companies was particularly bad. In a commercial Dynasty such as the Roosevelt-Delano, this called for prompt action. Roosevelt's action was particularly prompt. The New Dealers deliberately conspired to destroy the American sugar industry and to favor the West Indies sugar industry.

In the course of the 1932 campaign Hoover had accused Roosevelt of planning to injure the American farmer, among other things, by lowering tariffs. Roosevelt denied the charges. But a year later, his Secretary of Agriculture, Henry Wallace, began, on behalf of the Dynasty, the campaign to destroy the continental American sugar industry on special behalf of the West Indies and Latin American industry. On July 31, 1934, Wallace pronounced in a speech to farmers at the free Chataqua held on the campus of the Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, Ruston, Louisiana, what Charles A. Farwell, executive of the American Sugar Cane League called "Wallace's death sentence on Louisiana's sugar industry." Wallace pronounced according to the report in the Times-Picayune published on that date and quoted, December 1938, by the journalistic genius, Meigs Frost, in a masterly series of articles in the New Orleans State,

"Sugar is an inefficient industry. I am willing to say that in Louisiana where sugar is produced . . .

"I do not believe the Louisiana sugar or any other inefficient industry should be put out of business all at once. That would be hard on human right. But it should be exposed gradually to the winds of world commerce."

That Wallace was assigned by his Dynastic masters

to accomplish some particularly vicious dirty work, is revealed by the testimony given previously by one of his subordinates, A. J. S. Weaver, before the House Committee on Agriculture, February 23, 1934 (quoted from the Government report):

"Hope: Well then in other words, the policy is . . . eliminating the (continental American) sugar industry before it gets any bigger. Am I correct in that assumption?

"Weaver: Yes, if you mean limiting the industry. I think that is a reasonable statement.

"Cummings: Is it a reasonable assumption that the object of the bill (Representative's Bill No. 7907: Includes Sugar and Sugar Cane as Basic Commodities) then is to give us a kind of shot in the arm and put us out of business while we are partly unconscious?

"Weaver: Yes.

"McCandless, of Hawaii: What is it, do you believe, will destroy our sugar production?

"Weaver: Reduction in price and reduction in tariff.

"McCandless: If it had not been for the protection and holding up of the sugar industry in the United States, would we not be at the mercy of foreign countries for our sugar?

"Weaver: Oh that is conceivable and there is some danger in that.

"McCandless: And has not the sugar industry employed thousands and thousands of men in the United States?

Weaver: Well a great amount of labor is employed, yes . . . But the total in terms of seasonal employment even is . . . I should say—not significant, but I hesitate to call its total important. Furthermore it is quite possible that by producing sugar we have robbed ourselves of the chances to employ men to produce goods which we might have traded for sugar, if we had not employed them.

"McCandless: We have now 8,000,000 or 9,000,000 unemployed men, is that not so?

"Weaver: That is right.

"McCandless: Would we not have more if we destroyed the sugar industry?

"Weaver: Well the sugar industry is not in *immediate* danger of being destroyed.

But the American Sugar Cane League officially presented convincing evidence that the danger of destruction of the American sugar industry was imminent and

was deliberately planned and clearly indicated in Secretary Henry Wallace's acts affecting the Louisiana sugar industry. They stated:

"The federal wage-hour law specifically exempts agricultural labor from its provisions. But the complicated Sugar Act, passed September 1, 1937, supposed to be for the salvation of the American sugar industry gives the U. S. Secretary of Agriculture power to rule on cane field wages and hours; the only agricultural industry in which the United States government has power to dictate wages and hours. It provides that the Secretary of Agriculture can do so only after a public hearing. Secretary Wallace has adopted the policy of holding two such public hearings a year.

"In the midst of the sugar-cane harvest of 1937, when Louisiana sugar growers were fighting tooth and toe nail to get their crop harvested before freezes followed by warm weather could ruin it, when men were being cut off from W. P. A. pay rolls and rushed like armies into the cane fields, Secretary Wallace called a hearing on sugar cane harvest wages. Harried sugar planters had to stop work to prepare briefs, attend and testify. Then, when the harvest was virtually over, and some 1,000,000 tons of sugar cane had been ruined, caught by freeze and thaw in the fields, in December 1937, Secretary Wallace issued his rulings on cane field harvest wages for that same season—and made them retroactive clear back to September 1, 1937! Sugar cane planters stood under federal orders to look up men long since finished with their job, often scattered far and wide, and pay them additional back pay ordered by Secretary Wallace. There were penalties for violation of those orders. It was a situation said to be without precedent in American agriculture. Some \$250,000 in back pay was involved, for thousands of workers in small amounts.

"Sugar cane planting starts each year in September and October. But in February, 1938, Secretary Wallace ordered a hearing on cane planting wages for the planting season finished long before the hearing was called. The hearing was held. Secretary Wallace's rulings didn't come out until June, 1938, the "lay-by" period in sugar growing, when cane field labor mostly has gone fishing, or is scattered anywhere. And again it was a retroactive ruling, causing the Louisiana planters as much trouble and expense as if that had been

its purpose, which some of the League officials say they believe it was.

"Planting of the 1939 sugar cane harvest started as usual in September, 1938. So Secretary Wallace waited until September 27, 1938, when many of the planters had completed their planting, to call a hearing at Baton Rouge, La., to determine how many acres each sugar cane grower would be permitted to plant—on a crop that many of them already had finished planting! The Department of Agriculture men holding the hearing discovered that many planters had finished planting their crop by October 1, and that some for varied reasons had lagged behind. So a ruling was issued giving preferential status to the growers who had finished their planting by October 1, 1938. What was described as 'only a tentative quota ruling' was made by Secretary Wallace. He set a deadline of November 14, 1938, for sugar cane growers to file formal notice that they elected to keep the acreage they had planted by October 1, 1938. Department of Agriculture employees are compiling those notices yet. Secretary Wallace has indicated in a public announcement that a quota cut of up to 25 per cent is possible. No man knows just when the official ax may fall.

"The result, officials of the American Sugar Cane League point out, is that thousands of Louisiana sugar growers, after every effort to comply with the Federal law, don't know to this day whether the acreage they have planted is legal or not."

(Editor's note: It was the object of the Dynasty through the New Deal to place all business except their own in a status of illegality through a constantly changing flow of arbitrary edicts by bureaucratic agencies. With all business forced to resort to bootlegging, "Black Markets" and other activities that were made illegal, blackmailing of industry and crushing competition became simple.)

"If it is not, Secretary Wallace has a stick to hit you on the head with," says Mr. Farwell. "All he needs to say is: 'You're going to lose your benefit payments if you don't plough under every furrow of sugar cane you've planted in excess of this quota I'm giving you after the planting season is over.'" Under present conditions in this government-bedevelled industry, if you lose your benefit payments, you've got to quit. And nobody in Louisiana knows when Secretary Wallace's official ax is likely to swing."

In the Harvard Business Review of Autumn 1938, John E. Dalton, former high Federal official with wide authority in sugar affairs, in an article entitled "Federal Sugar Control", wrote:

"The outstanding feature of this enormous American sugar machine is that it is under the immediate direction of the Federal government. No other industry in the United States, excepting perhaps public utilities, experiences such a high degree of government control, a control extending to output, prices, agricultural practices, and labor conditions."

"'And all this power,' points out Mr. Farwell, 'is in the hands of one man, Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace, open and avowed enemy, by the printed, uncontradicted record, of continental American sugar as an industry.'"

However, Wallace's harassment of the Louisiana sugar growers and his employment on them of the New Deal "lettres de cachet", confiscatory retroactive wage and acreage ruling, that were as dishonest as they were doubly un-Constitutional and un-American—for they confiscated property without the due process and made a man retroactively guilty of violating a law which did not exist at the time of the act—do not fill the whole picture of the conspiracy.

The Department of Agriculture through education of the sugar growers and development of new strains, had brought about a ten-fold increase in production of sugar in Louisiana, from 45,000 to 450,000 tons per year; and the per acre yield had been more than doubled. The Resettlement Division of the Department of Agriculture had brought back thousands of acres into production. A pretentious sugar experimental station had been built by the Department at Houma. The Government had engineered the building and putting into operation of seven new co-operative mills in which five million dollars had been invested, 60% by the government and 40% by the sugar growers. Employment was increased and wages rose. All this was done for the purpose of increasing employment in the sugar industry.

While these developments were under way Roosevelt proceeded to lower the price of sugar, by lowering the tariff on Cuban sugar produced with cheap labor, from \$2.10 to 90¢ per hundred pounds. Pawn Wallace, in the meantime, had forced the 40% reduction in acreage planted under a pretendedly "volun-

try" plan. It was laden with coercion and intimidation by "marketing licenses" which made the sale of "non-assented" cane impossible. He also threatened an additional retroactive 25% cut in acreage, or ploughing under of the cane after the crop had been planted and the expenses incurred; and imposed retroactive wage increases. Simultaneously, the Dynasty's and their Wall Street allies' agent, Cuban dictator, Col. Fulgencia Batista, visited Washington at their behest, and on leaving announced that he had made a deal, on the basis of which he predicted that Congress would reduce the tariff on Cuban sugar from 90¢ to 75¢ per hundred pounds and increase the quota admitted. Shortly thereafter Wallace issued a false statement of the type that are so dear to New Deal commodity speculators of the Barney Baruch type, which forced the price of sugar down 25 points to the lowest reached in the depression.

No move was overlooked in the effort to depress the price of sugar or to bankrupt the Louisiana and other continental American producers. Peru was permitted to ship 50,000 tons of sugar to the United States on a deal that involved the Grace interests. Peru was so completely a newcomer in the field of sugar that she had not the machinery to grind the cane. It could not be pretended even that this deal stimulated the United States heavy industries. For with funds supplied by the U. S. taxpayer, Peru bought the grinding machinery from the Krupps in Nazi Germany in order to be able to ship the sugar into the American market and further depress it.

The pattern of the Dynasty's plotting in sugar makes its objective obvious. They were utilizing every device to expand and bankrupt the American sugar growers so that they could take over their holdings and build up a complete monopoly. In the meantime their enormous profits in the West Indies industry, which were gained in the process of bankrupting the American industry, would help to pay for the purchase of the latter at a forced sale.

The outcome of these maneuvers was increased unemployment and a reduction of the continental American sugar production to less than 25% of our depression needs. At a time when war was threatening, the United States was made completely dependent for its sugar on overseas sources. The seriousness of the situation and the threats that it offered were clearly

and prophetically portrayed by Clarence J. Bourg, President of the American Sugar Cane League in an address before the New Orleans Association of Commerce, December 1, 1938, quoted from Meigs Frost's report in the New Orleans States of the following day:

"Let us consider another national program. In the past several weeks we have read from day to day dispatches speaking about war. Preparedness is the watchword of the Administration. I am no alarmist and have no intention of stirring people to the fear of war, but the Federal Government is using every element of its propaganda machine to justify the expenditure of billions of dollars for the purpose of building armaments in the cause of preparedness. We subscribe to and support this program of national defense but we point out that armaments and guns and battleships are not the only sinews of war. People must eat whether they be soldiers or civilians back home. What has that got to do with sugar? Almost every day we read where the Japs have told the American government in so many words to jump in the ocean and that suggests there might be a war with Japan. If there is a war with Japan, of what possible good will the Philippine Islands be as a source of supply of sugar? Do you think that a cargo of Philippine sugar will ever reach the United States when they are as far away as the Japanese themselves. And then there is Hawaii in the middle of the Pacific Ocean where they can be easily surrounded by submarines and airplanes. The possibility of our receiving sugar from Hawaii in times of war could not be relied upon. Now there are two million tons of sugar from Hawaii and the Philippines that we depend upon as our source of supply. But suppose the Japanese are content to confine themselves to Chinese invasion. On the Atlantic side we have Hitler to contend with. I do not want to arouse alarm about Hitlerism, but the American government is sufficiently concerned to send its Secretary of State down to Peru to have an international conference, the purpose of which is to build up a united defense in the Western Hemisphere. Suppose Hitler does make war on the Atlantic side. Of what good will Puerto Rico be as a source of supply? Yes, of what good will Cuba be with the submarines and the airplanes doing their diabolical work? We depend on those two islands for three million tons of sugar. Two million tons on one side, three million tons on the other side,

and only two million tons allowed to be produced in the United States. And supposing the Germans and Japs get together and make war on both sides. What is the answer?"

It is to the everlasting credit of the Louisiana cane growers that they spoke up and fought despite very real fears of reprisals. But it availed them little.

During all this time that the continental American sugar growers were being forced to the wall by a treacherous and traitorous conspiracy by Government officials acting on behalf of American controlled foreign interests, the West Indies sugar industry had enjoyed a subsidy paid by the U. S. taxpayers of \$119,000,000 and had flourished and profited enormously. This is made clear by "Cousin" Fred B. Adam's report of the West Indies Sugar Corporation November 16, 1937:

"The statistics set forth above (year's gross income, \$9,270,094.18; year's final net profit, \$909,714.16, and others, including 'your corporation has no current indebtedness save that contracted in the usual routine of business') present such a marked contrast to the conditions existing in the industry five years ago (1932, when a Republican administration sat in Washington) that it is fitting at this time to make some acknowledgement of the part played by the Administration at Washington in effecting this change. It was the example of the United States in bringing about more satisfactory conditions through the establishment of production and import quotas of sugars . . . The role played by the government, therefore . . . has become one of great importance. So much so that government policies today do more than any other single factor to preserve or upset the balance between the varied interests of the industry . . ."

"Cousin" Fred's tribute to "Cousin" Franklin's help and cooperation is patent. It is notable that the West Indies Sugar Corporation alone was permitted to send into the United States more sugar (319,425 bags) than all the growers of the State of Florida were permitted to produce under the quota allowed them; also that in 1938, Wallace listed Cuba for a quota of 1,954,303 tons and Louisiana for 429,553 tons.

The consequences for the nation of this traitorous conspiracy were inevitable. Clarence Bourg's prediction were completely fulfilled. On the eve of the war, the U.S. had been deprived by a treasonous conspiracy

of even her barest needs of sugar, a vital food and chemical raw material, just as by similar conspiracies she had been deprived of rubber, tin, oil, scrap iron and other vital war materials, exactly as is being done today once again in the face of another war. Fortunately for the nation, Wallace had not succeeded in carrying out his Dynastic bosses' orders to completely destroy the "inefficient" American sugar industry, or we certainly would have starved literally and lost the war.

The Dynasty is quite loyal in dealing with its own, and invariably there is a "pay-off", direct or indirect. While thousands of workers in the American sugar industry were thrown out of work, and the American people were being doomed to starve for sugar, when war had come, James Roosevelt was collecting fat dividends on the service that his father's Administration had rendered the West Indies sugar industry. In an interview which he gave Walker Davenport of Collier's Magazine, that was published in the August 27, 1938 issue under a facsimile of the "crown prince's" signature, captioned "I'm Glad You Asked Me", James Roosevelt stated:

"We got the contract with the West Indies Sugar Company because its president, F. B. Adams is my cousin. And we did a good job too."

Though "Prince" James was immodest in claiming full credit for the job, it must be acknowledged that it was "a good job", in the sense of thoroughness, that was done in ruining the continental American sugar industry and in sugar-starving and endangering the security of the nation. It must have been a great comfort to Americans hungering for sugar to know that Jimmy was collecting commissions on Cuban sugar company insurance policies.

Florida alone could supply the sugar needs of the United States. But the New Deal had blocked the development of Florida's sugar industry to an even greater extent than it has throttled Louisiana's. With war once again on hand, national safety demands that continental United States shall be made independent of any off-shore sources.

An investigation of each and every phase of the New Deal Agricultural Allotment plan, represented as Roosevelt's boon to farmers, would reveal exactly the same type of devious subsidy of speculators and finan-

cial interests, allied with the Dynasty. And in each case there could be found a similar "pay-of".

Anent the club which Jimmy wielded in building up his insurance business, Hamilton Fish relates an illuminating story. He relates that, though he himself is in the insurance business, he took Jimmy to the office of President Gifford of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and urged the wisdom of giving him some of the A. T. T. insurance business.

"You know who that is, don't you", Fish told Gifford.

"Yes", Gifford replied.

"Well, it is a good thing to have a friend in court", Fish advised.

Gifford refused to permit blackmailing his Company. Shortly thereafter an investigation of the A. T. T. was launched.

Even Jimmy's "liberalism" was bought and paid for according to Robert W. Kenny. He stated in an A.P. dispatch dated September 6, 1947,

"In 1946, Mr. Roosevelt was paid \$25,000 to support progressive candidates, but he was too busy selling insurance to make more than a few perfunctory appearances."

However loyal F. D. R., and his New Deal, may have been to the Dynasty and its financial supporters in the matter of sugar, it is obvious that he was equally disloyal, or traitorous, to his "solid Democratic" Louisiana voters. But he felt, no doubt, that there was no need to court even with promise an electorate stupidly loyal to him, even while he was engaged in betraying them.

The same pattern was repeated ad infinitum and ad nauseam in all the various industries in which the Dynasty and its financial supports were interested. In the interest of kinsman William C. Clayton, of Anderson, Clayton and Company, and their foreign cotton monopolies (that had been built up with the aid of Roosevelt and the Dynasty during World War I) the cotton growers of the South were betrayed and bankrupted by the New Deal in even worse fashion than were the sugar growers. Indeed, it can be said without much fear of contradiction that in times of need President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the worst enemy the South ever had.

Though the Democratic and Republican branches of the Dynasty make a great display of animosity to the

public, behind the scenes they cooperate very amicably in raiding the Treasury. The Roosevelt Steamship Company, Inc. is an excellent example of such cooperation. Kermit Roosevelt, Republican son of Theodore Roosevelt was its President and Director; he also served as Director of the American Line Steamship Corporation, President and Director of the United States Lines Company, and Vice President and Director of the United States Lines Operations Inc. Vincent Astor, nephew and close intimate of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and heavy contributor to his campaign funds, was also Director in the same companies. Until the Dynasty and Democratic Senators raised objections, in the early days of the New Deal, that the public might grow suspicious of the association and forbade it, F. D. R. spent most of his weekends on Vincent Astor's yacht, the Nourmahal. Archibald B. Roosevelt, partner of Roosevelt and Sons, was also Director of Roosevelt Steamship Company.

The dealings of the Roosevelt Steamship Company and the other lines controlled by the group with United States Shipping Board under the terms that were most amazingly generous to them, have cost the American taxpayers enormously. The City of Rayville, for instance had two Busch diesel engines replaced on one trip at a cost of over half a million dollars, at the expense of the taxpayers. The Shipping Board paid the bill, the Company collected the revenue. How many millions were drained out of the U. S. Treasury by the relative "enemies" of Roosevelt make interesting though disgusting reading. But they are an eloquent commentary on the sham enmity between the two branches of the Dynasty, faked to ensure that they will continue in power no matter which political party wins elections

CHAPTER XVII

THE ROOSEVELTS MAKE HAY

The most disgusting spectacle of the Roosevelt administration and of all American history, was the exploitation of the office of President by the members of the Roosevelt family. It became the accepted practice to resort to open bribery of the President or his

entourage, or to subsidize a member of his immediate family, when seeking Presidential favor. Not even the dog Fala escaped. I cite a few instances.

Henry J. Kaiser, who borrowed hundreds of millions of dollars from the government agencies, much of which he seeks to avoid repaying, and who did an enormous government business, presented President Roosevelt in 1944 with a not so trifling Christmas gift—a \$25,000 solid platinum ship model.

In appreciation of his efforts in engineering billions of "Lend Lease" and in securing our entry into the war in her behalf, England, through Lord Beaverbrook, presented Harry L. Hopkins and his wife with a \$3,000,000 emerald parure and other such trifling jewels. Exposure led to a weak and equivocal denial.

Anna Roosevelt Dall Boettiger and her husband's lucrative employments that derived from Presidential favors have been recounted. A more recent one that is very striking was publicized in an article in the December 2, 1947 issue of LOOK magazine entitled "The World's Most Generous Man". It recounts the case of Charlie Ward, President of Brown and Bigelow. Ward had been sentenced to ten years at Leavenworth in the early 20's, for the illegal possession of narcotics. The sentencing judge called him "a man beneath contempt". He was released in 1925. President Roosevelt gave Ward a full and unconditional pardon in 1935. LOOK reports that Ward "is believed to have partially subsidized" the *Arizona Times*, which Mr. and Mrs. Boettiger now publish as their latest "assisted" venture with \$50,000 and Barney Baruch with \$10,000. It is now reported that Boettiger has been applying to his former employer, Col. H. McCormack of the Chicago Tribune.

James, Elliott, and Franklin D. Jr. junketed at the expense of taxpayers and enjoyed a family picnic at Casablanca. They were on the job when overnight, President F. D. Roosevelt announced a hundred percent increase in the value of the franc, from 100 to 50 for a dollar. It is doubtful that the boys lost any money on the deal.

James Roosevelt, who had difficulty in getting a start prior to his father's presidential nomination, did very well in his insurance business. An article published in 1938 in the Saturday Evening Post entitled "Jimmy Has It", related how young and inexperienced Jimmy was able to take away from veteran brokers enormous policies of concerns that had matters to

square with the Administration, or sought its favor, good will or business. For a time "Crown Prince" Jimmy sought to take over political control of the Massachusetts Democratic organization from the local bosses; but he lost out.

In the midst of an intense war between rival slot machine and juke box operators, featuring such notables as back-scenes Tammany boss, Frank Costello, Jimmy Roosevelt entered the motion picture-juke box business in association with the Mills Manufacturing Company. From there it was a short step to a well paid executive position in motion picture business in Hollywood. The industry faced Federal indictment which was subsequently squashed.

It is interesting to note the connection of the group with the Automatic Voting Machine Co. The machines were denied acceptance until they became associated with the enterprise and the machines were found satisfactory for special purposes. Though the machines are merely mechanical counters, they jam with surprising regularity in districts whose vote is not "dependable". "Shims" that serve to cause registration on counters other than those intended, load the pockets of "inspectors". Though it could be done simply, the voter is given no way of knowing for what candidate his vote is counted. Elections can be stolen easily.

For a while, wandering Jimmy was tucked under the wing of his father as Presidential secretary and assistant. During the war, he flew far and wide on lend-lease business—in advance of grants to various appreciative lands. He made an astonishing success of his army career. Overnight he became a Lieutenant Colonel in the Marines and in April 1944, no doubt for military genius manifested, he was promoted to rank of Colonel.

In March 1946, Jimmy was named national director of the political organization of the Communist front, the Independent Citizens' Committee of The Arts, Sciences and Professions. He announced the organization's program of political action which included extension of price control and the OPA, repeal of the poll tax, permanent Fair Employment Practices Act, support of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill, and support of the United Nations. He sat on the platform with ranking members of the Communist Party and fronted for them.

The latest reports place James Roosevelt in the employ of one of the principals of the Barbary Coast,

reaching for control of the Democratic machine in California and seeking a return to the public payroll. He has been suggested by Sen. Claude Pepper for the Secretary of the Navy job, that is hereditary in the family, and for nomination for offices ranging from Congressman to Governor and President. Shrewd politicians who would like to use the "magic" of the Roosevelt name for moronic voters, regard him a poison for the Catholic vote because of his divorce. They have no fear of an adverse public reaction to his many ambiguous activities. According to columnists, Jimmy Roosevelt contemplated a political deal with Henry Wallace of which nothing has come to light, unless the third party move is a part of it.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt Jr. married Ethel Du Pont in a prearranged alliance between the Dynasties, graduated from law school, entered the Navy as lieutenant and was rapidly promoted on the same day as his brother in April 1944, to the rank of Lieutenant Commander. He identified himself as veteran with various left wing and Communist front veterans' organizations and with the P.A.C. Though he undertook to berate landlords who seek some return on their investments, and other capitalists, he has not yet renounced the considerable dowry that came with his wife or turned over any of his inheritances to the proletariat.

When Communism became unpopular, he shifted to a stand a bit less to the left and engaged in the usual tactics of the Marxist dialectician, shadow-boxing with Communism. In February 1946 he was appointed chairman of a Committee of 1000 of the crimson Union for Democratic Action. In April 1947, he joined forces with Eleanor Roosevelt's favorite, the perpetual youth Joseph P. Lash, in the wholly Red Americans for Democratic Action, at its state convention in Albany.

He has joined the ranks of the Labor Barons. August 7, 1947, his appointment as counsel for the Upholsterers International Union of North America (AFL) was announced. Despite rumors of divorce, the F. D. R's Jrs. as recently as August 6, 1947 were picked up by the police for chasing one another in speeding cars along the Nassau Boulevard in the early hours of the morning. In May 1948, Louella Parsons reported that Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt Jr. made public appearances with some fresh "shiners" which she intimated were evidence of her husband's military prowess. She reports a divorce is once again in the offing.

Elliott Roosevelt's phenomenal rise in the business world, on the wings of Hearst's anxieties, has been related. He was not content at the age of twenty-eight with a mere \$50,000 income with which Hearst provided him as Vice President of Hearst's radio chain. In 1938, with the support of Charles F. Roeser and Sid W. Richardson, Texas oil operators, who invested \$500,000, Elliott set up a chain of 23 radio stations in Texas. This provided him, according to the Washington Times-Herald of August 29, 1945, with an income of \$76,000 a year, more than his father earned as President of the United States. The enterprise is reported to have lost \$100,000 in the first three months. The Transcontinental Broadcasting Company was liquidated in 1941.

Elliott Roosevelt is possessed of all the financial genius of his father who was his mentor and aid. In 1939, to expand his radio properties, Elliott arranged a series of loans. Through Congressman William I. Sirovich and Caruthers E. Ewing, Elliott approached John Hartford, president of the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company for a loan of \$200,000. The Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company chain was then under fire of the New Deal. Hartford was originally reluctant to make the loan. Elliott phoned President Roosevelt at the White House and had him intercede with Hartford on his behalf. With a greeting of "Hello John," to Hartford, whom he had never met, the President urged him to make the loan as "a sound business proposition and a *fine thing*". (Ed. for whom?) After he had come to an understanding with F. D. R., Hartford made the loan.

In 1942, Jesse Jones, Secretary of Commerce, told John Hartford, according to Ewing, that the Roosevelt family wanted to compromise the indebtedness. John Hartford was "induced" to settle the loan at two cents on the dollar and surrender the stock, which was represented as worthless, to Jesse Jones.

"It was settled satisfactorily to all parties, so I took the note and the stock certificate to Jesse Jones in person." Ewing said, according to a U.P. report of June 12, 1945 from Danville, Illinois. "He gave me a check payable to John Hartford for \$4,000, which was all he received on the loan, and the whole thing was closed."

Elliott was not even called upon by the Internal Revenue, to pay income tax on his net profit in this transaction, though John Hartford was permitted to deduct his losses from his income in an extraordinary tax rul-

ing. It pays to be of the Dynasty even in income tax matters. Not even a Congressional investigation, largely perfunctory, altered the situation.

An anti-chain store bill had been introduced in Congress three months before this \$200,000 "loan" of John Hartford's to Elliott. It would have crippled the A & P stores, but died in committee three months after the loan, due to opposition to it from the White House. The outspoken Deadwood Pioneer Times, in its issue of July 8, 1945 commented caustically:

"All this tends to leave a bad taste in the mouth of Mr. Average Citizen. The ease with which a man with ability to pay was able to settle a \$200,000 account for \$4000 and the evident willingness of Mr. Hartford to accept such a settlement—at a time, remember, when an anti-chain store measure was being presented to the House of Representatives—leads one to believe that the deal came right off the bottom of the deck. *We'd rather be the President's son than President.*"

It points out that Roosevelt had been instrumental in getting Congressman Patman to introduce the anti-chain store bill; and that Congressman Sirovich who had approached Hartford for the "touch" had pointed up the debate on the floor of the House by directly referring to the A & P in the debate. It intimates that this loan was one of the characteristic New Deal black-mails of industry and commerce in which FDR participated personally and directly. Congressman Sirovich died *suddenly*, shortly after the deal was consummated.

The further history of this loan and its stock collateral is notable. At the very time that this loan was settled, the stock that had been represented to Hartford as worthless, had already begun to rise in value. Jesse Jones turned over the recovered stock to President Roosevelt personally. F. D. R. held the stock until November 9, 1943. By this time the stock was so valuable that F. D. R. personally sent it to Elliott's divorced second wife, Mrs. Ruth Googin Roosevelt Fidson, in a settlement to provide for the children of that marriage.

By 1945, the stock issue, according to a statement which Elliott Roosevelt made to a reporter of the theatrical sheet, *Variety*, was worth more than \$1,500,000. Its value had been materially increased by another intercession by President Roosevelt on behalf of his ex-daughter-in-law, Mrs. Fidson in the affairs of the Alamo Broadcasting Company of San Antonio, as was re-

lated in a petition filed with the Federal Communication Commission, December 15, 1945, by Norman Baker of Laredo. Baker was President of the Cia Industrial Universal Mexico that had previously owned the powerful Mexican radio station XENT. In his petition, he stated that, while he was serving a term in Leavenworth, the Alamo Broadcasting Company had obtained by collusion an option to buy the equipment of station XENT through a fraudulent act of one of his employees.

Five months after President Roosevelt had turned over the stock to his ex-daughter-in-law, Mrs. Fidson, Baker stated, she had visited the President at the White House to seek his support for the application of the Alamo Broadcasting Company to the Federal Communications Commission for an increase in the power of its radio station. The FCC granted the application rapidly and without notice or hearing for interested parties, and a construction permit for the new station, in November 1944.

Baker was blackmailed with the threat that he would be sent back to Leavenworth if he did anything to interfere. He did however obtain a decree from the President of Mexico forbidding the exportation of the equipment of his station XENT. This decree was violated by the conspirators, and on a dark night in April 1945 the equipment was smuggled across the border in trucks.

The Hartford loan was but one of a series made by Elliott Roosevelt in connection with his radio venture. From David G. Baird, a New York insurance man, Elliott borrowed on his radio stock, \$70,000, which was later settled for \$29,800; and \$50,000 from Maxwell M. Bilofsky, a radio equipment manufacturer looking for government business, settled for \$20,000; and Charles Harwood, \$25,000. (He was later appointed Governor of the Virgin Islands by Roosevelt).

Elliott Roosevelt did not limit his business genius to the field of radio. His early interest in aviation was never lost. It is reported that Elliott had a hand in the cancellation of the airmail contracts in 1935, with an eye to the delivering of the airmail contracts to one company as a monopoly. The fatal accidents to the army aviators who attempted to fly the mails in totally inadequate "crates" did much to block this deal through public indignation.

World War II found Elliott Roosevelt in the service,

not in the non-commissioned ranks like his fellow citizens of equal education and lack of experience, but as an officer, as befitted a member of the Royal Family, in charge of the War Department reconnaissance branch. While he was chief, General Arnold ordered the purchase of one hundred planes of the type designed by Howard Hughes, a protégé and intimate friend of Jesse Jones, and associate of Elliott Roosevelt, at a cost of \$44,000,000, in spite of the opposition of Major General O. P. Echols. An investigation was made in June 1947 into the failure of Hughes to deliver any of the planes which the government had ordered from him and advanced money to construct. In the course of the investigation it was revealed that Col. Elliott Roosevelt had accepted the largess of Howard Hughes, directly, or indirectly through the latter's public relations agent, John E. Meyer.

The records and evidence submitted to the Senate War Investigating Committee indicated that Meyer catered to the whims and needs of government officials ranging from Secretary of the Interior Krug to mere Army officers with whom Hughes did business. He supplied them with everything from wining, dining and hotel accommodations to call girls. The girls were rewarded with gifts and money. A letter dated September 26, 1944 introduced in evidence disclosed a gift of a costly bag to the actress Faye Emerson. Several months later Meyers gave Faye Emerson in marriage (his third) to Elliott Roosevelt in a spectacular wedding at Grand Canyon; and threw a wedding party for him. Evidence indicated that this costly entertaining was charged to the Government account, but nothing has ever been done about it.

Elliott Roosevelt has been a staunch supporter and advocate in the U. S. of Soviet Russia and the Communists, as has his intimate Henry Wallace. As recently as April 19, 1947, the Associated Press reported that Elliott Roosevelt lauded Wallace "as a political messiah with a true vision of the World and of the American political situation". Late in 1946, Elliott went on a trip to Russia as a guest of the Soviet government, with the wife that Meyer gave away to him, to secure material for an article for Look magazine. At an entertainment at the United States Embassy in Moscow, Elliott Roosevelt is reported to have said:

" . . . the United States has no business concerning itself with what happens along the Danube . . . the

Russians should get the Dardanelles from Turkey . . . Russia has never broken her word whereas the United States and Britain have often welshed". Finally he said, "Can anyone here name one instance in which the United States acted to further the cause of peace? . . . You know as well as I do that the United States is supporting the U. N. for purely selfish and imperialistic reasons.."

An affidavit filed by Mrs. D. Sherover and reported in the press on March 19, 1947, in her N. Y. Supreme Court action for divorce revealed that her husband and fellow traveller Charlie Chaplin had joined Elliott Roosevelt in fostering Communist propaganda by exhibiting Russian films in the U. S.

Elliott has been a great help and comfort to a host of subversive agencies and organizations. He has never missed an opportunity to trade on his father's reputation, including a series of books which he has written or had ghosted for him.

Elliott Roosevelt and F. D. R. Jr. have presidential aspirations. This has led them to turn against presidential candidate Wallace in a statement denouncing him in favor of Eisenhower, who says he is not a candidate. This episode was amusingly cartooned in the New York World Telegram under the caption "Children's Hour". The Roosevelt children evidently think that if they can stir up enough dissension in the Democratic Party, one of them may be picked in 1948 or 1952, to carry on the royal line as called for in Nicker-son's blueprint of the New Deal.

Reports in the press on April 8, 1948, indicate that Elliott's genius has found a new outlet. He and his mother are opening a tavern, the Val Kill Inn, at Hyde Park nearby the memorial which F. D. R. set up for himself, directly on the road on the same side, where it might do a better business than the competing inn which they are trying to induce Howard Johnson to set up one hundred feet off the opposite side of the road on land they are trying to sell. It is sincerely to be hoped that in the tavern enterprise they have at last attained a status satisfactory to their intellectual and social level, and the land will be no further annoyed.

His variegated activities have netted Elliott \$1,175,000 in twelve years, according to the Washington Times-Herald report of August 29, 1945.

John Roosevelt has enjoyed little publicity. It is

reported "he believed the war was unnecessary . . . was precipitated by lovers of war, refused to enlist or to serve in any military capacity whatsoever. Finally, under pressure from his mother he accepted a military post in the South Seas with the understanding that at no time would it be necessary for him to take a life or engage in combat."

His flair is ladies' dresses and he has recently purchased an interest in a California drygoods business. He is the only member of the family who has refrained from exploiting the Presidency.

Eleanor Roosevelt, generally referred to sarcastically as Queen Eleanor, was a bit less crude than the boys, but far more systematic in her exploitation of the President and the Roosevelt name. F. D. R. had never managed to make enough to enable the family to live in the manner born. Eleanor had helped support the family with various enterprises including the Todhunter School and the Val Kill furniture store. Fortune magazine, in its October 1932 issue expanding on the inadequacy of F. D. R.'s income for the support of his family made the significant statement:

" . . . he has always been able to live on a higher scale than most people of his means."

By the time that F. D. R. had reached the White House, most of the children were grown up, even though they had not managed to make a living for themselves. There was no real pressure to force Eleanor to cheapen the office of President by exploiting it so shabbily, other than desire for money.

The situation which the Roosevelts created by their exploitation of the Presidency emphasizes the need for provision of a munificent salary and life-long annuity for the Chief Executive of the land. There would then be no excuse for commercial exploitation of the office and it should be prohibited by law and by tradition.

In her commercial activities Eleanor Roosevelt did her share to further the drive for dictatorship. This was particularly true in her editorial work. At times her indiscretion gave the game away. This was particularly true of the article she wrote for the December 31, 1938 issue of Liberty Magazine on the Jewish question. She revealed how closely she and the New Dealers followed the Nickerson blueprint. The Jews, she stated, are a problem and to be feared by the Gentile world. She decried the treatment accorded the Jews by the Nazis, but not on ethical or moral grounds.

She decried it because "by doing it it seems we would arouse 'compatriots' living in other countries to defend their brethren". Note she wrote "compatriots", not "co-religionists", implying that the Jews are aliens. She proposed, as a solution, the restriction of the number of Jews and other minorities (including Negroes) who might occupy "high places" in politics and enter vocations, which is known as the "numerus clausus", and a government-fostered migration of them so as to minimize the influence of their vote.

The attitude of the Roosevelts can not be said to differ materially in these matters from those of Hitler, of the Ku Klux Klan and other of the more notorious purveyors of hate or the blueprint laid down by Hoffman Nickerson in his book. For them Negroes, Catholics and Jews are not Americans, but are inferior minorities that are merely to be tolerated and used by the Roosevelt clan and their allies, to whom they conceive America belongs by "Divine Right".

It was not unnatural that Eleanor who poses as an uplifter, should pretend that her activities supported charities. This pretense was sadly punctured by a number of events, especially the Burlington, Vermont incident, which was brought to the attention of Congress by Congressman Plumley. Eleanor R. (Roosevelt, not Regina) had been invited to address the Mary Fletcher Hospital Auxiliary to raise money for the hospital. She said her agent, W. Colston Leigh, insisted that she would not lecture for less than one thousand dollars, charity or no charity. The embarrassed Auxiliary, with misgivings, agreed to pay the thousand.

"As a charitable venture to raise money for the hospital". Plumley reported to Congress "the affair was a minus quantity. As a revenue producer for the *First Lady* it was a success to the tune of the \$1000, she charged the ladies auxiliary".

On this occasion, Eleanor R. was shamed by the report to Congress, into really contributing to charity, with the comment:

"Since they are evidently inexperienced in business affairs, I have asked Mr. Leigh to refund *my share of the money.*" Her "*charity*" extended only to giving back a part of what she had extracted, even when thus confronted.

Another such incident was that of Johnson City, Tennessee. When Eleanor arrived to lecture, she was sadly informed that they had raised only \$500. She

grimly replied that her contract forbade her opening her mouth for less than \$1000, on the line and in advance. The Committee hurriedly borrowed the extra \$500 from the local banker on personal notes. Then Eleanor opened her mouth, and charity and wisdom fairly drooled from it, a thousand dollars worth. To pay the note, the town raffled off a Chevrolet car, that is now known as "Eleanor's car".

When on another occasion she was given a prize by Gimbel Brothers, she ostentatiously gave it to "charity". She stipulated that the money should be used in F. D. R.'s business, Georgia Warm Springs. It looked much like taking it out of one pocket and putting it in another.

The only contributions of Eleanor Roosevelt's that ever have been authenticated were those to the Communist front and the fellow traveler organizations. To them, Eleanor gave unstintingly of her time, her energy, and her funds. They gave in return. She is no parlor pink, but has been an intimate associate of the founders of the Communist Party in the United States almost from the beginning. It was as much her influence as that of Rockefeller's agent, Harry L. Hopkins, that played upon F. D. R.'s suggestibility and constantly warped him to the left.

Though Eleanor Roosevelt persistently has denied membership in the Communist Party, her actions have spoken louder than her words. Her leftist attitudes, in view of her quest for wealth and her eagerness to serve capitalistic industry in her broadcasts and elsewhere was obviously an expedient pose that she regarded as politically advantageous. She undoubtedly is cognizant of the program to use Communism to destroy democracy and set up a dictatorship in the United States. She was the virtual head of the left-wing "Youth Movement" and her conduct with its active leader, the perpetual youth, Joseph Lash raised considerable scandal. The press reported with especial gusto the flight made by Eleanor Roosevelt in a Red Cross uniform and an Army bomber to the Solomon Islands. When she arrived there it was reported, she kissed Joe Lash squarely on the mouth and rubbed noses with the natives.

Her intervention eliminated the enemy whom the Communists most hated and feared, Robert Stripling, chief investigator of the Un-Americanism Committee, by having him drafted though he should have been

exempted. She could be relied on to effect entry for the most dangerous and objectionable Communists. She was almost entirely responsible for the entry into the country of the Communist ringleaders, the Rockefeller subsidized Eislers who recently have been deported. Ringleaders of the subversive Red and fellow traveler organizations were always welcomed by her as guests in the White House.

Eleanor R.'s projected trip to Russia to join the subversives in doing homage to Stalin, however, was blocked by the powers-that-be, through the State Department and F. D. R.

Eleanor's domination of F. D. R. as President was not a matter of uxoriousness. For there were rumors of impending divorce in 1927 and various names were mentioned. Eleanor Roosevelt was seldom at the side of her husband, even in his most serious ailments. It has often been remarked that as a rule, except during election campaigns, wherever Franklin went, Eleanor went in the opposite direction. In 1933, Fraser Edwards commented in the syndicated column, Washington Sideshow on the extraordinarily friendly relations of Harry Hopkins and Eleanor Roosevelt as follows:

"Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt through her intense interest in unemployments relief, is a frequent caller on Harry Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator. To call, she must ride up nine floors in a far-from-modern elevator. When she gets to Hopkin's office, modestly Mrs. Roosevelt sends in her name. Hopkin's secretary announces 'Mrs. Roosevelt is waiting to see you.' In she goes.

* * * *

"Hopkins with old-fashioned courtesy escorts Mrs. Roosevelt down the elevator to the front door, and she walks back to the White House, two blocks away, unaccompanied and scarcely noticed."

The picture is so affecting that one wonders why Fraser Edwards was relieved shortly thereafter of his Washington Sideshow assignment and his by-line, on demand from on high.

In the November 1936 issue of *Vogue*, J. Franklin Carter, who was often called upon to do personal publicity work for the President, published an article justifying the relations of Harry L. Hopkins and Eleanor Roosevelt.

Following the death of Harry L. Hopkin's second

wife, Eleanor Roosevelt brought up in the White House his daughter Diana. As indicative of the moral tone of the New Deal, this marriage is noteworthy. When his first Jewish wife, né Ethel Gross, brought suit for divorce against Harry L. Hopkins, two of his former friends came into the court and testified before Judge Phillip McCook that Harry had invited them to spend the night at an apartment in which he was keeping a Barbara Duncan; they testified that on her person Harry Hopkins had extended to them the hospitality of a Bedouin in the desert, after which he himself spent the balance of the night in the bedroom. In the morning they had breakfast together. Following the divorce, Barbara Duncan became the second Mrs. Hopkins and the Second *Lady* of the Land. The story was reported, curiously enough, in only one edition of one American newspaper, the first edition of the Daily News, March 21, 1931, so effective was the censorship, even at this early date, of the press by the Dynasty.

Through her syndicated column, 'My Day,' Eleanor earned a high income, appealed to the gossip-loving, had a forum for propagandizing Marxist New Dealism, insidiously waged a continuous campaign, and very transparently revealed her attachments. In those columns one reads of Esther Everitt Lape, of Harry Hopkins, of Earl Miller, of Marion Anderson, of Marys Chaney, of Rexford Tugwell, of Joseph Lash and of the amiability of the Africans. She press-agented leftist periodicals, books, plays and personages. A boost in her column was regarded as having a high commercial value.

It is in Eleanor Roosevelt's radio broadcasts that the commercial exploitation of the Presidency became most patent. Mrs. Ernest K. (Betty) Lindley "sold" her to the Pan-American Coffee Bureau. The Bureau sought favors of Washington in quotas and pricing of coffee that meant the ruination of the American coffee trade. She sold the prestige of the White House, and the desire to influence the Government Bureaus and secure their cooperation was undoubtedly a consideration. Eleanor's fees from the P-A Coffee Bureau are reported to have been more than \$2000 a broadcast. These broadcasts were financed indirectly by the United States Government through subsidies granted Latin American countries. Thus Eleanor probably in-

directly collected from the United States Government a greater salary than did the President.

This took place at the time that Nelson Rockefeller, who had evaded the draft and military service by ordering his appointment as Co-Ordinator of Hemispheric Defense, had obtained for himself a coffee empire in Brazil by cunning and unscrupulous use of the funds, totaling about six billion dollars, that he had induced Congress to entrust to him for "South American defenses". He thereby became one of the largest coffee producers in Brazil. And with the aid of more taxpayers' funds via the Import Export Bank, he cartelized coffee in Brazil and around the world, cornered the coffee market and jacked up the price of coffee from pennies to more than a dollar. This typical Rockefeller "philanthropy" gouged the same taxpayers, whose money had made the corner possible, out of tens of millions of dollars. In that loot, Eleanor Roosevelt undoubtedly shared, because of her "cooperation".

Eleanor's services were sought and paid for at about the same rate by the candy manufacturers who feared that candy would be declared non-essential and banded together to form the Council on Candy as a Food in the War Effort. Among these paid broadcasts was her "report to the mothers of the nation" following her return from Europe.

There was a premonitory significance to the richly jewelled gold crown and other rich gifts which King Ibn Saud presented to Eleanor R. (Roosevelt not Regina) to show his appreciation for the many millions of American taxpayers' money that Roosevelt handed over to him on behalf of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests.

The Dynasty's New Deal charity-begins-at-home pattern did not stop with the immediate family. Our diplomatic corps was packed with cousins of all degrees. Colorful Sumner Welles, a remoter cousin, was made Assistant Secretary of State until Cordell Hull forced his resignation for dark and obscure reasons. With Nelson Rockefeller he instituted our "good neighbor" policy which was designed to place, with the taxpayers' money, control of the resources of Latin America in the hands of the Rockefeller Empire and the Dynasty. David Gray, another cousin, was made Ambassador to Ireland. Cousin Lincoln MacVeagh has been Ambassador to Greece, where \$400,000,000 sent as part of the "Truman plan" to "stop Communism"

in Greece resulted in establishing a Communist government in the northern half of the country. Cousin A. J. Drexel Biddle was Ambassador to Poland during its debacle and subsequently served in the same capacity in France. Cousin Francis Biddle was one of the most pro-Red Attorney Generals. Cousin James L. Houghteling, was pro-Red Commissioner of Immigration and was subsequently transferred to the position of Director of the National Organization Division of the Treasury where he worked side by side with Cousin Charles W. Adams, Assistant National Director of the Division. The list of the Dynastic relatives who are cared for out of the public payroll could be extended indefinitely; but it would merely serve to further illustrate the extent of nepotism and favoritism that taxpayers support.

Uncle Frederic A. Delano, in addition to his Federal Reserve Bank appointment, also holds the following: Chairman, Advisory Council, Bureau of Plain Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering; Director, Columbia Institution For The Deaf; member, Commission for the Construction of Washington-Lincoln Memorial Gettysburg Boulevard; first vice president, Washington National Monument Society. He served also, for a time as chairman of the International Commission of the League of Nations On Inquiry Into The Production Of Opium In Persia. This appointment had an amusing aspect. Warren Delano, his father and FDR's grandfather founded his fortune on smuggling opium into China.

The most pathetic aspect of this corrupt and ruthless commercial exploitation of the Presidency is the apathy of the public and the depravity that has led to their acceptance of the cheap, sordid and revolting exploitation of the highest public office; and their acceptance of the idea that all public officers may be expected to be crudely dishonest and vilely corrupt.

CHAPTER XVIII

ROCKEFELLER EMPIRE AND DYNASTY MERGE

A "NEW DEAL" FOR MONOPOLIES

World wide monopoly of industry and commerce is the goal of the Rockefeller Empire and its allies and agents, the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty. That is the planned purpose of "New Deal" for themselves.

The industrial monopolies which they control are fed from the Treasury and the public's purse. Their Milk Trust's monopoly was extended, and even in depression the price of milk was tripled. Their monopoly of food has been widened, with the cooperation of the truckmen's unions, to the point where they maintain a constantly high price even for produce, throughout the nation the entire year.

The seizure of industries which they did not control and the setting up of new monopolies assumed a fresh pattern under their New Deal. No longer was it necessary for them to resort *as individuals* to the racketeering of the South Side Improvement Company type and risk public indignation. Their agencies, the Government and the unions, do their dirty work, undermine the industries which they seek, smash them so as to force out the investing public and form them into monopolies to be taken over.

When these things are done by the "New Deal" they have the complete support of the very radical and labor elements which would rail at them if done by private enterprise for itself. By some curious quirk of mentality akin to faith, they are happy and content when these crimes are committed for the benefit of the same private cartels through public agencies by themselves as agents, at public expense. For the "liberal" or radical does not seek to remedy evil situations. He merely seeks to be master of them himself. He is motivated not by principle but by envy and unprincipled greed. That was the Machiavellian idea that lay behind the Rockefeller support of Communism and its incorporation in the New Deal mechanics for attaining monopoly and dictatorship.

The NRA (National Industrial Recovery Adminis-

tration) and the Federal Securities Act with its provision barring holding companies and enhancing the Federal Reserve Board's power to regulate money, constituted the initial effort to accomplish a complete cartelization of all industries.

The NRA was openly a device for setting up monopolies or giving legality to existent monopolies, in their own interest, in every industry. It specifically suspended the Sherman-Clayton Anti-Trust Act and permitted each industry to organize itself under an absolute code authority.

The man who controlled the Code Authority wielded dictatorial powers over an absolute monopoly. The rules promulgated by the Code Authority had the force of law for both industry and the nation. It fixed prices, controlled production, licensed producers, admitted or barred newcomers from the industry, set conditions of competition, prescribed the amount of space and the machinery that could be used; and also possessed police and judicial powers and could put violators in jail. As a sop to Labor, a minimum wage of \$12 to \$15 per 40 hour week was provided and Section 7A recognized the *right* of collective bargaining. In other words the NRA created a syndicalist or corporate state in the U. S. at about the same time as had Mussolini and Hitler, whose sponsors were the same as those of the NRA.

The SEC established by the Federal Securities Act, is a device for tightening the monopoly of industries by control of financing. Its power to block new financing is absolute. Likewise its order to wipe out investments in railroad and utility securities is final. But it offers stockholders absolutely no protection. On the one hand numerous securities that have been passed on by the SEC and marketed, have been wiped out within a period of one or two years. On the other hand numerous worthwhile and essential enterprises have been barred from financing. Its effect on the mining industry for instance, has been devastating; and as a consequence the U. S. is becoming constantly less self-sufficient in strategic minerals and metals.

In short the SEC was never intended to serve the interests of the investor, but was planned to foster the purposes of the monopolies. This is quite manifest in its utility securities activities. In this group of securities alone, the SEC has wiped out, in a decade, more

of the public's investments than all of Wall Street's swindles of a century past.

The Roosevelts, the Adamses, the Rockefellers and many other of the Dynasty and its allies are heavily interested in local utilities. They did not, however, join the ranks of the utility magnates who scrambled to attain in the twenties, with banking support, widespread utility empires in the wildly speculative market. It was not because the Dynasty did not realize the tremendous riches of the basic and essential power industry. On the contrary, in their plans a monopoly of all sources of power and energy, as comprehensive as their American Telephone and Telegraph Company in its field, that will extend from the Arctic to Tierra del Fuego, looms very large. It was because they control the currency and banking system as well as the government and have acquired even greater strength through the enhanced powers they have given themselves through the Federal Reserve Bank. They were confident that they were safe in permitting others to develop the power systems with moneys invested by the public. Then by manipulating a depression as well as by retroactive laws written for the purpose, they could rob their rivals of their work and the public of their investments. That is the purpose of the abolition of holding companies and the power over utilities incorporated in the Federal Exchange Act.

The SEC has directed a looting of the public of its investments in utilities that is fully comparable with those perpetrated by the Nazis and Communists. By dishonest and wholly illegal and un-Constitutional acts that have been supported by corrupted and packed courts, the conspirators that control the SEC deliberately depressed and manipulated the market for utility securities by its orders and rulings. The TVA was used for the malevolent purpose of smashing the market in utility securities. On the day that the ruinously low rates for TVA power were to be announced, the press and the nation were kept waiting for Commissioner David E. Lillienthal from 10:30 A. M. until after the markets had closed. In the meantime a terrific wave of short selling hit the utility bonds and stocks that depressed them terrifically. Washington phone calls to Wall Street were particularly heavy that day, especially from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation offices. There can be no question that the announcement of the TVA rates was a prearranged sig-

nal for a "killing" in the market by the conspirators. These maneuvers cost the investing public hundreds of millions of dollars. The market for utility securities was smashed, and they dropped steadily thereafter.

The Federal Reserve Board has ably aided and abetted the swindling of the public by manipulation of margin requirements. Repeatedly it has forced the public out of stock desired by the powers-that-be by raising margin requirements, at the bottom of the market, just before large upswings were planned.

The conspirators then bought up at their own price, or virtually stole, a particular class of security in each company. It has been a simple matter for them to dictate that the particular class of security which they had cornered shall be given complete control of the utility in question, all senior securities shall be retired and junior securities wiped out, without regard to earnings or values.

It is safe to predict that when the nation's utility companies will have been "simplified in structure" (a euphemism for "stolen") they will be, in due time, merged into a nation-and continent-wide Power Trust, under the domination of the Rockefeller Empire and its Dynastic allies. This they have accomplished through their agent, FDR.

The public has been looted, under the direction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, during the Roosevelt Administration of many more billions through another industry dominated by the Dynasty and its allies, through the railroads. The Roosevelts, the Delanos, the Rockefellers, the Harrimans and numerous others of America's rulers are heavily interested in railroads.

The Interstate Commerce Commission which they dominate, exercises absolute control over the minutest details of the operation of the railroads and their rate structure. It is a simple matter for them to boost the earnings of the railroads when they own their securities, and to wipe out the earnings and force them into receivership after they have unloaded the securities on the public. This is done periodically.

The I.C.C. dictates the terms for lifting of the receiverships, subject to court approval.

The Supreme Court decision in the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad case has introduced several new "principles" into American jurisprudence, that contrast oddly with what has been regarded as honesty and sound law consonant with it.

The railroad had been in 77b receivership for several years following a period of earnings that were fixed by the I.C.C. so low that it could not meet its fixed charges. After the onset of hostilities in Europe, the earnings of the road rose rapidly to a point where all arrears on bonds could be paid off in full out of cash on hand and leave the company more than adequate capital for its future operations—in short the road became completely solvent and highly prosperous. If it were required, refinancing could have been arranged readily.

If this condition should arise in the affairs of a private individual in bankruptcy, he would be deemed guilty of fraud if he failed to pay off his indebtedness in full and thus secure discharge from bankruptcy. But in the case of the railroad, the Court ruled that the company **is not bound by the ethical or legal principles** that apply to individuals. Instead of ordering the corporation to pay off its indebtedness and secure its discharge from receivership, as it wished to do, the Supreme Court did the reverse. It ordered the railroad to do what would be ruled as fraudulent on the part of a private individual, i.e. to refuse to meet its obligations in full, to wipe out the major part of its debts, to defraud its creditors and stockholders, and to settle even mortgage and other protected claims at a fraction of their face value.

The legal support of fraudulent bankruptcies by the highest court of the land is a new "principle" in American jurisprudence.

But an even stranger departure is the reason assigned by the Court for its decision.

The Court acknowledged that the railroad was completely solvent at the time of the hearing. But it assumed the role of oracle and undertook to predict that after the war the earnings of the road would drop and it would no longer be solvent. For this reason it ordered a fraudulent settlement to be compounded by the Company. Subsequent events proved the Court a rotten prophet. The earnings of the road continued very high.

In this decision the Supreme Court has given legal support to the crime of fortune-telling, and has given divining and soothsaying a recognized role in arriving at legal decisions.

In this act the Supreme Court has given divining and fortune-telling greater weight in our law than it ever

had even among the Romans at the time when these procedures were part of their faith and practice. It has returned American jurisprudence to a status as primitive as that of Medieval law, with its "trial by ordeal". It has nullified the entire code of law that has been built up to protect honest commercial practice. For it is a matter of record that few enterprises survive for more than a generation and most of them terminate bankrupt; and under this decision the Courts could safely divine that the majority of debtors will eventually be bankrupt and order them to defraud their creditors, as in the St. Paul case. The decision has wiped out billions of railroad investments. It is another of the New Deal devices to "distribute wealth" in certain favored directions only.

The NRA proved unwieldly and unmanageable. While it was highly successful in wiping out tens of thousands of small businesses, it failed to permit the wrecking of larger units, the control of which the conspirators sought. The report brought in by the NRA Board of Review and signed, among others, by Clarence Darrow, found that the NRA was being used to foster monopoly. Senator Borah made the same charge on the floor of the Senate. The Supreme Court was called upon to declare the NRA un-Constitutional, which it did on the perfectly correct ground that it was an abdication of its Constitutional powers by Congress. Unfortunately, though this is equally true of virtually all of the New Deal, the packed and biased court has seen fit to so rule only when it serves the interests of the rulers.

With the launching of the NRA the Federal Reserve Board and other banking pressure for prolonging the depression had been relieved slightly. Business began to pick up, but not too much; because that would have upset the plans for extending monopolies. The failure of the NRA to accomplish its purpose called for resumption of the depression. President Roosevelt was put into service to mouth vigorous threats and attacks upon business with the object of smashing the stock market, and banking pressure was resumed to force a new depression in the same manner as had been done in 1929.

The Supreme Court decision wiping out the NRA was made the ground for a propaganda drive for immediate packing of the Supreme Court, instead of waiting to accomplish it gradually as called for by the blueprint of the New Deal. For it was recognized that

dictatorship, in addition to being the ultimate goal, was the *sine qua non* of the immediate objectives.

The attitude of the nation and of Congress made it apparent that dictatorship and industrial monopoly could be attained only by the Lenin formula of national bankruptcy. The squandering involved in prolonging the depression, in the Agricultural Allotment Plan, in Relief, and in other deliberately wasteful measures had not irreparably damaged the solvency of the nation. Only war, civil and external, could accomplish this. War was also required to attain world-wide monopoly and fitted into the Imperial scheme.

CHAPTER XIX

ANTI-BRITISH OIL CONSPIRACY SUCCEEDS

U. S. FIGHTS UNOFFICIAL WAR

For the Rockefeller-Standard Oil Empire, a war that would forever break the hold of the antagonistic British Empire on vast oil reserves throughout the world, had become absolutely imperative. Mussolini's acquisition in their interest of the Harrar Province oil fields of Abyssinia, previously related, was a mere stopgap that could not supply all the Mediterranean market.

By far the most important oil reserve from which the Rockefeller-Standard Oil Empire was being blocked by British opposition was Saudi Arabia. In 1914 just prior to World War I, Standard Oil Co. had loaned the Turkish Government thirty-five million dollars. After the war, in 1922 they obtained a concession in Anatolia, Turkey; in 1923, the Mosul concession involved the United States deeply in European and Near-Eastern affairs; and the Admiral Chester grant that had been backed by Kuhn, Loeb and Company precipitated a battle royal with the British interests. Development was begun in 1926. New oil leases were obtained by the Rockefeller interests in Arabia in 1936. But the British still blocked their effective development, despite the fact that the Rockefeller interests had penetrated into control of Royal Dutch and Shell.

To break the impasse the oil interests turned to Germany. Sir Henry Deterding, Chairman of the Board of Royal Dutch, retired to Germany, married a Nazi girl almost forty years his junior, and on their wed-

ding day gave a gift of ten millions to Hitler and the Nazi Party. Standard Oil acquired a 730,000 acre concession in Germany from the North European Oil Company and extended their holdings in the German Dye Trust (I. G. Farbenindustrie). Walter Teagle, President of the Standard Oil of New Jersey and Edsel Ford became Directors of the I. G. Farbenindustrie; and Ivy Lee, Rockefeller's publicity man was retained by the I. G. at \$25,000 a year to advise Hitler on Nazi German rearmament. Standard Oil of New Jersey supplied oil to Germany and finally turned over to the Nazis their refineries and accepted millions of harmonicas in payment. Texas Company's shrewd Captain Rieber made a sharper deal for his oil and received full payment in ships, eight of which were delivered before the war, and two after the war. But for that he was ousted with the outcry that he was trading with the enemy.

The plan was to build Hitler up as a menace to England, and smash the British Empire if necessary to gain control of its oil reserves and other resources. It materialized in World War II.

It was not until Hitler arrived at Dunkirk, that the British awoke to a realization that if they did not knuckle down to the Rockefeller Empire, their own would be destroyed. The British made a deal with the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests to permit a development of the Saudi Arabia field. This was predicated on effecting the entry of the United States into World War II, the United States Navy immediately beginning to convoy British vessels, and the costs of the war being unloaded on the American taxpayers. These were the terms.

Never did Roosevelt follow the dictates of his masters with greater alacrity. His education in Germany, as a youngster, had imbued him with the spirit of Prussian militarism. His prime interest was warships and naval battles. In World War I, F.D.R. had not been at the front as were other young men of his age, experiencing the miseries of war. The Dynasty had protected him from that. His war experiences had been *delightful* and *profitable*.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt had dodged the draft and evaded active military service in the war, though he was physically fit, by hanging on to his desk and swivel-chair job provided by the influence of the Dynasty. But he de-

lighted in posing as a war hero, an act that is characteristic of the clan.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt yearned for a war of his own, bigger and brighter than ever, that would memorialize him and carry his name down through history. Peacetime Presidents generally are forgotten by history. On the day of his first inauguration, Roosevelt confided to intimate friends that he hoped to be a War President. He began rebuilding the war organization with which he had surrounded himself in World War I, immediately after his inauguration, making his war-time propagandists, McIntyre and Early, his secretaries. In 1938, after the defeat at the polls of his attempted purge, F.D.R. stated to his intimate associates: "If I had a war, I could be reelected."

Only war could cover up the crude conspiracy of the New Dealers, and save them from the resentment of the nation.

The internal situation in the U.S., as has been related, demanded from the point of view of the Dynastic conspirators, war. A war emergency would justify a third term, would enable establishment of an absolute dictatorship, and would facilitate welding gigantic trusts and eliminating competition. All who opposed their conspiracy would be labelled traitors. To guard against any miscarriage of their scheme, the conspirators thumbed their noses at the nation and made the candidate of the Republican Party, which they also control, a fake opponent, a New Deal Democrat who was pledged to carry on the conspiracy, "One World", "Me Too" Wendell Willkie.

From the start of his Administration, F.D.R. spared no effort to foment war. On this score he played into the hands of his masters with alacrity. The full extent of Roosevelt's treachery and flaunting of the Constitution by intriguing war and our entry into it, will not be known until the exchange between Roosevelt and his distant cousin Winston Churchill are published. Of special interest would be the full text of the letter in which Churchill stated "between us we can divide the world."

How thoroughly incriminating they are, can be discerned from the criminal treatment accorded Tyler Kent, a loyal American employee of our Embassy in England who sought to expose the conspiracy. In spite of diplomatic immunity which entitled him to a hearing before an American judge and jury, he was turned

over to the British for star chamber proceedings and imprisonment. F.D.R. did not dare let his case be heard before an American court. To this day Tyler Kent lives under threat that if he attempts to release or publish the letters, he will be literally or figuratively "bumped off." Roosevelt's conspiracy to foment a war and to get us into it in spite of the opposition of Congress and the nation if it had been adequately publicized and exposed would have resulted in his impeachment.

The Administration is hereby challenged to publish, or release for publication, the full correspondence between Roosevelt and Churchill; and to permit Tyler Kent to publish the correspondence that fell into his hands. We hereby agree to publish them at our own expense, if released.

In 1937, Winston Churchill squarely placed the blame for precipitating the war, in the lap of President Roosevelt. He stated before Parliament that the one contribution President Roosevelt could make to the prevention of war in the world, was to avoid prolonging the depression. Then he stated, the New Deal was deliberately prolonging the depression by its war on individual enterprise and private industry. Within a short time thereafter, President Roosevelt deliberately launched fresh attacks on industry, that had been recovering from depression rapidly, and precipitated a new financial panic.

In view of Churchill's warning, President Roosevelt's precipitation of panic and depression must be regarded as deliberately designed to bring war.

Equally treasonous was the "Union Now" movement in which high New Deal officials took a prominent part. The names of both President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and of Harold Ickes were bandied about in connection with it. "Union Now" demands that the United States return to the British Empire as a colony. It denounces the Revolutionary War as a great error and misunderstanding, and treats George Washington in the light of a traitor to the Empire who is forgiven his "treason". Benedict Arnold on the other hand is regarded by the movement as a great and much misunderstood patriot and hero. Memorials were planned to honor his name. And some agencies closely identified with the New Deal have had written an opera in which Benedict Arnold is portrayed in a heroic role. They

planned to produce it shortly prior to our entry into the war.

Streit's "Union Now" is reported to be Princess Elizabeth's principal textbook. It very well might be that. Though Great Britain is virtually an American subsidized colony, "Union Now" demands insolently, on behalf of Britain, that actualities be ignored and the United States cast itself in the role of the most servile of the British colonies. To this, many of the Dynastic rulers of the United States gave their unqualified consent in spirit and deed. In view of the extensive intermarriage with the British nobility, it is not difficult to understand that both their sympathies and their financial interests are with England rather than with the U. S. The allegiance between the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty and British royalty which has been detailed elsewhere, served to strengthen the tie.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt undertook to fulfill all of the conditions laid down by the British. By an illegal secret order of the President, issued without authorization of Congress, the United States Navy convoyed British and Allied vessels and actively participated in an undeclared war. In short the Dynasty and its allies declared war in the name of F.D.R. personally.

Law, the Johnson Act, forbade the loan of any funds to countries who had defaulted on the World War I debts. This law was evaded and shamefully violated by what was sardonically named "lend lease." Pretendedly it meant that we were lending or leasing materials of war to England and her Allies. From the start England boldly and baldly stated that they have no intention of repaying; and with equal effrontery, United States officials stated that they actually had no intention of asking repayment though the law required it. The Dynasty engaged to finance the war to enlarge the oil reserves of the Rockefeller Empire, with the money and lives of the American taxpayers.

Brazenly false propaganda was fed the country through all the channels of publicity controlled by the Dynasty and its allies—newspapers, periodicals, radio, etc.—by a veritable host of British propagandists spending billions of dollars. All the British expenditures on this false propaganda were later repaid with usurious interest, out of the pockets of the American taxpayers. The Nazi-controlled Hotel Pierre of New York City was filled with such top drawer British propagandists. After the war was over, the British

government acknowledged the expenditure of billions on their U. S. propaganda. The objectives of the propaganda was to deceive the American taxpayer into believing that England was fighting the war for the U.S. and that American taxpayers must pay the costs. Later the cost even of the false propaganda was charged to the American taxpayer.

In the meantime the world was amazed at Hitler's failure to make the easy, simple crossing of the English Channel, that could have been made in a few hours. Had there been known the Dunkirk deal between the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests and the British, the situation would have been understood more readily. For it was common knowledge that as a result of the victory of the I. G. Farbenindustrie (the German Dye Trust) in its feud with the Steel Trust for the control of Nazi Germany, the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests had a powerful voice in the domination of their creature, Hitler. He was ordered to turn aside from England and attack Germany's ally, Russia. This attack on Russia added the Communist support to England's propaganda pressure to force the U. S. into the war. The Rockefeller support of the Communist elements further insured the Red's support of the war propaganda.

The United States was engaged in an unofficial Dynastic war on the Axis long before the official declaration of war by Congress. Roosevelt and his masters did what they could to provoke Hitler to declare war on the U.S.. But their plans to force Congress to declare war met with greater success in another direction—Pearl Harbor.

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's treacherous, dastardly and criminal acts involved in getting the United States in the war have been leniently presented by Charles A. Beard in his "President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War 1941: A Study in Appearance and Reality."

CHAPTER XX

"OIL IS THICKER THAN BLOOD"

PEARL HARBOR

A ROOSEVELT-ROCKEFELLER-STANDARD OIL VICTORY

By the nineteen hundred and twenties the Socony-Vacuum, Standard Oil subsidiaries had gained a virtual monopoly of the market for oil for the lamps of China. It was a monopoly dear to the heart of Rockefeller, of the type he sought to extend to the whole world. Kerosene was sold at prohibitive prices in tiny amounts to fill gift lamps distributed by the Company. But if ever the rich Chinese oil resources were developed such fantastic prices for kerosene even in beautiful tin cans, would be out of the question. It was essential for the monopoly and price structure that no oil be produced in China. The Soongs and the Nationalist Government saw to that. Blunt General Smedley Butler of the United States Marines, after his retirement roared, "All I ever did for twenty-five years in China is watch Standard Oil cans."

All went well until the War Lord of the Shansi province granted a concession to the Japs to drill for oil. The Japs found oil aplenty. This was a serious threat to the Standard Oil monopoly in China. The Chinese Nationalist Government was ordered to seize the War Lord if necessary, cancel the concession and oust the Japs. This was done in 1927.

The Japs did not take kindly to cancellation of their oil concession after spending a hundred million yen on it. Nor did they feel kindly toward the Rockefeller-Standard Oil crowd whom they knew to be responsible. They vowed to come back and seize China, if necessary to get their oil.

The Japs made good their threats and proceeded to seize China in the first Shanghai incident in 1931. And they did not forget the role played by the Rockefeller-Standard Oil crowd in the cancellation of the concessions. They avenged themselves wherever they went by destroying Rockefeller-Standard Oil property first.

An illustration of how far the Japs went in destroy-

ing Rockefeller-Standard Oil property is the Panay incident. The gunboat Panay was the only representative of the United States Navy in the China Seas. For six years it plied the Yangtze River during the Jap invasions of China but was never molested. Suddenly one day in 1937, the news was blazoned to a shocked world that the Panay had been shelled by the Japs. It has never been told that the reason why the Panay had been shelled, was that it was convoying two Standard Oil tankers. That, the Japs would not tolerate.

The efforts of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil group to protect their property took three directions. First in April 1938, within a short time after the Panay incident, they made the Mitsuis of Japan, who with the Zaibatsu dominated Hiroshito and Japan's policies, their exclusive agents in North China and all conquered territory in Asia. This placed the Rockefeller-Standard Oil group in a position to influence Japan's policies.

But it has always been a Rockefeller policy never to be satisfied with half a loaf when they can get a whole loaf at no expense to themselves. To accomplish a destruction of Japan, it was necessary to bring the American Army to the rescue of their property in China. But it would have been futile for the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests to ask Congress to declare war on Japan because it was destroying their property in China. Even their numerous agents in Congress could not afford to vote for a war on such grounds. To avoid committing political suicide, they would have to reply: "Go fly your own kite."

Franklin D. Roosevelt had no such fears or scruples. James A. Farley reported in his *JIM FARLEY'S STORY* (The Roosevelt Years) that Roosevelt brought up early in his first Cabinet meeting his plan to declare war on Japan which was then busy invading China (p. 39). For the background of this scheme of Roosevelt's, one must turn to a carefully suppressed story of national betrayal for private interests that is treason in its ugliest form. It is related by one of the few Rockefeller-subsidized and subverted professors whose spirit of patriotism prevailed, and led him to turn on the conspirators, Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, in his pamphlet *THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE HISTORICAL BLACKOUT*.

Professor Barnes relates that Rockefeller attorney and agent, Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State in the Hoover

regime, approached Hoover on behalf of his patron, with a proposition to declare war on Japan to protect Rockefeller-Standard Oil property in China, which the Japs were destroying wherever they went. He promised Hoover, in return, that the campaign of vilification that the conspirators had launched against him, and presumably the depression about which it centered, would cease, and that he would be re-elected President. Hoover has always been a loyal and trusted Rockefeller agent, and member for many years, almost from its inception, of their Council on Foreign Relations. But President Hoover's pacifist religious scruples as a Quaker prevailed, and he refused to agree to join in this patron's war conspiracy (p. 43, 6th ed.). This account by Barnes is cited in full in the author's ROCKEFELLER "Internationalist", *The Man Who Misrules The World* (p. 362).

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Stimson relates in his ghosted "autobiography" *ON ACTIVE SERVICE IN PEACE & WAR* (p. 301), was fully in accord with Rockefeller's war-mongering. This was an important factor in the Rockefeller support of Roosevelt's candidacy. Roosevelt was delighted and intrigued with the idea of his own war to "immortalize" him. But Roosevelt was restrained by Farley and other Cabinet members. They confronted him with the fact that the Constitution required that a declaration of war be made by Congress; and that neither Congress or the nation were in a mood to go to war. At that time the conspirators had not yet arrived at the point that they now have reached, of thumbing their noses at the Constitution, at Congress and at the people; and they had not yet accomplished the treasonous surrender of our sovereignty to themselves through their agency, the "United" Nations, as a device for evading the Constitution and the law.

If however, Japan could be induced to attack the U.S.—that would be a different story. To accomplish this purpose, it was imperative that the American public should have no suspicion of the significance to the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests of Japan's aggression on China; and they never were told. This was accomplished by Rockefeller's control of the press and other avenues of publication, and the control of every newspaper and news service of importance in the land. Through the Chase National Bank, the Rockefellers control all the Hearst publications and the International News Service; also the United Press and the

Scripps Howard chain. The Associated Press is entirely under their domination. Arthur Hays Sulzberger of the New York Times is on the Board of Directors of the Rockefeller Foundation since rumors have circulated of his sale of the Times to Rockefeller interests.

Control of the press is the Rockefeller-Standard Oil practice in every land in which they operate. Thus when they sought the French oil monopoly, they purchased three Paris newspapers—Le Matin, Figaro and L'Eclair. Their experience has taught them not to underestimate the power of the press amongst a free people.

They control directly or indirectly, also the important magazines including the Time-Life-Fortune group, the Crowell-Collier group, the Curtis Publications, and many others. They control directly or indirectly all the large book publishing houses. They control also the radio and the motion picture industry. The Chairman of the Pulp and Paper Industry Board is John D. Rockefeller III. Through this complete control of publications they were able to suppress any mention of the damage to their property by the Japs.

Through their control of the Navy and the Government, they were able to prevent any leaks from these sources. When Admiral Yarnell, Commander of the Panay, threatened to return to the United States and tell the American public of the indignity of the United States Navy being used as a convoy for tankers, he was retired; and learned better than to open his mouth on the subject.

Having collaborated with the Dynasty in putting Roosevelt in the White House, the Rockefeller-Standard Oil crowd took over the U.S. Government. The State Department was filled with Standard Oil executives. The Department of the Interior headed by Harold Ickes (attorney for the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests in the Chicago area) was likewise packed with Rockefeller agents, as were all the rest of the government departments and commissions. For decades the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests have given berths to retired Army and Navy officers who had proved complacent in the service, to good advantage.

Whereas under President Wilson only several hundred Standard Oil employees infiltrated into the government to take care of their interests in World War I, respect for public sentiment had barred the appoint-

ment of a Rockefeller to public office. But by 1933, the lily had been gilded; the Rockefeller name was falsely regarded as synonymous with philanthropy and benevolence, so well had been done the work of Fred T. Gates, Ivy L. Lee and numerous other perverters of public opinion.

Not only was the whole of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Cabinet a Rockefeller-Standard Oil agency, but a Rockefeller, Nelson was appointed to one of the most strategic positions in national defense, Coordinator of Hemispheric Defense. Prior to then, he had been offered by Harry L. Hopkins, Rockefeller almoner and stooge, the job of Assistant Secretary of Commerce, as a trial balloon to test public tolerance of a Rockefeller appointee. Through the office of Coordinator the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests were able to use the billions of dollars appropriated by Congress for lend-lease to Latin American countries for their defenses, as a pork barrel to bribe or coerce those lands to restore to the Standard Oil, old expropriated concessions or grant them new concessions.

Thus in Mexico, where oil lands had been expropriated during World War I with the aid of Josephus Daniels and Franklin D. Roosevelt the Standard Oil interests were able to secure for themselves \$18,000,000 of a \$25,000,000 award made to American oil companies for their expropriated properties; and the Standard Oil alone was able to get back the only two concessions in Mexico that they really valued, by an oddly complacent decision of the Mexican Supreme Court. On another occasion Bolivia was notified that she would not get any of the "defense" boodle unless she paid the Standard Oil interests for expropriated lands, a fact that was published in only one American paper, *La Prensa* of New York.

Nelson Rockefeller's Bureau was manned almost exclusively by Communists who did an excellent job of fostering Communism in Latin America, in collaboration with the O.W.I. It made the United States more enemies in that section of the world than it ever before has had. The Argentine situation and the April 1948 revolt in Colombia that flared up in the face of the Rockefeller agent, Secretary of State Marshall were reactions to the activities of the Rockefeller Empire.

The appointment of Joseph Grew, nephew of John Pierpont Morgan, as Ambassador to Japan was dictated. The plan was to induce the Japs to attack the Unit-

ed States. Grew rapidly earned for himself the name of "friend of Japan." He was of invaluable assistance in aiding their armament. Standard Oil literally poured oil into Japan. Wright Aeronautical and other aviation manufacturers built plants and supplied unlimited numbers of engines and planes. American munitions flowed into Japan in a steady stream. Literally all the scrap on the American market, including the Sixth Avenue El of New York City were shipped into Japan. The United States generously supplied Japan with everything she needed for war. Financing these shipments offered no difficulty. Japan was being given plenty of rope to hang herself.

Despite the growth of her armaments, Japan could not screw up sufficient courage to attack the United States. The conspirators were impatiently waiting and working to bring about an attack on the United States that would force Congress to declare officially the war that the Dynasty already was waging unofficially. Admiral Richardson, who was Chief of Staff of the Pacific Command, testified before a Senate Investigating Committee that President Roosevelt had expressed the wishful thought, at a White House luncheon, October 8, 1940, that "*the Japanese sooner or later would make a mistake and we would enter the war.*" Promptly thereafter Admiral Richardson protested once again the splitting of the Pacific Fleet and stationing it at Pearl Harbor, both of which had been done against his advice, in view of the intent expressed by Roosevelt to take steps leading to active hostilities. When Admiral Richardson insistently urged preparing the Pacific Fleet to protect itself, he was relieved of his command and replaced by Admiral Kimmel. The Navy deliberately was barred by Roosevelt from preparing for war.

At the instance of his bosses, Roosevelt followed his childhood yearning to play with warships and naval warfare. He took over, indirectly, command of the Pacific Fleet. Roosevelt did everything that might be calculated to induce the Japs to attack the fleet at Pearl Harbor. He stationed the vessels within the Harbor where they could be bottle-necked and could not possibly be defended. He ordered disregard of any and all warnings of danger and attack that were picked up.

In the meantime, Rockefeller-Soviet dominated and Rockefeller-financed Institute of Pacific Relations had

furnished money and spies to the Communist, Richard Sorge spy ring in Japan. The purpose was to induce the Japanese war lords to attack the United States at Pearl Harbor, instead of attacking Rockefeller's Soviet partners, which was the original Japanese plan. The Rockefeller, Red agents in the U. S. State Department, associates of Alger Hiss and the Hal Ware cell, treasonously supplemented the work of the Sorge spy ring.

The Japs were told in effect: "Destroy the United States Fleet at Pearl Harbor, and you have won the war from the start." In the meantime, the Japs who itched to attack were goaded to fury in the field of diplomacy.

This deliberate plan to induce the Japs to attack the United States was common knowledge in diplomatic circles, but it has been regarded as a breach of "ethics" to mention it. But Capt. Oliver Lytteton, Minister of Production in Winston Churchill's Cabinet, stated before Parliament on July 20, 1944:

"Japan was provoked into attacking America at Pearl Harbor. It is a travesty on history to say that America was *forced* into the war."

This is the import of a statement made by Eleanor Roosevelt, as usual sharper in tongue than in wit, in an interview given Kathleen McLaughlin, published in New York Times Magazine, October 8, 1944, about Pearl Harbor.

"December 7, was just like any other D-Day to us. We clustered at the radio and waited for more details—but *it was far from the shock it proved to the country in general. We had expected something of the sort for a long time.*"

Her statement was exceptionally significant. D-Days are known in advance to the High Command. This D-day was known beyond any question to Roosevelt and his entourage. Roosevelt had on his desk a decoded message sent by the Japs to their envoys in Washington, known as the "East Wind Rain" radiogram, which stated that Japan planned to attack Pearl Harbor on the following day, many hours before the attack. But he deliberately betrayed the nation and its defenders and failed to warn them. On the contrary they were under orders to disregard outside danger signals. In all history there never has been a more traitorous act by the head of any nation.

This means that the Dynastic rulers and their pawn,

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, had courted and precipitated a Jap attack, then deliberately withheld the warning from the armed forces and prevented them from defending themselves. Why? For eight long years the conspirators had worked, prayed and waited for the attack. They would not risk its miscarriage or effectiveness. The motto of the conspirators might have been:

"Oil is thicker than blood."

It was not their own blood that was shed and for them the price was cheap, the blood of 2500 men and a fleet of battleships paid for by the American people. Their lives meant nothing to them. The jeopardy in which they deliberately placed the nation was, as usual, of little concern to the internationally entrenched scoundrels.

The conspirators made little effort to hide their treason. This is made clear by correspondence between two Rockefeller kinsfolks and agents. One of them is Brooks Emeny, husband of Rockefeller's cousin Winifred (who murdered her children and committed suicide), and their agent in the operation of their propaganda agency, the Foreign Policy Association. The other was Congresswoman Frances Bolton, ranking Republican member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. In a letter to Emeny, Mrs. Bolton acknowledged herself to be "guided" by him and his Rockefeller bosses. And she stated that she and her associates awaited and "celebrated" the December 7 attack on Pearl Harbor.

CHAPTER XXI

F.D.R.'S "NEW DEAL FOR THE MASSES" "SOCIAL SECURITY" AND "LABOR'S GAINS"

The War, which Roosevelt and his Dynastic bosses had worked so systematically to bring about, offered the ideal approach to grooming of the United States and the world for dictatorship and monopoly. The regimentation of industry which the NRA had failed to attain, the war "emergency" made inevitable. Likewise political dictatorship under the Commander-in-Chief was unavoidable and regimentation of the nation within and without the armed forces was a "must."

The wartime regimentation of the nation avoided revealing the true purpose, fostering national and international trusts and monopolies of a private character and *frank* dictatorship. Such "trusts" had been and still were the pet hates of the Marxist, Communist and self-styled "liberal" elements. The error of the NRA and the first New Deal had been that its monopolistic purposes were too obvious to dissemble and that was an important cause for its failure. The conspirators now went to the opposite extreme of pretending to fight the very things that they intended to bring about. That was the truly Machiavellian cunning of the plan that so thoroughly deceived the public regarding purposes of the later Dynastic activities.

The first, peacetime New Deal had openly turned over the latchstring to the public purse to the Dynastic bankers, to Dynastic industrialists and to relatives. They were given the cream of the graft. To the rank and file of the nation, especially to poorer classes, it had thrown a sop in the pattern of the Gracchi and other demagogues of history, in the form of Relief, which was bribery for purchase of votes and a spoils system on a vaster and more corrupt scale than has been dreamed of or dared in all of human history. The mob was given the skimmed milk of the graft.

Historically there was nothing in Roosevelt's, or Bismarck's, New Deal that was not an integral part of the New Deal launched by the Gracchi in ancient Rome. There was nothing missing in FDR's program of the laws of Rome except one. In Rome the receipt of Relief was made a hereditary privilege for 500 years.

There was, however, an added wrinkle to FDR's appeal to the mob that was uncalled for in Rome's. He offered to restore prosperity by abolishing prohibition. It was soon found, as was expected by the more sober citizenry, that prosperity was thereby restored to the liquor industries and vendors only; and the balance of the community was richer only in glow—but poorer in purse. The Dynasty and its allies are heavily interested in the liquor industries. They grew richer. Their depression was relieved, as in all other instances where the Dynasty was involved. For the rest of the nation the depression rolled on unrelieved by the flow of liquor, except in spirits.

The unemployed were placed on Relief through the WPA, the PWA, and a host of alphabetic and constantly changing bureaucratic agencies which in their

multiplicity and confusion justified numerous irregularities which were introduced by deliberate plan. The dole was openly designed to discourage people from working so as to hold down the production that would arise from greater employment. Relief agencies such as the WPA were frankly created and administered for the purpose of purchasing or extracting supporting votes from the recipients.

Politically influential relievers got more in Relief than they had earned ever before in their lives; and they lived on the fat of the land. But the great minority received scarcely enough to hold body and soul together. They lived on the verge of starvation, seeing neither butter nor meat for week after week. Malnutrition among them rose to heights which had never before been seen in the history of the country.

In 1934, the author reported on the basis of school-children visiting New York City Board of Health eye clinics, most of whom were on Relief, that more than a sixth were suffering of malnutrition that was so severe that it seriously impaired their vision. The particular type of malnutrition involved was a deficiency of vitamin A which previously had been known to exist on so wide a scale only in poverty stricken China. Following the appearance of this report, the author's scientific publications were stopped by a rigid censorship, to prevent the facts becoming known. Two years later after temporary restoration of employment had resulted in improved diets and material improvement in nutrition, the Administration and social service agencies acknowledged the existence of the conditions which the author had described.

Workers under NRA were extended a minimum wage of \$12 to \$15 a week and kudos were rendered to the "right of collective bargaining." They were also extended the fraud of "social security" and the clap-trap of Bismarck's Made-in-Germany "New Deal." In return for payments deducted from their wages, certain classes of workers are offered first, a pittance of unemployment insurance which often did not equal the Relief dole; and second, a pension after reaching the age of sixty-five that is not enough to starve on respectably. It is made certain that the pensioners will starve, in the case of the average individual with no private income, by barring them from even those shabby "benefits" if they earn an adequate supplementary sum by continuing to work beyond pensionable age.

In return for the payments made, the worker has no legally secured rights. What rights may redound to him are subject to the constantly changing rules and regulations of the Social Security bureaucrats. The bureaucrats' only interest is to provide social security for themselves in the form of jobs. Under the regulations which they set up from time to time, fewer and fewer workers are eligible for pensioning. Thus a man totally and permanently blinded to-day is entitled to neither a pension nor the return of his money unless he is sixty-five years of age and has worked and paid his assessments up to retirement. Since most blind folk can not get jobs, they are ineligible for benefits. The same is true of many folk over forty who in normal times can not secure employment. Death benefits or return of money paid in are denied in an ever wider group of cases by bureaucratic rules that change from day to day.

An ever larger proportion of the contributors to the fund never receive any return—not even a refund of contributions. In the case of private insurance companies the courts have ruled that to fail to pay benefits due, or else, to return the premiums paid in, constitutes fraud. But government agencies including the Social Security Bureau may and do practice these frauds with impunity while the “liberal” political donkeys bray about workers' benefits, and the even more assinine electorate believe them.

The most stupid aspect of the humbug and fraud of “Social Security” is the fact that the money collected from the workers must be spent on current government expenses and only tokens of the liability for these funds in the form of government bonds are left in the S.S. treasury. Under our present scarcity-economy set-up, the failure to spend most of the Social Security funds immediately, would cause contraction of the currency volume; and that in turn would cause progressively deepening depression and increasing unemployment. Unemployment prior to retirement would bar the contributor from enjoying the benefits of Social Security unless the unemployed were placed on a dole and their security payments made for them out of the dole. The dole would have to be paid in part out of Social Security funds by the sale of Government bonds to the fund. As a consequence of the diminishing employment, however, the contributions to the Social Security fund would diminish, thus steadily reducing the

amount available for purchase of bonds and payment of doles. The same progressive contraction would prevail in industry and the taxes derived therefrom. Eventually the Social Security fund, the government and industry would all be bankrupt. Therefore the Government must spend the Social Security funds as soon as it receives them.

But now that the Government has accepted its "*duty*" to spend all of the Social Security funds currently, to avoid paralyzing our scarcity-economy monetary system, other hydra-headed evil consequences appear. First, the forced increased expenditures by the Government designed to put the money collected for Social Security, back into circulation, in order to avoid contraction of the currency volume and depression, results in inflation. Inflation causes a rise in cost of government and therefore a rise in taxes. Increased taxes means further inflation and higher prices. This inflation is aggravated and bankruptcy hastened by the necessity of currently raising taxes to raise money for repayment of the bonds placed in the Social Security vaults in order to provide for payment of pensions and for the interest on the bonds. Thus there is set into operation a vicious spiral of constant, uncontrolled inflation with eventual bankruptcy of the Nation.

The absurdity of the Social Security situation rises to the highest zenith when one stops to consider that the pensioners can find no security in either money or bonds; nor can they clothe or shelter themselves in them. Security rests only in having available for purchase necessities of life at all times. Droughts and other upsets make it necessary to produce always at maximum capacity, and to set up continuous reserves and surpluses to make sure that necessities of life at all times will be available. But reserves and surpluses, in our present speculative economic set-up spell a drop in prices, a loss of employment in production because of dropping out of marginal producers, and the wiping out of surpluses.

In short in a scarcity economy, such as our normal economy, the surpluses which insure security can not be attained. Under the New Deal economy that restricts production and plows under crops, the Administration is destroying the reserves that would have freed us of the necessity of hungering for food, clothing and housing (in the form of rationing). It destroys real security, while taxing the nation for pretended security.

The credits which are being set up in the Social Security books in Washington for the moneys taken from the workers present no security whatsoever. They offer only a mirage of security.

This fraud has been possible because the gullible and unthinking public, hear and believe what the politicians say, but are too dull to perceive that they do the very opposite.

The absurd inadequacy and undependability of the New Deal's Social Security program is vividly portrayed and attested by the fact that many powerful unions—including United Mine Workers, International Ladies' Garment Workers—have spurned its provisions. They have established pension and retirement systems that more closely approach adequacy and are less completely fraudulent, with funds raised as a private tax by assessments levied upon employers and industries.

When it had made its war official, the Dynasty carried on its skullduggery behind the front of real and pretended war needs, of sham "soak the Rich" class warfare and of Bismarxian pro-laborism. That was labelled the second New Deal.

The needs of war offered a pretext for shamelessly betraying the security of the United States in favor of the interests of the far flung Rockefeller Empire. The story has been related of the Rockefeller-Standard-Oil I. G. Farbenindustrie conspiracy to deprive United States and the Allies of rubber which would have resulted in an Axis victory, had it not been exposed and checked. But this is only one of the conspiracies centering about essentials of war and peace which menace national prosperity and security.

Tin is one of the prime necessities of modern life. It is absolutely essential for national existence, defense and for war. Despite the fact that tin may be mined in many parts of the world including the United States, a British and Dutch cartel conspire to monopolize the tin industry of the world by suppressing its production elsewhere, with every device at their command and at the command of their governments. The tin which they produce the Tin Cartel ration out at exorbitant prices to the countries of the world. They deliberately and systematically discourage or block the production of tin by corrupt machinations to prevent competition and hold prices at an exorbitant level.

The United States is particularly rich in tin. Production of tin was undertaken in the United States by the

British tin interests when Cornwall tin ran low in the 1860's just before the alluvial Malay deposits came into production. It was mined by them in the State of South Dakota on property that now belongs to the Dakota Tin and Gold Company. From this property there was sent to England for refining, shiploads of high grade tin oxide (cassiterite) ore.

Shortly thereafter, the British discovered the commercial possibilities of alluvial ore in the Malay Peninsula, with its cheap labor. They undertook to discredit and paralyze competitive tin production for the purpose of maintaining their monopoly. In the United States they found ready allies in political circles. Boycott of American and other tin was required of industries whose products were admitted to the British and Dutch markets on a favorable basis. Support of the Tin Cartel was required of companies such as the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests that sought to operate or produce in British or Dutch possessions.

The success of the operations of the Tin Cartel in maintaining a world scarcity of tin almost won the war for Germany and Japan. The stockpile of tin in the United States was so small that bearings for aviation engines had to be made with silver as a poor substitute for tin. Failure of these silver alloy bearings caused numerous crashes and deaths.

Some tin was made available for the United States by the Tin Cartel in partnership with the Rockefeller interests, from the Patino Bolivian tin mines. This tin ore is so highly impure that it is impossible to refine it by ordinary methods or to the ordinary grade of purity. The U.S. Government built for the Cartel-Rockefeller interests a special refinery in Texas for the refining of this ore at a cost of many million dollars; and it paid so high a price and bonus for the inferior Bolivian ore that Patino Mines stock earned more per year than the price of little over five dollars a share at which it sold at the start of the War.

Even under the stress of war, however, the U.S. government did whatever it could to discourage production of the higher grade American tin. Thus the Dakota Tin and Gold Company shipped one ton of high grade alluvial tin to the Metal Reserve Board, and was paid twenty-nine cents a pound. This was less than the actual cost of production at the time. But the payments made to Bolivia constitute a small fraction of the cost of their tin. Enemy submarine action made shipping

dangerous and costly in money and lives. It also made the flow of imported supplies precarious. Shipping space had to be diverted to tin from other necessities. The Bolivian tin was therefore far more costly than the actual price paid.

Even if the government had subsidized the domestic production of tin to the extent of paying ten times the Bolivian price, it would have been worth-while in terms of national security and saving of lives. But high subsidy is not necessary. American tin, in such case as the Dakota Tin and Gold Company, could be produced at virtually no cost, as a by-product in the production of sodium feldspar, which is a valuable commercial product, if adequate financial support were given in starting production. Either directly or through the SEC, the Government has barred the financing of American mining and tin production. British propaganda, supported by U.S. Government agencies, has persistently and falsely discredited American tin because it could readily supply all the needs of the United States at prices far lower than the Cartel's. The Rockefeller-Patino tin interests have been subsidized heavily by the New Deal. Overtures were made to Roosevelt, Wallace, the Army, the Navy and various New Deal officials to help the American tin industry get on its feet with RFC loans of the same type as was extended to Rockefeller Bolivian tin producers and refineries, to help it provide the tin that was so direly needed in our war effort, and the lack of which was costing many lives. The Company was flatly rebuffed. American tin was not wanted, officers of the Company were told, even if lack of it meant loss of lives. The reasons stated were quite frank. Rockefeller's agent, Henry Wallace, stated that he wanted no competition with the British-Dutch tin cartel, or with the Rockefeller-Patino interests. Cordell Hull, who it was rumored had a sizeable investment in the British Tin Cartel stocks, vigorously opposed any encouragement of American tin production. On April 23, 1948 the International Tin Study Group conference, representing the Tin Cartel reported that there would be, according to their plans, a shortage of 20,000 to 40,000 tons of tin a year between 1948 and 1950 with no provision for stockpiling for war.

The desire of the Dynasty to leave the United States dependent upon foreign sources of tin, columbium, tantalum, and of other essential minerals and commodities, as in the case of rubber, clearly indicates that the

safety and security of the United States means little to them. It appears to make clear that they care little if the United States wins or is defeated in war, so long as their own selfish purposes are served. It also indicates that they have a community of interests with enemy lands that would make them secure even in case of an enemy victory. And as a matter of fact, either complete exhaustion of the United States or its eventual military defeat, or both, seems to be regarded by them as almost a *sine qua non* for the destruction of democracy in the U. S.

It can be predicted with reasonable certainty that in event of war with the Soviets, the East Indies and probably also the Bolivian sources of tin will fall into Russia's hands at the very start of hostilities. Russia has been very busy buying up our sources of strategic minerals with "Lend Lease" funds supplied them from the U. S. Treasury by the Dynasty.

The sham "soak the rich" program is improperly labelled. It is really a "soak certain rich" program. Its purpose is to maintain a monopoly of wealth by preventing any working man from becoming rich through his efforts. This is accomplished by imposition of progressively higher taxes on everything that a man makes by working. But the wealthy are protected in their wealth, and the speculative fraternity are fostered, by various loopholes in the tax law, and by the provisions of the capital gains tax. The wealthiest interests escape taxation by the United States completely by the provision of the law that exempts from taxes any money made by Americans in foreign lands. This has served to stimulate the flight of capital of the wealthy from the United States and to foster, with American funds, foreign competitive industry.

The Labor Baron agents of the Dynasty enjoy tax exemption that is conferred on the unions whose funds they control. Thus there is developed an ever tightening monopoly of wealth by the Dynasty. This monopoly is being tightened at the insistence of the Labor Barons, supposedly on behalf of the workers and as a part of their Marxist program.

The NRA function of wrecking industries that are not controlled by the conspirators was assigned to the Office of Price Control. At the top of the OPA were put such men as advertising agent Chester Bowles, who posed as the white hope of the Communists but could be trusted by the Dynasty and the Rockefellers

to protect their interests. The lesser offices of the OPA were deliberately filled with Communists and their sympathizers who were encouraged to run riot in their savage anti-capitalist "production for use and not for profit" fanaticism. They were left to vent their destructive mania on small property owners and the industries that the conspirators sought to destroy or suppress and take over into their monopolies.

The OPA Office of Rent Control offers an excellent illustration of the operation and consequences of the OPA. The personnel consisted of rabid Communists and crooked real estate brokers. All of them were absolute dictators. All of them, down to the lowliest clerk were a law-unto-themselves as far as concerns the landlord. From their maliciously destructive acts there is no appeal. The employed brokers worked in collusion with friends to depress the value of property which they wished to acquire at forced sale. They placed rentals at so low a level as to inflict losses on the owners, that compelled sales. The Communist employees had but one purpose—to foster Communism by disrupting and destroying production of housing and of every other necessity of life. By deliberately setting prices and rents so low as to inflict bankrupting losses they blocked production and provision of housing. They then blamed the havoc which they had wrought on Capitalism; and advanced more Communism as the only remedy.

The OPA and CIO revolutionary unionism, and their successors, have been the chief agencies of Communism and of the Dynasty's conspiracy for dictatorship and supermonopoly. Since the procedure of the OPA pretended to base rents on comparative values that had prevailed in years prior, comparison was a matter of judgement at best, and arbitrary, when at the worst. The landlord had no recourse. The landlord under their procedure is criminal suspect in advance and he has no recourse and no opportunity to defend himself against the falsest allegations. Under the law, the landlord was, and still is, robbed of his right of contract, is required to carry the whole cost and burden for the government of subsidizing low rents, while paying constantly rising taxes and operating expenses. In short, the landlord is faced with the confiscation of his property without any process, not in the interest of the nation but of private individuals. The entire situation is un-

Constitutional and plainly dishonest. It is legitimized thievery.

The housing shortage which now plagues the nation is a deliberately planned consequence of this rent control policy. Preservation of their jobs was almost as cogent a force in that policy, as are the desire to inflict damages on property holders and the other motives that have been mentioned. Employees of the OPA Office of Rent Control openly acknowledged that the permanence of their jobs depended upon creating and maintaining a housing shortage. They planned to force the creation of permanent housing administration which would take them over and make their jobs permanent. This they plan to accomplish through the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Bill, which is designed to Communize ("nationalize") housing.

If the courts had not been so completely packed and corrupt, it would be possible for the landlords to recover from the Government the losses which it has inflicted on them. When the Government undertakes legitimately to subsidize, the burden must be borne by the taxpayer and the subsidies paid out of the Treasury. Landlords who have been forced to privately subsidize low rents have a legitimate claim on the Treasury for the losses inflicted on them that will be upheld by honest courts.

Complementing the OPA and price control in destroying competition and bolstering monopolies, rationing was extremely effective. Years of "New Deal" scarcity economy had stripped the nation of all commodity reserves and had reduced production of raw materials to a low ebb. This situation served to justify rationing of commodities. But in every instance the rationing was made to serve, as in the case of sugar, the monopolistic purposes of the Dynasty.

In the case of oil and petroleum products, however, rationing was completely unjustified. Various state and national agencies, such as the Railroad Commission in Texas, and voluntary prorationing agreements entered into by the industry, had served to reduce the U. S. oil production to a mere fraction of the potential production. The excuse offered for this procedure was the desire to conserve the life of the fields. But the real reason was that the Standard Oil and other major companies did not wish to pay the higher price for American oil when they could buy, or steal, Venezuelan or other oil for a mere fraction of the American price.

By the influx of foreign oil and restriction of oil production, before the OPA and by price control during the war, the price of oil was kept at so low a level that it did not pay the American producer to continue black oil and marginal production, or to seek new production.

The nation's distribution facilities up to the time of the war were geared to the importation of foreign oil by tankers. During the war a large proportion of the tankers were sunk by submarine warfare. But even that did not imply any real need for rationing of oil and gasoline during the war. For the number of cars on the road was so severely cut down by restriction of auto and tire production that there would have been ample fuel to go around, if the production and distribution of oil had not been disrupted deliberately.

As a result of rationing, numerous producers and distributors of gasoline and oil were forced out of business or were compelled to sell their businesses to the Standard Oil and other larger companies, most of them Rockefeller controlled, that could hold out. At the end of the war the monopoly of oil was tighter than ever. The artificial shortage of oil was maintained by the shipment to Russia and to the Rockefeller-Standard Oil development in Saudi Arabia and other foreign lands of most of the available equipment for production and distribution of oil. As a consequence the United States now freeze in winter because of lack of oil and other fuels, industries are paralyzed and must shut down at times, rationing is being brought back, and in case of war, a shortage of oil and gas may spell disaster and defeat. Russia when she seizes Saudi Arabia and Iran will have more oil than the United States thanks to the activities of the Rockefeller Empire. But the profits of the monopoly have become enormous because of the shortage.

The most amazingly ingenious and ingenuous sham incorporated by the Dynasty in its New Deal is its mechanism for regimenting labor under their own aegis through "labor leaders" and its use for establishing monopolies that are entirely within the law. Wagner's subservience to the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests makes it clear that the Wagner Labor Relations Act is designed to serve their purposes. It epitomizes and points up the warfare of Labor on Capital in so truly a Bismarxian sense that Wagner has earned for him-

self the title of "America's Bismarck", a noble title for a pawn.

The Supreme Court decision wiping out the NRA was mock obeisance to public sentiment against monopolies in restraint of trade, through control of machinery, that has been built up through decades. With equal diligence there had been built up by Marxist agencies and pseudo "liberals" a sentiment in favor of union monopolies of labor. It required little astuteness to discern that industry could be monopolized even more completely by control of labor than by control of machinery.

The Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty, FDR and the New Deal, demanded through the National Labor Relations Board, of certain industries not controlled by them or their allies, that they turn over management, or share it with the Labor Barons of the unions involved. As a result Roosevelt was hailed as a "champion of Labor". This pose contrasts sharply with the harsh and ruthless attitude of the Dynasty towards the workers in the industries which they control.

A number of members of the Dynasty, including FDR, and his uncle Frederic A. Delano, shared ownership of the Graceton Coal Co. and of the Vintondale Colliery Co. which operates a mine at Vintondale, Cambria County, Pa. The production of the mines was sold through the Delano Coal Co. which drained off most of the earnings.

Launched about 1892, the Company built over 200 homes and employed about 400 men. The town was completely owned and rigidly controlled by the Company. Strangers could not enter town without the permission of the superintendent of the Company. Armed guards patrolled the town. Workers dared not discuss conditions in the mine with strangers. They were compelled to buy at the Company's store at high prices.

The Company persistently fought unionization with violence. In 1922, the UMW was enjoined by the Company from holding a meeting in town on property owned by the union. In 1933, after Roosevelt's inauguration and his adoption of a friendly policy towards labor unions, as a political device, the mine was organized by the UMW.

On March 18, 1940, the Vinton Collieries Co. shut down the mine, locked out the workers and left without paying them \$40,000 in wages due them, after sneaking out 86 carloads of coal under a large guard.

The Company's store was shut down and its stock of food left to rot, while the workers and their families were left destitute and hungry. The Company refused to sell the food in its store to the workers. Eventually the miners were placed on Relief and they were furnished some items of food by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corp.

There is no record that Eleanor R. ever made one of her "welfare" visits to this mine, of the type that she made to the West Virginia mines, that were so widely publicized, or that she ever extended them any of her notorious "charity". Maybe it struck too close to home?

The fostering of labor unionism on a vast and unprecedented scale by the Dynasty and the Rockefeller Empire is completely understandable. By doing so they have completely regimented labor under their own control through their own appointed agents, provocateurs and dictators, more pleasantly labelled "labor leaders". This they have done through the Wagner Labor Relations Act and other "New Deal" labor legislation, which have robbed workers of their freedom and their right to work at a vocation of their own choice. This right the Dynasts have farmed out to the goons, racketeers, ward heelers and zealots, the "labor leaders" who are their vassal agents. They would be more correctly named "Labor Barons", for they serve in the same capacity as do barons in feudal states.

Under the franchise of the Wagner Act the Dynasty extended to the Labor Barons a series of so-called "rights" that flagrantly violate the rights that are supposedly guaranteed to the nation at large by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. These special "rights" of the Labor Barons, that are equally enjoyed by the Dynasty include the following among others:

1. The "right" to extort from vassal workers a private tax for the privilege of working.
2. The "right" to dictate who may work, when he may work, and to virtually enslave the worker.
3. The "right" to practice blackmail and extortion on all employers and industries, and to levy unlimited assessments on them.
4. The "right" to wage unlimited class warfare on the rest of the community for their own special interests and to sabotage the nation at large.
5. The "right" to mercilessly profiteer, to exploit communities and to deprive them of the very necessities of life, whenever it suits their purpose.

6. The "right" to betray the country and to traitorously traffic with its enemies—as is instanced by the negotiations of John L. Lewis with Hitler, and the CIO-PAC betrayal of our nation to Communism and Russia.

7. The "right" to conspire to restrain trade.

8. The "right" to disrupt industry and to destroy whole industries.

9. The "right" to bring whole communities, and if they desire, the whole nation, to verge of starvation by strikes and sabotage.

10. The "right" to throw out of work and deprive of a livelihood, employees of whole groups of industries whenever, however, and as often as they choose.

11. The "right" to precipitate inflation, panic, depression and unemployment on as wide a scale as they choose.

12. The "right" to destroy the Constitution and the government and to deliver the United States to foreign powers.

13. The "right" to engineer staggering taxation on the community at large while they themselves are tax-free.

14. The "right" to bribe and corrupt public officials, and to buy elections.

The Labor Barons and their henchmen—gangsters, goons, ex-convicts, convicts and intellects prostituted to them—have been extended these "rights" on the pretense of giving "protection", in the true gangster or baronial sense, to workers. The more moronic element believe that the unions provide the higher wages, the employment and the standard of living that now prevail. It requires only a very mediocre memory to reveal how false is this claim.

Labor unions rose to relatively as great power in World War I and its aftermath, as they now enjoy. They then did not prevent depression and unemployment, or provide for it. On the contrary, they forced wages during the post-war era to such extortionate heights, and restricted production so much, as to force collapse of commerce and industry and to price workers out of their jobs. They forced an inflation so high that the unions themselves called a buyer's strike against the purchase of the very merchandise produced at the higher wages.

With unions equally strong in the 30's and now, the difference in the situation accounts for higher employment at this time. Industry was prostrate in the 30's

and could provide no employment. It is strong and prosperous now, and therefore provides jobs. Strong industry provides employment. Strong and arrogant unions weaken industry and destroy employment.

The Labor Barons deliberately collaborated with the Dynasty and precipitated the depression of the 30's. The objective of the right wing Labor Baron is to control or destroy; and many of them have gained control of industries in their domains. The objective of the left wing and subversive Labor Baron is to destroy the U.S. Government and to create an American Soviet over which he hopes to be Commissar.

To cover up their crimes, the Labor Barons have employed prostituted professors of economics and statisticians to throw dust in the eyes of the public and to falsely place the blame for the depression on capitalists and industry. The latter have been too stupidly disorganized to refute the false charges levelled against them.

What is more disastrous for the nation, is the fact that these "economists" who are prostituted to Labor Barons and most of them frankly Communists, have deluded the public into taking larger doses of the same quack medicine that killed the golden goose of prosperity in the 1920's—ever higher wages for ever less work. Their pretended purpose is "pump priming" and increasing the purchasing power of the workers. At a time when the United States and the world at large are crying for greater production of the necessities of life, they are imposing a shortening of the work-week and a restriction of production. This is clearly a part and parcel of their wrecking program of Communization of the United States through national bankruptcy. As might be expected, the result of their activities is a rapidly mounting inflation.

The Labor Barons and their Dynastic overlords could readily bring on another depression now, if they are not checked. That would be fatal to human freedom. Freedom would be lost to the Dynasty through the agency of the "managed economy"-Labor Baron clique, who use Communism as their bait. Depression as a step to revolution and overthrow of our government is the deliberate and avowed objective of the tactics of the labor movement, according to an article published by left-wing, Maxim Gorki Institute-trained, Victor Reuther of the UAW.

It is difficult to understand how anyone can be so

stupid as to believe that the Labor Barons and their Dynastic patrons are serving the interests of the workers, or of the nation, by inflicting upon them the miseries and deprivations of inflation and depression; or that they are serving them by restricting production, by production and work rules, by featherbedding, by conspiracy with specific employers or by numerous devices that they are free under the law to employ with impunity. Are any Labor Barons so brazen as to openly assert that in preventing workers from getting homes, cars, refrigerators, and other necessities and luxuries, they are serving the interest of the workers? Have any of them the temerity to allege that they are protecting workers by pricing them out of jobs and forcing them into unemployment as they are doing in the movie industry, the housing industry, and many others, through ever increasing wage demands; or that they are protecting workers by chain strikes that keep hosts of workers unemployed for months on end, and wipe out their savings and impoverish them?

The record reveals the Labor Barons as the most ruthless exploiters and betrayers of workers, who spring into action and demand a cut of wages and profits when industry offers employment; then they expel the workers for non-payment of dues when employment is no longer available to them.

Pretendedly in the interests of the workers, the vassals of the Labor Barons, the Dynastic patrons extend the following so-called "rights":

1. The "right to work"—when, as, and if the Labor Baron wishes them to work. As a corollary to the "right to work" there is claimed the "property right" in a job. This means in principle that when an employer gives a man a job, that man acquires a share in the business, which is tantamount to confiscation of the employer's property. This is one phase of the idea that has been incorporated into our law, to the effect that any man who gives employment to another man and provides him with a living, is an enemy of society, a criminal suspect who is guilty of any and every crime until he proves himself innocent; and that he must be hounded, harassed and penalized at every turn.

2. The so-called "right to strike" consists of the right to violate the Constitutional rights of the others—the "right" to deprive the owner of the use of his property, the "right" to restrain trade, the "right" to use force and violence on the person and property of others, the

"right" to assault, maim and murder, the "right" to deny others the "right to work" and earn a living, the "right" to endanger the health, safety, and lives of whole communities, and numerous other wrongs and crimes that when perpetrated by or under the direction of a Labor Baron are strangely converted, by a perversion of our laws, into "rights".

The "right to strike" is neither used or intended primarily to benefit the worker. So-called organizational strikes, called by almost all Labor Barons annually under normal circumstances, are intended to assert the authority of Labor Barons over their vassal workers, to force them into line and to pay arrears in dues and special assessments including those levied for the strikes in question. They are primarily directed against the worker; and only secondarily against the employer and the community.

Strikes are sources of revenue for the Labor Baron. They serve to dramatize him and put him before the public. In normal times strikes are the Labor Baron's chief function. The union member, or serf, loses wages during the period of strikes and can only be the loser. But the Labor Baron has asserted his authority and gained for himself notoriety and added income.

3. The "right to collective bargaining" which means the "right" of coercion, blackmail, extortion and holdup of industry by the Dynastic politicians through their agents, the Labor Barons, in the pretended interest of the worker. These holdups of industry continue until high wages completely wipe out profits, shut down or bankrupt industry, and destroy employment. At the same time they force steady inflation. Ultimately they serve merely to impoverish the worker. Water can not be drawn from a stone, nor can wages be paid by industry that has no earnings for any length of time. These are the objectives sought by the Dynasty in their conspiracy to effect monopoly and dictatorship.

The dramatic effectiveness of the sponsorship of even the most Communist and subversive Labor Barons by the Dynasty and the Rockefeller Empire, is illustrated by the current developments in the New York City Transit situation. The success of the Rockefeller interests in getting New York City to bail them out of their transit investments through their subversive, Red agent, Fiorella LaGuardia, and their objective of increasing fares before they openly resume control of

the companies has been related. Within one week after the prediction had been made, the fare on the subways of New York City had been doubled from a nickel to a dime by order of Rockefeller's hand-picked Mayor William O'Dwyer in a farcical performance that had all the elements of a Gilbert and Sullivan comedy, except the music.

From the start the New York City subway systems were ruthlessly looted by its financiers. Through dummy, exclusive purchasing agencies with a capitalization of a few thousands they drained off many millions of dollars. They paid themselves series of enormous dividends ranging up to 100%. They then unloaded the highly watered securities on the public, and after the panic of 1907, bought back the bonds for a mere fraction of their face value. With subway unification engineered by their agent, LaGuardia, they were repaid full face value on their bonds, giving the Rockefeller interests alone a profit of \$150,000,000 at the expense of the taxpayers. In the meantime their own agents in the Transit Commission continued in control of the lines for the purpose of mismanaging them and creating a public outcry that would require improvement, extension and eventual reversion to private control.

A fare increase affected so many voters that politicians dared not advocate it. The five cent fare was a political shibboleth. Most vociferous in their opposition to an increased fare were the Communists, the Red American Labor Party and the left wing unions. To overcome their opposition, the control of the transit workers was turned over to the radical Transport Workers Union, CIO headed by the crimson City Councilman Michael J. Quill, its International President. Repeated strikes were called by the union that were settled by wage increases. In all of these strikes the union demanded wage increases *without a rise in fares* and the politicians all paid homage to the five cent fare.

Early in 1948, New York City was presented with a budget demand of more than one billion dollars. It superimposed on the grotesque corruption and waste of the LaGuardia regime the added figure of relatively modest Tammany graft. Subsequent events make it apparent that the budget was deliberately padded so as to threaten New York City with bankruptcy, as an excuse for the next fare move that was calculated to

absolve all politicians involved, of any blame for the fare increase that was made to appear imperative. The Republicans at Albany refused to pass a bill increasing the fare outright, but did pass one permitting Mayor O'Dwyer and his City Council to increase the fare. Piously and with great ostentation, O'Dwyer protested that he had no intention of increasing the fare and passed the buck.

Very conveniently, City Councilman Michael J. Quill, of the Transport Workers Union called another strike demanding a wage increase. Mayor O'Dwyer played his act. He said that he forbade the strike; and that there could be no wage increase without a fare rise. Councilman Quill took the cue and issued an ultimatum on April 13, 1948 that his union would strike if the fares were *not increased* promptly.

Thus the responsibility for the fare increase was put squarely on the shoulders of the most troublesome of the opposition. The Rockefeller Empire won another victory through the agency of unions and Communists sponsored by them, and the politicians who fronted for it were left free to engage in other skullduggery.

The advantage of using unions to set up monopolies in restraint of trade has been demonstrated repeatedly. Thus Petrillo, the Czar of Music, suppressed television by interdicting the use of music, stopped phonograph recordings for months, suppressed popular music on the radio for a time, and systematically racketeers and levies a toll of protection money on every musical industry. The people of the nation are denied modern fireproof or prefabricated housing, and for the major part are denied any housing within their means, by conspiracies in restraint of trade by the building unions that are implemented by their overlord politicians through building codes. The nation is also denied food fresh from the farms at reasonable costs by a conspiracy engaged in by Teamsters' unions under the aegis of financial and political overlords. It has resulted in a constantly higher price in every populated section of the country on all foods and necessities of life. In the case of the Rockefeller-controlled Milk Trust, their Milkmen's Union has served as an excuse for repeatedly raising the price of milk to extortionate heights.

The Wagner Labor Relations Act and accessory labor legislation has imposed on the United States every phase of the destructive class warfare that Bismarck

designed for the enslavement of labor and the disruption of the industry and defense of nations that Germany would have to defeat to attain a conquest of "Deutschland uber Alles". As in the case of every country that succumbed to Bismarck-propagandized Marxism this subversion was accomplished by agents subsidized by the very people who were to be victimized by it. In the United States the sponsor of the key legislation was a kin of the very man who had formulated the plan for Bismarck, Adolph Wagner; and the principal subsidizer was John D. Rockefeller, a descendant of a Hessian, who aspired to outdo Bismarck in the conquest of the world.

Through the Wagner Act there finally has been brought about in the United States the beginnings of a true feudal state masked by the trappings of democracy. The blueprint of Nickerson has been outdone. Both labor and the bulk of the rank and file of the populace have been reduced to serfdom by Labor Barons and their Dynastic masters. This serfdom is ironically labelled "*Labor's Gains*".

When all is said and done, the greatest boon that the Dynasty offered the American people through Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the opportunity to shed their blood and dissipate their wealth for its private purposes and for world-wide extension of the Rockefeller Empire and its oil reserves.

CHAPTER XXII

F.D.R.'S NEW DEAL FOR ROCKEFELLER EMPIRE

SAUDI ARABIA, PALESTINE AND THE "TRUMAN PLAN"

Through President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal and his bright new World War II, the Dynasty gained many victories for the Rockefeller Empire. The greatest prize of all was the rich oil fields of the Near East, especially Saudi Arabia.

All of the territory that lies between the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea, the Black and Caspian Seas at the North, the Mediterranean Sea at the West and the

Persian Gulf at the East, is a vast oil basin. Large concessions in the southern part of this region had been granted between 1935 and 1937 to British interests headed by Sir W. Fraser and C. S. Gulbenkian and were turned over to a series of companies controlled by them including Petroleum Concessions Ltd., Petroleum Development (Oman and Dhofar) Ltd., Petroleum Development (Palestine) Ltd., Petroleum Development (Qatar) Ltd., Petroleum Development (Transjordan) Ltd., Petroleum Development (Trucial Coast) Ltd., and Petroleum Development (Western Arabia) Ltd. Hitler's war on England had gravely endangered these concessions.

Our entry into the war had rescued them and had assured the Rockefeller dominated Aramco the right to develop Saudi Arabian oil for Standard Oil of California's and Texas Company's joint venture, Cal-Tex.

The \$30,000,000 which the United States Treasury gave Ibn Saud for the support of himself and his 450 wives and their progeny, to maintain the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests in his good graces, cost the American people twenty cents a head. In addition King Ibn Saud got a "loan" of \$25,000,000 of taxpayers' money from the Export-Import Bank to build a railroad from his capitol across the desert to his summer palace at Rayadh, and numerous gifts from the American taxpayers ranging from multi-million dollar airplanes to sight-seeing tours to the United States for himself, his many princes, and their numerous retinues.

For the millions of taxpayers' money poured into his lap by the United States, King Ibn Saud did offer to them in return, a very suggestive, and under the circumstances, a premonitory and appropriate token gift. He presented America's Queen Eleanor (Roosevelt) with a jewel becrusted, solid gold crown. Eleanor accepted this crown with peculiar alacrity, but it was given little publicity.

After they secured payment for their concession by the United States Treasury, the Rockefeller Empire then ordered their New Deal agents in 1941 to begin the construction for them of a pipe line in Saudi Arabia at the expense of the American taxpayer. This required the diversion of pipe sorely needed for the war effort and for the heating of homes on the Eastern seaboard that were without fuel and heat. Though it was frankly stated by the oil interests that the pipe line in Saudi Arabia could not play any part in the

war and would not be completed until five years after the war, pipe was to be diverted from the war effort at top priorities and shipped.

A bill was introduced in Congress appropriating \$165,000,000 for this Rockefeller-Standard Oil chore. The outcry against the bill was so great that it was dropped.

The Rockefeller Standard Oil interests once again planted one of their vice-presidents and kinsmen, Jimmy Moffett, in the government, as Housing Administrator. He was given the assignment of "pressuring" Roosevelt into handing over the \$165,000,000 to the Rockefeller interests for the development of Saudi Arabia. For this he was promised a commission of 5%.

Moffett succeeded in getting Roosevelt to hand over the millions. But he was defrauded out of his commission. He sued the Rockefeller interests for the commission, and was given an award of more than a million dollars by the court. But his adversaries had the verdict reversed by one of their "kept" judges. He decreed that it was against public policy to permit an agent to profit from the exercise of influence on an official. He left it to be inferred, however, that it was quite legitimate for them to enjoy the benefit of such "influence" and welsh on their deal.

In the following year President Roosevelt gave the Rockefeller interests the \$165,000,000 out of special, secret appropriations given him by Congress for use in the war effort, for which he was required to render no accounts. It was used for surveys and preparatory work for the pipe line. In addition the United States Army was assigned to do part of the task and to build an airfield and base at Dhahran, the construction of which by soldier labor battalions survived the war. Under the contract with Ibn Saud, the base will have to be turned over to the Saudi Arabia in February, 1949, shortly after its completion at the cost of more than six millions to the United States taxpayers.

Col. John Zott, a West Point graduate Army officer, was assigned the task of geologizing and developing Saudi Arabian oil. He was first sent by the Army to the University of Pennsylvania for training in oil technology, and then placed in charge of the Saudi Arabian venture. His command consisted of draftees. It was assigned the task of drilling the oilfield,

and bringing it into production for the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests at the expense of the taxpayers.

Two drafted United States soldiers who were kept in the service after the termination of the war to labor on the fields protested to Congressman Phillip J. Philbin who denounced this "quasi-private" undertaking for the Rockefeller Empire at the cost of the American public, with drafted American soldiers. The air base is close-by the oilfields.

A number of gross misrepresentations were involved in the negotiations with the New Dealers to induce them to take the burden of Saudi Arabian concessions off the shoulders of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests, according to testimony before a Congressional Committee investigating the deal. First, it was misrepresented that the oil was fit for use by the U. S. Navy. The Naval Laboratory reported, however, that the oil was of inferior grade and unsuited for use in Navy boilers. Though it was condemned, its purchase was arranged for by oilman, Admiral Andrew F. Carter, then executive officer of the Army-Navy Petroleum Board and now employed by Overseas Tank Corporation a subsidiary of Cal-Tex Company, Aramco's owner. The purchase was made by his brother, Admiral William J. Carter, Chief of the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts. In charge of the price negotiations were Lt. John Walsh, now employed by the Standard Oil of New Jersey and Lt. D. Bodenschatz, now with General Petroleum Company. What use the Navy made of this inferior oil, if any, has not been revealed.

Aside from the false representation regarding the quality of the oil and its value to the Navy, misrepresentation was made regarding the price that would be charged the Navy for it. Despite the fact that the U.S. taxpayers financed the deal, the price that the Navy was to pay was the same as would be charged the British Navy; 40 cents a barrel for fuel oil, and 75 cents a barrel for Diesel oil. Instead the U. S. Navy was charged \$1.05 for fuel oil and \$1.68 for Diesel oil, more than double. Senator Brewster, chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee stated that these prices involved an overpayment of \$68,000,000.

The ownership of the Saudi Arabian concession is vested in the Standard Oil of California and the Texas Company, through a jointly owned company, Cal-Tex. The operating company is a subsidiary, the Arabian-American Oil Company, called briefly Aramco. The

Cal-Tex Company is reported to be about to sell a 40% interest in the field to the Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony Vacuum Oil for a sum stated as more than a quarter of a billion dollars.

Aramco is now shipping from Ras Tanura more than 350,000 barrels of oil a day, and the shipments are rapidly increasing. The value of the shipments amounts to an income of almost a million dollars a day for the Rockefeller Empire. The cost of this oil to them is very low, involving a royalty to King Ibn Saud that is reported to be 23 cents a barrel. The profits to the Standard Oil of California and the Texas Company on the Saudi Arabian oil are enormous. But they are completely exempt from taxes on those profits. Thus the Treasury Department has aided the Rockefeller Empire in evading taxes on profits made on moneys given it by the American taxpayers.

The cost of the Rockefeller Empire's Saudi Arabian oil to the American people is tragically high. It cost them two World Wars, hundreds of billions of dollars, tens of thousands of lives and hundreds of thousands of maimed and crippled—the expense of obtaining the oil fields for the Rockefeller Empire. If the U. S. had paid the Rockefeller Empire ten times as much as their profits from the fields, it would have gotten off cheaply, for it would have saved its citizens the untold miseries of the wars and billions of dollars.

But the U. S. is not yet through paying, the full tragic price of the Rockefeller Empire's Saudi Arabian oil. World War III, the continuation of World Wars I and II, centers just as they did, about Saudi Arabian oil. For Saudi Arabia lies close-by Russia, and possibly is part of the same basin that includes the Baku oil fields. Russia wants Saudi Arabian oil and in fact needs it, if she is going to seek to conquer the world.

The Rockefeller Empire has done business on an extensive scale with Russia and may even be said to have dominated Russia in some respects. There never has been any major disagreements between Russia, when dominated by Stalin, and the Rockefeller Empire since they started doing business together. At the Paris Conference, the U. S. voted with Soviet Russia and the Slavic block, against England, on the question of Roumanian oil. Even as recently as April 1948, the Rockefellers honored Russia with an exhibition depicting the glories of Soviet Russia and Communism by celebrating the 30th Anniversary of Russia under Commun-

ism at their Museum of Science and Industry in Rockefeller Center. And Nelson Rockefeller amazed the members of the Thursday Club by there entertaining the Russian emissary Andrei Gromyko. It was probably the Empire's "kiss of death" signaling their order to his government to recall him.

The Rockefellers have no quarrel with Communism. On the contrary, as has been related, their General Education Fund and Rockefeller Foundation have been among the chief supporters of Communism in the United States and in other lands. They have planted Communist teachers and professors in every school, college and university in the land. Few of the Communist front organizations of note have failed to secure a subsidy from the Rockefeller "philanthropies". The most recent of them to come to the lime-light as subversive activities were the American-Soviet Science Society (harboring Dr. Condon) which is suspect in connection with the leaks of atomic bomb information to Soviet Russia. The Rockefellers financed it to the tune of \$25,000. They also subsidized with \$20,000, Broom, the publication of Hans Eisler who was recently deported as one of the key Communist agents in the United States.

They have fallen in line with Bismarck's clever scheme to use Communism to foster dictatorships and monopolies. They appreciate, as did Bismarck, that the concept of Communism held by the moronic elements is absolutely false. The moron thinks of Communism as a State in which everyone shares alike. Actually Communism is a State which owns everything and everyone, in which, with one exception, everyone has nothing and is equally poor, in which the problem of poverty is solved by making everyone possessionless. The moron regards the State as something abstract, apart from men. But in reality the State is a single man or a group of men. Therefore the greater the power given the State, the greater is the power of that man or of a group of men.

Since the Communist State owns and controls everything and everyone, it is the most perfect type of Dictatorship—a Super-Capitalist Super-Dictatorship that outdoes in its perfection anything that is offered by Nazism, Fascism or New Dealism. From the point of view of the Rockefeller Empire, the Communist State is most perfect, if the man of their own choice be at its head. At any rate it is the shortest route to Dictator-

ship in Democracies and in attaining it there can always be the pretense of improving on democracy.

The quarrel of the Rockefeller Empire is not with Communism but with a Russia dominated by Molotov, who will not do business with them and who threatens their Saudi Arabia, the gem in their diadem; but with a Russia that, now that they have broken the back of the British Empire, is their only serious rival for world-wide imperialism.

The Rockefeller Empire dictated the setting up of the United Nations after World War II, primarily to establish a community of interest with Russia. They were willing to give Russia anything she asked for, within reason provided the U. S. taxpayers could be made to bear the burden. They were willing to give her, via the United Nations a fifty square mile base in Westchester and Connecticut, within striking distance of every strategic United States East coast industry. Since fifty square miles is a larger area than would be required to house some ten thousand employees, it is obvious that the area was intended to serve the purpose of a military base. In short they were willing to extend Russia a military base in the United States and a forum for propaganda. A committee headed by the Jugo-Slav Communist Stoian Gabriovich, and completely manned by Communists, were permitted to select the site. John D. Rockefeller Jr. offered his home at Pocantico to the United Nations.

The Committee demanded full extra-territorial rights an insult that not even China is now willing to accept. But it was granted.

Russia demanded the power of veto. That also was granted.

When public indignation, first stirred up by the author, among the residents of the district who were to be expropriated, blocked the granting of this site, the Russians, maneuvering shrewdly pretended to favor Geneva. The Rockefellers whom this move made anxious, frantically offered the United Nations a site in the heart of New York City, that had been assembled for another purpose, at a cost of eight million dollars. This suited the purpose of the Russians and was grabbed.

Russia had demanded through President Roosevelt at Yalta and Teheran the Balkan States, Western Germany, Poland, Austria, Jugoslavia, Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea and Sakhalin and numerous other territo-

ries. President Roosevelt mouthed the Empire's agreement alternately with mouthings of the non-existent Atlantic Charter that guaranteed autonomy to those very states. The effect was almost as if Charley McCarthy had two Edgar Bergens.

Russia demanded disarmament of the United States and withdrawal of its troops from Europe and Asia. Communist agents openly agitated for it in the United States and abroad. It was granted.

Russia demanded continuance of "lend-lease" of material of war and of equipment for war production from the U. S. after the end of the war. It was granted.

Russia demanded a let-down and disruption of the defenses of the U. S. It was granted.

All of these requests were granted at the behest of the Rockefeller Empire because they cost it nothing. The U. S. taxpayer paid the bills. Those demands it classed as within reason.

The basic motive of the Rockefeller Empire interest in the United Nations and appeasing Russia was revealed by their spokesman in the State Department as world oil control. This was embodied in a New York Times special article published on August 17, 1946, reporting a broadcast made by them on the National Broadcasting Company's "University of the Air". The State Department "experts", loaned it by the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests, proposed an International Petroleum Authority under the United Nations. Naturally this was represented to be in the interest of the U. S. to relieve its oil "shortage", and not of the Rockefeller Empire to increase its monopoly and profits. The following month, on September 6th, 1946, a variant of this scheme was offered by Howard A. Cowden, President of the Consumers' Cooperative Association.

The United Nations is the prototype of the Parliament of the Rockefeller Empire after the pattern of Nickerson's *American Rich*—a mere "advisory body", a debating society, all talk and no action, for "letting off steam."

In short, pending world-wide dictatorship by the Empire, they seek to bring about an Oil Cartel under the auspices of the U.N. The Rockefeller entente with Russia in opposition to England despite all the surface antagonism, came out into the open at the Paris Conference on September 21, 1946, when the U. S. voted with Russia and the Slavic block against the British Empire on Roumanian oil. The same community of in-

terests was responsible for their ousting of Churchill when, after his speech before Parliament announcing that he "would not preside over the dissolution of the British Empire", he began blocking afresh the development of Saudi Arabia. Churchill was promptly ousted and the Marxist Labor Party, that stands so close to the Soviet, was put in power.

But when Russia merely threatened to reach out for Rockefeller Empire's darling Saudi Arabia, that was entirely beyond all reason. The Empire is prepared to fight for its Saudi Arabian oil with the last American life and the last American dollar.

The entire foreign policy of the State Department, as might be expected from its personnel, is warped to protect Rockefeller's Saudi Arabian oil. President Roosevelt, when he needed the Jewish vote to win his fourth term, supported the commercially motivated Zionist claims to Palestine based upon their Biblical documented conquest of it from the Arabs. While Roosevelt mouthed this program to the stupid but fanatic Zionist element for their vote, his Rockefeller dominated State Department penned for him a letter to his "great and good friend" and Rockefeller's, King Abdullah, a leader of the anti-Jewish Arabian forces in Palestine, assuring him that no decision would be made with regard to Palestine without consulting with the Arabs, or that was hostile to them. This situation is laden with additional interest for the Rockefeller Empire by the fact that all of Palestine is virtually a proved oil field. These acts are attributed to Roosevelt's duplicity. But it is questionable that a mouth-piece, a Charley McCarthy, can be guilty of duplicity, for he is merely a tool.

With an election in sight, the U. S. supported in the U.N. the Palestine compromise, partition. Then the Communist-inspired Stern Gang cut the Haifa pipe line of the Iraq Petroleum Company on March 28, 1947, as a protest against the execution of the assassin Dov Gruner. Burt Hull, President of the Texas Pipe Line Company, who had been assigned the task of building the Saudi Arabian pipe line, undertook to negotiate with the Jewish Agency to avert any further damage to the pipe line as a condition prerequisite to laying the Saudi Arabian pipe line through the Jewish corridor that the partition plan created through Palestine. The rabid Communists in the Jewish Agency prevailed over the more rational head of the Agency.

They said that they would cut the pipe line whenever it suited their purpose. That attitude doomed the plan of a Jewish state. Election or no election, President Truman demanded that the U.N. follow the Rockefeller State Department and abandon partition or a Jewish state.

At this point it might be noted that it is probably not a matter of accident that the granddaughter of John D. Rockefeller is named Lucy Truman Aldrich.

Under the "Truman policy", Russia's goodwill is being purchased on behalf of the Rockefeller Empire with the U.S. taxpayers' money through such devices as the Greek and Turkish loan "to stop Communism" and the Marshall Plan for the same purpose. At the same time the bankruptcy of the U.S.A. that is intended to bring dictatorship, is being hastened.

The pattern that is being followed is a variant of that used after World War I. Then foreign bonds of every conceivable land were sold to the American public. When they became worthless, a short time later, a Congressional investigation revealed that a major portion of the "loaned" money had never reached the lands for which the bonds were issued. It had stuck to the fingers of the top-flight, Dynastic bankers. The wariness of the American investing public and the Johnson Act forbade a repetition of the bond sales. "Lend-lease", government loans and the Marshall Plan are serving to drain off the money from the purses of the American public into those of the Dynastic bankers and the Rockefeller Empire. Some of these moneys are serving to pay off Russia for staying out of Saudi Arabia—a form of international blackmail.

The mechanics of these loans is made clear by the Greek "loan" of \$400,000,000 "to fight Communism". If fighting Communism was the true object of this loan, the purpose would have been served better by shipments of arms and munitions from our huge war surplus. For wars are still fought with shells and not with dollar bills. If it was the intent to stop Communism, the U. S. would not have sent some of its notorious Reds to Greece for that purpose—headed by New Dealers, Griswold and Eleanor Roosevelt's kin Ambassador MacVeagh. For when the program began, there were but a few scattered bands of Communist guerillas in Northern Greece. But after several months of "stopping Communism" and the expenditure of the whole loan, a Communist government controlled all

of northern Greece. But just as if it had been pre-arranged, the Communists stopped short of the Mediterranean, the life line of the Rockefeller Empire and their Saudi Arabian oil.

But, in these days seven hundred millions are mere chicken feed and are totally insufficient for respectable international bribers. That requires billions. Marshall, Chief of Staff, who participated in the betrayal of Pearl Harbor, the best Secretary of State the Rockefeller Empire ever has had, executed the master plan for drawing billions from American purses to finance the Empire's program for international bribery. Following instructions, he asked the nations of the world at large how many dollars they would like to loot from the United States Treasury "to fight Communism". Their imaginations were cramped and they asked for a "trifling" sixteen billion dollars over a period of five years. (Russia is addicted to five year plans.) The disappointingly small sum requested has been amplified by Imperial generosity which insists upon extending a few billions to China and a half billion to South American countries.

To insure the support of the Marshall looting of the United States, good use was made of the sham anti-Communist drive which has been taken over by the most notorious Communist fellow-travelers, who now follow the party-line and pose as anti-Communists. Soviet Russia is ever willing to cooperate in drawing off the wealth and resources of the United States and has undertaken to increase the popularity of the Marshall Boodle Fund by pretending to be opposed to it. The success of the plan with the American public is a tribute to their childishness. Russia will receive the tribute of the Rockefeller Empire paid by the American taxpayers, while the latter will be blissfully deceived in the belief that they are contributing to "stopping Communism".

If the Rockefeller Empire should by any chance withhold the tribute, Russia would collect it indirectly, as she has the UNRRA aid, by seizing the countries that have received the aid.

The half billion offered to South America gave rise to an amusing incident which is revelatory of the true purposes of the loans. At the Inter-American Conference, in Bogota, Colombia, Secretary Marshall announced at the April 8, 1948 session, that the United States was prepared to extend an unsolicited bribe of

five hundred million dollars to them. This announcement was greeted coldly with neither applause or comment. The press reported that Marshall was "shocked" by the reception his announcement received and commented that it was probably due to the sum, a mere half billion being regarded as inadequate.

The real reason for the attitude of Latin America to this offer of American taxpayers' moneys on behalf of the Rockefeller Empire is their sad past experience with similar "gifts". Nelson Rockefeller's Committee for Inter-Hemispheric Defense had been used effectively to club Latin America into granting concessions to the Rockefeller Empire and to implant Communism. They had learned to shun Rockefeller "philanthropy" as a costly affair, even when extended through U. S. Government agencies. That was the real significance to the answer which Marshall received on the following day when the Communists themselves staged a rebellion against the Rockefeller control of Colombia, wrecked the Conference and forced the delegates to flee for their lives.

At the International Socialist Conference on European Recovery held at Sanderstead, England, Hugh Dalton, Laborite and former Chancellor of the Exchequer on March 22, 1948, pointed out the true complexion of the Marshall Plan. He noted that the government of practically all sixteen European nations directly involved in the Marshall Plan, were completely or almost completely Socialist. i. e. Marxist. He intimated that Russia would be expected to participate in the Plan that was designed so fully to support Marxism.

The real significance of the Marshall Plan is a Rockefeller Empire compromise with Soviet Russia, offering a partnership and splitting of the world into two spheres. It is a counterpart of the Russian-German alliance of Hitler's; and it recalls the temporary Rockefeller Empire partnership with the Mitsui that was dictated by expediency. Russia is being bribed to stay out of Saudi Arabia until the United States can replace the armaments that were so treacherously and treasonably scrapped for political advantage. In large part it was given to Russia as part of the Empire's "pay-off". Some of it is still being shipped to Russia, while Congress is preparing to appropriate billions for its replacement. The Empire brooks no compromises if it can fight at no expense to itself.

Throughout the process of financing of Saudi Arabia by American taxpayers there has been advanced the utterly false allegation that U. S. national security demands its development. *The truth is exactly the reverse.* The development of the Saudi Arabian oil fields is the greatest menace to the security of the U.S.A. For, as has been stated, Saudi Arabia lies a short distance from the Russian border and in event of war would rapidly fall into the hands of Russia. The enormous production of its oil fields would relieve the Soviets of the limitations in the conduct of war posed by their meagre oil supply, and would enable them to wage war indefinitely. Availability of Saudi Arabian oil might be the deciding factor in inducing Russia to make war on the U. S.

By the same process of providing Russia with adequate Saudi Arabian oil, the Empire by deliberate plan is reducing the capacity of the U. S. for oil production. At its dictate, the U. S. is allowing the shipment to both Saudi Arabia and Russia of pipe, casing, drilling equipment and an endless array of material and equipment essential to the production and transport of oil. This is almost paralyzing the United States oil industry and is entirely responsible for the continuous domestic shortage of oil and petroleum products that has resulted in cold, fuelless homes, illness, restrictions or stoppage of industry and transportation, and threatens restoration of gasoline rationing — in other words a restriction of the entire American economy geared to oil.

A deliberate effort is being made by the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests to create a shortage of oil reaching the consumer market. H. J. Porter, President of the Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners Association stated in a telegram to Representative Alvin Weichel, on June 28, 1947:

“Above ground stocks of crude (oil) are actually 15 million barrels above this time last year . . . any spot shortages are the result of insufficient oil being refined”.

He stated that American steel is being used to build pipe-lines in Russia and the Middle East despite its desperate need in the United States to bring oil to independent refineries.

The purpose of the Empire in engineering this shortage is to justify the import of Saudi Arabian oil into the U. S. without payment of duty. They do not want

to use American crude oil which costs them many times the price of Saudi Arabian oil and leaves them less enormous profits. For, the price situation of petroleum products is based on the price of American crude oil plus the taxes involved in American production and refining. On Saudi Arabian oil subsidized by the American taxpayer, they have to pay no taxes to the U. S., which further enhances their profits. By blocking the flow of American crude oil to the refineries and the market, they create an artificial shortage which maintains the price structure for their cheap Saudi Arabian oil. In the meantime the military power and security of the U. S. are undermined. The land is placed in multiple jeopardy, in order that their profits will accrue.

During the summer of 1947, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum Oil Company announced to the press that they were preparing to purchase crude oil in Saudi Arabia and join the Texas Company in importing it to the United States as a public service. They said that this public service was non-profit-making because of the 10½ cents duty per barrel and the \$1.21 shipping costs. The implication of the story is that such public service should not be handicapped by a duty, that the oil should be admitted duty-free. No mention was made of the fact that cheaper oil at lower shipping cost is available in Venezuela but is not being used, for Imperial reasons. Nor did the story make any mention of the fact that the Saudi Arabian oil was being produced largely at the expense of the American taxpayer.

About six months later, December 17, 1947, Socony-Vacuum announced the arrival of a third tanker cargo of 166,449 barrels of Saudi Arabian oil at their refinery in Paulboro, N. J., "to help alleviate the shortage of fuel oil and gasoline in the East". The arrival of a fourth tanker was announced three days later.

On March 27, 1948, nine months after it was established that the shipment of pipe abroad was paralyzing the oil industry of the U. S., a Congressional subcommittee spokesman investigating black markets announced to the press that pipe was being shipped out of the country by the shipload. They brought to light one stockpile of millions of feet of pipe awaiting shipment to Russia. Subsequently it was revealed that thousands of tons of machinery for the manufacture of munitions and planes, hundreds of aviation engines,

and an endless array of new Army and Navy equipment has been shipped to Russia or is being shipped under "lend lease", at the very time when Truman announced to the world the adoption of the Marshall Plan "to stop Russia's aggression" and the plan to re-arm of the U. S. for that purpose.

The program presented by the Russian situation is the same as was presented by the Japanese situation in the ten years prior to Pearl Harbor. Russia is being ruthlessly helped to rearm for war on the U. S. by the Empire and its puppets, American officials. Once again the country is deliberately placed in grave jeopardy this time, in order to encourage the Russians to attack and to precipitate war. A policy of talking roughly for the benefit of the American voter, and dealing softly to appease Russia has been adopted. Protests against these shipments to Russia have proved ineffective.

These facts incidently explain why the post-war prosecution of the officers of the German Dye Trust has failed "because of lack of evidence." Dillon, Read & Company, allies of the Dynasty, was one of the banking houses through which was done much of the financing of the German munitions industry, of Krupps and the I. G. Farbenindustrie. James V. Forrestal, Roosevelt's appointee, now Secretary of Defense, was then head of Dillon, Read & Company. William H. Draper, former vice-president of Dillon, Read & Company, is Under-Secretary of the Army. Draper, in 1945, as a brigadier general subordinate to the Commander in Germany, General Lucius Clay, stated that (from the point of view of Dillon Read interests?) he regarded the policy of destroying the German munition industry an error. For this he was reprimanded by General Clay, who pointed out that in event of war, the German munitions industry will fall into the hands of Russia.

Secretary Forrestal thereupon promoted his former partner in Dillon Read, to a partnership in a bigger concern, to the post of Undersecretary of the U. S. Army. Phillip Hawkins, Draper's son-in-law, was made Chief of Property in the American Military Government in Germany. In this post he promptly issued an order sparing the Dillon Read financed munition and dye works from dismantlement. Thus is the Empire acting to arm Russia for war with us, just as it helped to prepare Japan for Pearl Harbor. Howard Ambruster in a book published by the Beechhurst Press in April

1947, labelled these maneuvers "Treason Peace."

The full extent of the treachery of the Rockefeller Empire in its quest for oil and power was illustrated by current events in Palestine. Their American agents, Truman and all the other candidates for the Presidency, who faced an election, recognized the Israel government but maintain an embargo on arms which might insure the wiping out of the Israelis. The pretext for maintaining the embargo is that another of the agencies of the Rockefeller Empire, the United Nations, had not lifted the embargo. Their right hand evidently does not know what their left hand is doing.

In the meantime the Rockefeller Empire was instigating and arming the Arabs through its allies, Bevin and the British Labor Government. The poverty-stricken Arabs demand less than the customary 12½% royalty on their oil; and despite their reputations as sharp traders, they are more readily swindled out of the money which they are paid for the oil, so that the net cost to the Empire is zero. King Abdullah of benighted and backward Transjordan was used as their tool in carrying out the plan of seizing Jerusalem and oil-rich Southern Palestine. This might have insured the British a military and air base near the Suez Canal in lieu of Egypt from which they had been ousted by Rockefeller-Soviet agent Nasser. King Abdullah's troops were trained and armed under a treaty with England, well in advance of Britain's withdrawal; and authentic reports indicate that they had Abdullah's soldiers planted in Jerusalem and other strategic points in Palestine well in advance.

The Arabs have been instigated in their action by the Rockefeller Empire, by Nazi agents, by the British and by Russia. The instigators have paid little heed to the menace of a Holy War which might easily be stirred up among the ever-martial Mohammedans, that in years to come may threaten conquest of Europe and war on Christianity by them. Such a war of the Orient on the Occident long has been predicted.

The financing of the development of the Rockefeller Empire's Saudi Arabian fields was also engineered by Secretary of Defense Forrestal's firm, Dillon, Read & Co. and by its senior partner Clarence Dillon, *nè* Stenbock.

If by any chance Russia should trap and imprison the American Army in Central Europe, or attack elsewhere, the story would be bad. For the U. S. is vir-

tually stripped of the magnificent defenses built up during the war that are now largely turned over to Russia. An ultimate American defeat is part of the plans for attaining dictatorship and might serve the purposes of the Dynasts, if and when they make their own peace with Russia.

The good will of the Red's is one of the objectives of the Empire's support of the darling of the subversives and traitors, Henry A. Wallace. It is reported that his salary as editor of the *New Republic* as well as his campaign expenses have been defrayed by Michael Straight, Anglophile son of Willard Straight of J. P. Morgan and Company, "Jock" Whitney and Nelson Rockefeller. In Wallace's support, British propagandists have once again joined hands with the Rockefellers. The *New Republic* is published by Westrim Ltd. a corporation financed through Mrs. Leonard Elmhirst of London, the widow of Willard Straight, a former partner of Morgan & Co., for the British radicals. Her son, Michael Straight, former "adviser on economics" to Rockefeller Empire's U. S. State Department and protege of U. S. Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, has boasted:

*"The New Deal is more dynamic than Fascism
and more revolutionary than Communism."*

Associated with Wallace as co-editors of the magazine, are a group of editors who have been closely identified with Communist front organizations and Communist "transmission belts" as Earl Browder testified under oath. These include: Bruce Bliven, Edward C. Lindeman, Helen Fuller, Stan Young, Elizabeth Hulin, George Soule and Malcolm Cowley. Cowley is also editor of SOVIET RUSSIA TO-DAY and contributor to the NEW MASSES and the DAILY WORKER. Phillip Murray, president of the CIO has openly charged that Wallace's third party movement was launched by the Communists. The Communist party confirms it. Its important support comes from the Rockefellers.

This would not be the first time that the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests have drawn the United States into a war on their behalf, and at the same time, betrayed the country to its enemies by double-dealing. They were indicted in the second year of World War II by Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold, for deliberately blocking the production of synthetic rubber. Under their influence, Jesse Jones had persistently refused to stockpile crude rubber and tin for the on-

coming war despite the obvious need and the demands of the military. Such stockpiling would involve a violation of an agreement with the Dutch-British Cartels under which the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests participate in East Indies oil production. But in this war emergency, the British and Dutch interests were identical with ours, and they undoubtedly would have welcomed our stockpiling rubber and tin under these circumstances. Nevertheless none was stored.

As if this situation created by the interests of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil crowd was not bad enough, Thurman Arnold's indictment proved that the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests were also blocking the production of synthetic rubber by withholding the use of the patents which they shared with I. G. Farbenindustrie, the German Dye Trust. The indictment did not make it clear that the Rockefeller-Standard Oil interests and their Chase National Bank owned and controlled the majority interest in the German Dye Trust. Nor did the indictment make it clear that at the very time of these acts, Nelson Rockefeller occupied the post of Coordinator of Hemispheric Defense, an ultra-strategic one for the safety of the U. S.; and that high policy-making government posts in the hundreds and possibly in the thousands were held, and strategic government departments were controlled by officers of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil Companies "loaned" to the government. It is interesting to note the name of Rockefeller did not appear in the indictment though he controls the Company.

The Standard Oil of New Jersey pleaded that its agreement with I. G. Farbenindustrie barred their permitting the use of synthetic rubber patents by the United States or the Allies. In effect they pleaded guilty to conspiring with Germany to prevent the use by the U. S. Government of synthetic rubber processes. Without the synthetic rubber prepared by these processes, the war inevitably would have been lost. Caught red-handed in their treason, they pleaded guilty to the indictment. They agreed to release the patents and processes for use by the U. S. barely in time to save the situation. None of the traitors was shot. That indicates how far more binding and protective is loyalty to the Rockefeller-Standard Oil Empire than to the U.S.A. The conclusion that the defeat of the Allies would have made no difference to the conspirators is sustained by the fact that they had extended their full support and

cooperation to Hitler and the Nazis. Thurman Arnold was relieved of his post shortly after the incident.

Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, when discussing the Saudi Arabian deals of the Rockefeller Empire in a radio interview on February 2, 1947, stated:

"It is but a step from giant combinations of this kind to the authoritarian state."

In these machinations the Sidney Hillmans, Harry Hopkinses and their ilk, were mere puppets and stooges of the Rockefeller Empire — red herrings drawn across the trail.

CHAPTER XXIII

ROOSEVELT'S ODD AILMENTS AND HIS STRANGE DEATH

Mention has been made of F. D. R.'s attack of encephalomyelitis and the stigmata which it left in its train. Both his physical and mental health were seriously and permanently impaired by it. The uncontrollable temper, the attacks of excitement with wild laughing, and of depression and high suggestibility are among the sequella that might be expected after the disease. Newspaper correspondents reported episodes of unreasoned and sustained uproarious laughter of the same type that startled guests at the Du Pont wedding and led Elcanor to pack him up and send him home. Tubbing and hydrotherapy are effectively used in these conditions.

At Teheran Roosevelt and Churchill met with Stalin to confirm the division of the World between them. During the conference, Roosevelt had been prevailed upon by the Russians to stay at the Russian Embassy because the Russians said, the American Embassy was not safe. At the Russian Embassy, it is reported, a special courtesy was extended to the guests. They were assigned a special waiter who served them exclusively. It was later discovered that the waiter was a physician who specialized in the science of poisoning, toxicology. The use of doctors under Russia's state medical system in disposing of persons whom the powers-that-be wish-

ed out of the way, by poisoning them, has been attested to in the Moscow purge trails. Dr. Levine testified that he had been ordered by his superiors to poison Maxim Gorki and had done so.

Shortly after their departure, Winston Churchill became extremely ill. He was hurried to Egypt where he was so sick that his death was expected momentarily. But his life was saved by a protege of his, Sir Arthur Fleming, the discoverer of penicillin, whom it is reported, he had sent through medical school as a reward for saving his life from drowning.

Roosevelt also was extremely ill on his return. He was unable to walk or stand unassisted, and never recovered his strength. His disability bore a striking resemblance to poisoning with a form of curare, an Indian arrow poison that had engaged the interest of Russian scientists. He wasted steadily thereafter.

In informed circles there is told a tale of an Oriental poison handed down from the days of Genghis Khan, that causes a slow, steady wasting and delayed death. Its administration is spoken of in terms of "passing the silver cord". Reputedly it has been Stalin's favorite method of unobtrusively purging folks that stood in the way. Lenin, after he had decided to oust Stalin, died such a death. Likewise Krassin wasted away in the same manner. Rumors reached this country before Roosevelt's return that the "silver cord" had been passed to him and other conferees by Stalin.

The motion pictures of Roosevelt debarking from a cruiser on his return from Teheran, in December 1943, revealed him to be a very sick man. He had lost considerable weight, and was quite emaciated. The black mole over his left eyebrow, that had constantly been a feature in his photographs, stuck out of his head like a horn.

It takes no great medical skill to diagnose the character of the growth over President Roosevelt's left eyebrow. It had the characteristic appearance and behavior of a mole turned malignant and rapidly growing, a type of cancer, or sarcoma, known as melanosarcoma.

The dishonesty that characterized the reports issued by the President's medical attendants is revealed by a statement which he himself gave the Press. Vice Admiral McIntire makes no mention of the rapidly growing mole that had become malignant, in the book that was ghosted for him by one of the veteran perverters of the truth for

political purposes, otherwise known as "publicity man", George Creel, under the title **WHITE HOUSE PHYSICIAN** (G. P. Putman's Sons, N.Y., 1946). He mentions, instead, a relatively minor condition: "a nagging inflammation of the bronchial tubes" which he reports troubled Roosevelt during the 1943 Xmas celebration at Hyde Park.

Adm. McIntire's efforts to delude the Press and the public about the state of health of his patient, were frustrated by a statement issued by Roosevelt himself to Press correspondents on February 4, 1944, that was published in the New York Times on the following day (p. 17, col. 7). He revealed that he had had an "operation to remove a wen on his head". But McIntire and his consultants had made no mention of the operation in their bulletins, which they had issued as supposedly honest reports to their employers, the nation, on the condition of the patient.

Residents of Ormond Beach, Florida, reported that in January, 1944, they had seen President Roosevelt there with a bandage about his head, obviously convalescing from an operation, at the estate of John D. Rockefeller. It is highly probable that it was at that time there was removed the melanosarcoma (one of the most malignant forms of cancer) that had developed in the mole over Roosevelt's left eyebrow.

From the time of Roosevelt's return from Teheran, until January 6, 1945, more than a year later, Press photographers were ordered not to take, or publish, any photographs of the ailing President, except when specifically permitted to do so by the White House. Few exceptions were made.

What could have been the reason for that order?

It long has been the custom for the world dictatorship conspirators to use doubles for the men that, as their agents, they place at the heads of governments. This is clearly illustrated by the widely published report of the experience of the German medical consultant who was summoned to Moscow to examine Stalin, in the year before he died. The physician was taken to a hospital ward, where he was confronted with seven men. All of the men resembled Stalin sufficiently to be mistaken for him. This childish maneuver was intended, evidently, to delude the physician as to whom he was treating.

Likewise, Hitler and Mussolini had their doubles.

One of the doubles for President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who acknowledged that he had acted on public occasions as "Roosevelt", appeared with the author on the Tom Duggan Television program on Station KCOP, Los Angeles, in November, 1957. He was the Warner Bros. actor, Captain Jack Young, of Norwood, Ontario and Beverly Hills, California. Capt. Young stated on the program that after he had been given the assignment to double for Roosevelt in 1941, he had spent several months as a guest in the White House, studying the President's speech, actions and mannerisms, until he learned to imitate them perfectly. He stated that in addition to his public appearances in the role of "President", he had been featured in that role by Warner Bros., in the movies "Yankee Doodle Dandy", "Mission To Moscow" and "This Is The Army"; and by 20th Century Fox, in "Woodrow Wilson". Capt. Young delighted his audience by imitating Roosevelt and his "again and again" speech.

Undoubtedly, the doubles served the conspirators as puppets quite as well as did their originals.

It is quite obvious that such robust doubles as Capt. Young could not play the role of the aged, wasted, emaciated and deathly sick Roosevelt who returned from Teheran. He is too robust. But there is reason to believe that, subsequently, other doubles assumed the role of the dying President, and carried it off well.

In the months following the original operation announced by Roosevelt, Drew Pearson reported in his radio broadcasts that the President had had two additional operations, supposedly for "wens", that were done at the Bethesda Naval Hospital. During those months there were relatively long periods of time when the Press correspondents who constantly surrounded Roosevelt, and had virtually lived at his side, as well as other close associates, were completely cut off from any communication with the President. Indeed, it is open to question if any of them ever saw him, in person, again. Elaborate efforts were made by the conspirators to keep the public from learning of the vanishing of the President from the public scene.

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, for instance, was reported to have had an audience with the President, by the N.Y. Times on January 18, 1944 (p. 40, Col. 5). A Press conference was also announced by the Times, on January 19 (p. 5, Col. 6). But these followed a shock-breaking

announcement in its columns of January 15 (p. 9, col. 6) that "Roosevelt" had lost ten pounds. This might well have been a maneuver to cover up the use of one of the doubles to play the role of "President".

The February 25, 1944 N.Y. Times carried (p. 17, col. 7) a strange dateline and even more curious headline that read as follows: "With Pres. Roosevelt, Feb. 24. PRESIDENT HOLDS ALOOF FROM PRESS". The dispatch relates that the correspondents had been informed that *his presence could not be recognized, he was absent from the city, and no questions would be entertained by the President*. It was emphasized that the dispatch did not come from the Press correspondents "who continually stay near the President" because the correspondents had not been permitted to take the trip.

The absence of Roosevelt from the White House was covered up by statements issued by various persons concerning the state of health of the President, whose whereabouts was shrouded in mystery. On March 25, however, it was announced that the President had left the White House *for the first time after his prolonged illness*..

In the meantime, something had occurred that is of special interest in connection with the situation. On March 21, 1944, the N.Y. Times (p. 19, Col. 3) reported that Winthrop Rutherford, a distant kinsman of Roosevelt's, had died on March 19, at his estate in Aiken, S.C. That there may have been some connection between Roosevelt's disappearance from the public eye and this death at Aiken, is brought up by a revelation of Grace Tully, Roosevelt's secretary, in her biography entitled **F. D. R. MY BOSS**.

Miss Tully exposed the fact that the widow, Mrs. Winthrop Rutherford, nee Lucy Mercer, was present at Georgia Warm Springs at the time that "Roosevelt's" death was announced—more than a year later.

Prior to her marriage in 1920, Lucy Mercer had been in the employ of the Roosevelts. She had attracted the roving eye, that is so characteristic of the clan, of Franklin D. Roosevelt. In the true family tradition, that was followed more recently by his son Jimmy, FDR had indulged in a kiss-and-tell romance with his attractive employee—and then cavalierly blabbed about it to his spouse, Eleanor.

Miss Mercer left the Roosevelt employ, married shortly thereafter and presented her aged husband with a

daughter to take a place beside her five stepchildren. Curiously, Eleanor Roosevelt makes no mention of these intriguing matters in her supposed utterly candid biographies!

Visits of the President, clandestinely, to the Rutherford New Jersey estate on several previous occasions, that were kept from public ken by censorship, are related by Westbrook Pegler, in his *King Features* column dispatched from Washington on December 22, 1949.

It seems hardly probable that Mrs. Winthrop Rutherford would have been present at Georgia Warm Springs, visiting an admirer whom she had spurned—Franklin D. Roosevelt—within a year after the death of her husband. It is highly improbable that she would have brazenly employed an artist, Mrs. Elizabeth Shoumatoff, to paint the portrait of a former lover, FDR, as stated by Miss Tully. Since Mrs. Shoumatoff had been commissioned to do portraits of several members of the Rutherford family, it appears more probable that she and Mrs. Rutherford were present at Georgia Warm Springs with a member of the Rutherford family. Is it possible that the more aged Winthrop Rutherford was substituted for the dying President in the early months of 1944, when the latter vanished from the public scene?

The author interviewed Mrs. Shoumatoff at her Fifth Ave. apartment, in the early 1950's. Her story was a strange one. She stated that she had done a portrait in water color, years earlier, of a younger Roosevelt, which she had in her apartment, and showed me. It showed FDR, who had managed to evade the draft and military service, striking a pose as a "fighting man", a naval officer. She had nothing to show for a portrait of the Warm Springs invalid.

For keeping her secret, concerning the nature of which she was not specific, Mrs. Shoumatoff related, Eleanor Roosevelt had offered, after the death at Warm Springs, to hang that portrait at the Hyde Park "shrine" for a period of time; and promised that at the end of the period she would pay her handsomely (my recollection was that the sum specified was \$50,000, a really handsome bribe) for the portrait and make it a permanent part of the exhibit. However, Mrs. Shoumatoff related, at the end of a year, after the myth of the "Roosevelt" death had become too firmly established in the minds of us "peasants" to dislodge, Eleanor Roosevelt curtly re-

turned the portrait to the artist with not even a "thank you", and welshed on the deal in characteristic Roosevelt style.

This affair may give some clue as to who was the double who campaigned for Roosevelt in 1944, who went to Yalta with Alger Hiss for the "One World", Rockefeller-Soviet conspirators; and who it was that died so mysteriously at Georgia Warm Springs.

In spite of censorship and propaganda, it was fairly widely suspected that the man who campaigned as Democratic candidate in 1944 was not Roosevelt. Fulton Lewis Jr. informed the author that he attended one of the few personal appearances of the "candidate" in the campaign—the foreign policy speech that was delivered to a rowdy bootlegger- and racketeer-infested Teamsters' Union convention in New York. The appearance, speech, diction, enunciation and mannerisms of the speaker were so different from those of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Mr. Lewis related, that he approached Presidential secretary, Steve Early, and asked him who had substituted for Roosevelt in delivering the speech. Early took Lewis aside, shushed him, and tried to pass off the question by alleging: "The President has had too many drinks".

The fact that it was some one other than the President who delivered the "fireside talks" during the campaign was evident to every critical listener; and it can be discerned from the recordings of them.

The order prohibiting the taking or publishing of a photograph of the President that had been issued to the Press in December, 1943, was countermanded on January 6, 1945. The Press photographers were ordered to take, for publication, a photograph of "President Roosevelt broadcasting his message on the state of the Nation". But contrary to the practise that had previously prevailed, they were not permitted to take any "closeups", or to publish enlargements of the "President's" features; and were required to take only distant views from across the chamber. As a consequence, the face of the broadcaster was so small, in the picture, that the features could not be discerned in the prints. In published reproductions of the picture, printed with screening, the details were entirely indistinguishable; and accurate identification of the subject was impossible.

The author purchased an enlargement of the photograph taken by the Associated Press photographer, to-

gether with a number of closeup portraits taken in years prior. It is reproduced here, together with the earlier photos known to be those of F. D. Roosevelt. The enlargement reveals the fact that the person making the January 6 broadcast on the state of the nation could not possibly be mistaken for Roosevelt. The differences in the features are such that neither age nor disease can effect, viz:

1. The ears presented by the two, differ in shape.
2. The position of the ears on the heads differ.
3. The shapes of the heads and of the hairlines differ.
4. The shapes and color values of the eyes differ.
5. The shapes of the noses differ.
6. The broadcaster presents a butterfly eruption over the saddle of the nose that is typical of pellagra. This arises from heavy drinking without an adequate diet, that results in a deficiency of Vitamin B. Since Roosevelt drank liberally, but also ate heartily, he never presented any pellagratous signs.
7. The broadcaster is edentulous, presenting only two long, rounded upper incisor teeth. Roosevelt had a full set of short, irregular, angular teeth and his physicians never reported that any tooth extractions were done on the President, though they would have been certain to report it because it would have helped explain their patient's difficulties without creating any alarm.
8. The shape of the two chins differ in a manner that no disease could bring about.
9. The ratio of the width of the cheek bones to the height of the skull, which is an anthropometric index that does not vary with disease, differs widely in the two photographs.
10. The mole that Roosevelt had presented on his forehead over the left eyebrow, for many years is absent in the broadcaster, but in its place there is a scar at the site, through the eyebrow. The impression given by the picture, is that the scar was deliberately created by an incision through the eyebrow, in the effort to make the deception more perfect.

The enlarged photograph of the broadcaster makes it quite evident that both the photographers and the nation were duped. The conspirators evidently trusted that their deception in palming off a double would be insured success by the barring of close-ups.

It is reasonably certain that no such chances would

have been taken by the conspirators if Roosevelt was alive and competent mentally. It therefore appears to be a certainty that President Roosevelt was either dead, or incompetent mentally, on January 6, 1945; and that since the same person appears in the photographs released from the Yalta conference, it evidently was the double who attended that conference. Winston Churchill remarked in his autobiography about how strangely different a person was the "Roosevelt" who attended the Yalta conference. There is reason to believe that he was aware of the fact that he was dealing with a double. The Communists, undoubtedly, had been informed of the deception by their Axis partners, and were fully aware of it. This may explain the demand on the part of the Soviet Ambassador following the death that the coffin be opened and he be permitted to view the remains, on behalf of his government. The request was denied. Both the request and its denial are quite extraordinary. It creates the impression that Stalin and the Soviets were trying to make sure of the elimination of a trusted agent; or that they were checking to make sure of a purge.

Strange as were the features and circumstances of Roosevelt's illness and operations, the circumstances of the death at Georgia Warm Springs were even stranger. These make it obvious that there is more to the situation than meets the eye, and that gross deception has been practiced on the nation. They have given rise, quite naturally, to many rumors that could and can be set at rest, and should be, by the legally required postmortem on the remains. But all demands made upon the authorities for compliance with Federal and State laws which require an autopsy in the case of sudden deaths of unexpected nature, to eliminate the possibility of murder and foul-play, have been ignored.

The sudden and unexpected nature of the death is attested to by the statements and actions of President Roosevelt's personal physician who was assigned by the Navy to be in constant attendance on him, Vice Admiral Ross T. McIntire. He was not present in Georgia Warm Springs at the time of the death. This fact makes it highly probable, almost a certainty, that the person who died there *was not President Roosevelt*.

The alibi that the professional perverter of the truth for public deception, otherwise known as "public relations counsellor", assigned by the Government to fashion

the Doctor's published story to suit their purposes, and to protect those involved, is so weak that it merely serves to fully confirm the justified suspicions. Ghost-writer, George Creel represents the Doctor as asserting: that tests proved him (Ed. i.e. Roosevelt) organically sound . . . (p. 238). His heart was their principal concern . . . The signs counted on for diagnosis of the condition of the cerebral arteries, were absent.

There emerges, quite obviously, from this statement the fact that whoever it was that died at Georgia Warm Springs, did die a sudden and unexpected death from a cause that might be surmised, or guessed, but could not be definitely established except by a postmortem. In such cases the laws of every State in the Union, and the Federal laws, require a postmortem for the purpose of definitely and positively determining the cause of the death, and for elimination of the possibility of murder or foul-play. This means that the burial of the Georgia Warm Springs victim without a postmortem was a flagrant and deliberate violation of the law. Consequently, it raises a grave suspicion of assassination, or murder, of the victim. And to this date, no move has been made by law enforcement agencies to dispel that suspicion in spite of a public demand made by the author!

Ghost-writer Creel has acknowledged on behalf of Dr. McIntire that an autopsy was in order; but alleges that it would serve no useful purpose. (p. 239) This allegation is preposterously false. It would serve the obvious and most important purpose of complying with the law that was enacted for the purpose of guarding against murder—which is a highly useful purpose. The postmortem, if it had been performed, would have determined that the "cerebral hemorrhage" that is given as the cause of death in the death certificate had not been brought about deliberately by any one of a number of means, for the purpose of murder.

The hemorrhage might have been caused by a fracture of the skull. It might have been due to an assassin's bullet, the point of entry of which, as happens at times, was not evidenced by any external mark, but might have been discovered at autopsy. It might have been caused by the administration of a poison, such as dicoumarol, that favors the development of hemorrhages, that might have been administered either for the purpose of accomplishing a murder, or carelessly administered by the treating

physician in excessive amounts. Or the hemorrhage might have been caused by a brain tumor, or a metastasis to the brain of a mole become cancerous; and this undeniably would be a most useful bit of information for the nation to know—with its evidence that there was a pathologic basis of mental impairment, in the brain of the nation's ruler who had done so much to change the structure and administration of its government. It would open to question the decrees and orders he was supposed to have signed. And finally it might have revealed that the remains were that of an impostor, of a double, who had been used by conspirators to accomplish their malign purposes.

NO AUTOPSY WAS MORE DEFINITELY REQUIRED BY LAW, AND NONE COULD SERVE A BETTER PURPOSE, THAN ONE MADE ON THE REMAINS OF THE GEORGIA WARM SPRINGS VICTIM!

An explanation of the possible cause for the failure to perform an autopsy on the corpse may lie in the report that emanates from a local clergyman who chanced on the death scene. He reported that the death had been caused by a bullet through the skull from behind forward, that had blown away the victim's face. This would also serve to explain why the body never was laid out in state.

A survey made at an undertakers' convention in the South, a year or two after the death, reported that no undertaker had been found who would acknowledge that he had embalmed the remains. However, Mr. Patterson, of H. M. Patterson & Son, of Atlanta, Georgia, more recently informed the author, in August, 1958, that he had embalmed the body before it had entrained from Atlanta for Washington, accompanied by soldiers, sailors and marines as pall-bearers.

Before it was shipped, the coffin was sealed. And it was never again opened, even for the family services. The GI's who accompanied the body had instructions to shoot anyone who attempted to open the coffin. In Washington, those who came to view the remains, saw only the unopened coffin. While in broadcasts to the Armed Forces Elmer Davis, Chief of the Office of War "Intelligence", falsely alleged that the body lay in state, the buddies of the deluded GI's stood guard about the coffin to make sure that no one could view the remains by open-

ing the coffin. The sealed coffin was placed in the East Room of the White House, where services were held on April 14 with Rev. Angus Dun, bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Washington officiating.

On the same afternoon, the sealed coffin was shipped, under armed guard, to the funeral parlor of Auchmoody, of Fishkill, N.Y. Mr. Auchmoody informed the author that he was given strict orders not to dare to open the coffin, and was told that the armed guard was under orders to shoot anyone who would attempt to open it.

On the following day, April 15, the unopened coffin was buried with military honors. These were anomalous in view of the fact that FDR had carefully avoided and evaded draft into active military service though he inflicted it gleefully on others. The coffin was buried in the garden of the Roosevelt Hyde Park estate. Rev. George W. Anthony, rector of St. James' Episcopal Church at Hyde Park, officiated. For a long time, armed GI's with drawn bayonets stood guard, day and night, over this country grave. They were succeeded by National Park Service guards.

By way of sharp contrast, let us consider the status of the tomb of FDR's closest relative among the U.S. Presidents, Ulysses S. Grant. Grant's tomb is located at 125th St. and Riverside Drive, in Harlem, one of the most crime-ridden sections of the land. But never has any armed guard been posted over his tomb.

The situation stresses the questions: **WHAT ARE THE CONSPIRATORS TRYING SO DESPERATELY TO HIDE? WHO LIES BURIED AT HYDE PARK?**

The postmortem that is required by the law that was flaunted in the burial, would help, at even this late date, to supply the answers. Dentures could be compared with the records of the President's dentist. They could suffice for identification of the skeleton. The presence of bullet holes in the skull, or their absence, would set at rest that story, and would dispel some of the mystery.

The author made a public demand for the disinterring of the remains and their postmortem examination upon the public officials who are required to enforce the law that is designed to discourage and expose murder and foul-play. The demand was served on Thomas E. Dewey, who was then Governor of the State of New York, in which the burial took place. It was published in the N.Y. Enquirer. But no more has been done about investiga-

tion of the death in compliance with the law, than was done in another activity of the same breed of conspirators, back in Civil War days, when they engineered the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

An effort was made to cover up the irregularity, failure to perform a portmortem, in the death certificate signed at Georgia Warm Springs by Dr. Howard T. Bruenn of the U.S. Naval Hospital, Bethesda, Md. that is here reproduced. He stated as the primary cause of death, "cerebral hemorrhage". As contributory cause, to which the death should be charged, he names "arterio sclerosis". This representation is proved utterly false, however, by the statement made by ghost-writer Creel in the name of Dr. McIntire, to the effect that the patient *did not have* either extremely high blood pressure or generalized arteriosclerosis, or any signs that would lead one to suspect damage to the cerebral arteries (p.244). This completely belies the death certificate and further stresses the legal requirement for autopsy that was disregarded.

Eleanor Roosevelt, in an effort to cover up the fact that the body did not lie in state, as custom requires, made the obviously false allegation, in one of her publications, that it was not the custom in the Roosevelt family. This was belied, however, by the fact that the President's own mother, Sara Delano Roosevelt, lay in state on the order of her son.

It indicates something very peculiar in the situation, that the Roosevelts, with their love of ostentation, missed the chance for a display of public adoration. And Eleanor Roosevelt has added considerable fuel to the fire of suspicion concerning the death of her husband by her later confession to the truth of the matter, in an article of hers that was published in the February 8, 1958, issue of the Saturday Evening Post, entitled ON MY OWN (pp. 69-70). She alleges that on the day following the Hyde Park burial, son Jimmy belatedly found in a safe, the directions left by the President for the arrangements of his funeral. She says that Roosevelt had *directed that his body lie in state* in Washington, in the Capitol. But, she relates, by some curious chance, *all other of his instructions had been followed exactly.*

This story bears all the earmarks of some of her other fiction. For, as above said, it is utterly inconceivable that the Roosevelts, with their love of self-aggrandizement and their exhibitionist delight in public homage, would

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUSCERTIFICATE OF DEATH
GEORGIA DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH

State File No. _____

1. Place of Death		2. Usual Residence of Deceased	
(a) County <u>Meriwether</u>	MEDIC. DIST. No. <u>704</u>	(a) State <u>Georgia</u>	(b) County <u>Meriwether</u>
(b) City or Town <u>Warm Springs, Ga</u>	(or indicate city or town within, within limits)	(c) City or Town <u>Warm Springs, Georgia</u>	(or indicate city or town within, within limits)
3. Name of Deceased		4. S.F.D. and Sex No.	
(a) Name <u>Franklin Delano Roosevelt</u>		(b) S.F.D. <u>1-10-1882</u>	
(b) Sex <u>Male</u>		(c) Foreign Country <u>Yes</u> (or No) <u>No</u>	
(c) Length of Stay <u>None</u>		(d) Veterans Home War <u>No</u>	
(d) Length of Stay <u>None</u>		(e) Social Security Number <u>None</u>	
5. PERSONAL AND STATISTICAL PARTICULARS			
6. Sex <u>Male</u>	7. Race <u>White</u>	8. Marital Status <u>Married</u>	9. M. No. <u>None</u>
10. Name of Spouse <u>Eleanor Roosevelt</u>	11. Date of Marriage <u>April 12, 1905</u>	12. Date of Death <u>April 12, 1945</u>	13. Time of Death <u>3:15 P.M.</u>
14. Age <u>63</u>	15. Sex <u>Male</u>	16. Date of Birth <u>April 12, 1882</u>	17. Place of Birth <u>Hyde Park, N.Y.</u>
18. Date of Birth <u>April 12, 1882</u>	19. Sex <u>Male</u>	20. Date of Death <u>April 12, 1945</u>	21. Time of Death <u>3:15 P.M.</u>
22. Occupation <u>President of United States of America</u>		23. Industry or Business <u>None</u>	
24. Name <u>James Roosevelt</u>		25. Birthplace <u>Hyde Park, N.Y.</u>	
26. Name <u>Sarah Delano</u>		27. Birthplace <u>Nurburgh, N.Y.</u>	
28. Name <u>F.W. Patterson</u>		29. Address <u>1020 Spring St. N.W.</u>	
30. Name <u>Burial</u>		31. Date <u>4-15-45</u>	
32. Name <u>Hyde Park, N.Y.</u>		33. Date <u>4/13/1945</u>	
34. Name <u>Hiram A. Hadesway</u>		35. Date <u>4/13/1945</u>	
6. MEDICAL CERTIFICATION			
13. I hereby certify that I attended the deceased who died on the above date. I last saw him on <u>April 12, 1945</u>			
14. Primary Cause of Death <u>Cerebral Hemorrhage</u>			
15. Contributory Cause <u>Arterio Sclerosis</u>			
16. I certify that the above is true and correct copy of a record on file in this office.			
17. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
18. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
19. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
20. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
21. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
22. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
23. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
24. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
25. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
26. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
27. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
28. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
29. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
30. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
31. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
32. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
33. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
34. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			
35. Date of Operation <u>None</u>			

CERTIFIED COPY

State of Georgia

County of Meriwether

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of a record on file in this office.

(Signed)



SEAL

SCA 120

Certified Copy Of Roosevelt's Death Certificate
"Contributory Causes (to which this death should be charged)
Arterio Sclerosis" belies statement made by George Creel in the
book he ghost-wrote for Roosevelt's personal physician, Vice
Admiral McIntire.

have missed the chance for a display of public adulation. One is forced to the conclusion that there must have been a very compelling reason for not opening the coffin, to permit the body to lie in state.

In death, as in life, Roosevelt and his fellow conspirators disdained, defied and violated the law. His burial without an autopsy was a flagrant violation, a criminal act. Under the law, persons responsible for such illicit

burials are subject to criminal prosecution. For they might well prove to be accessories to murder.

The nation is entitled to every precaution to make sure that the control of its destinies is not usurped by conspirators acting through the agency of an incompetent, or a bogus "President". Every G.I. is subjected to many procedures such as finger-printing, photographing, intelligence tests and so forth, to make certain of his identity and competence. It can not be said that a random G.I. is more important in the conduct of national affairs than the President is supposed to be. Obviously it is far more important for the nation that the identity and the competence of the President be established repeatedly and with absolute certainty—both in life and in death.

Too often in our past history, have the reins of our Government been taken over by conspirators of the Illuminist-Communist, Rockefeller-Soviet breed, during periods of incompetence of the President. Such incident occurred when President Grover Cleveland was carried off to sea for an operation for removal of a cancerous palate. Another far more disastrous incident was the control of the nation by the conspirators during the period of physical and mental incompetence of President Wilson, after his apoplectic stroke. This was facilitated by the cooperation of his second wife whom he wedded under curious circumstances. And it happened once again throughout the regime of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The rapid advance of the conspiracy to destroy our Constitution, in the two latter cases illustrates the advantage to the conspirators of *adopting measures that insure the incompetence of the President.*

It has been reported that the Russian Ambassador demanded, on official order of his government, that the casket be opened and that he be permitted to view the body; and that this request was denied. Both the request and its denial must be regarded as extraordinary. The Russians might have suspected that the body was not that of Roosevelt, as rumors allege. This raises the question: "Why was it so important to the Russians to make positive that Roosevelt was dead?" Could it be that he was a tool who had served his purpose and, with Churchill, would be an annoyance in the way of future plans? Could it be that Russia planned alleging secret agreements that might be denied? Could it be merely the scientific interest of a toxicologist? Or

had Stalin found Roosevelt's obsequiousness coupled with his betrayal of his own country a disgusting annoyance?

There is more in this situation than meets the eye. Ample excuse is given for rumors, however wild. And credence will continue to be given them until the body is disinterred and autopsied. Failure to do so indicates a desire to hide something that may be of serious import to the nation.

It has become a standing practice in this country to protect the interests that control the country by denying the nation and the world at large information on the state of the President's health. This was done in the case of Grover Cleveland's cancer of the palate, Wilson's apoplexy and F.D.R.'s various ailments. That would be of no moment if the President's powers and influence were checked and limited as provided in the Constitution. But those checks have been steadily and progressively eliminated and in many respects the President's power has become more absolute than that of most kings. Illnesses which incapacitate the President enable the group that controls him to work their will on the nation in his name. That is a very strong temptation that may actually endanger the President's life at times of disagreement with his bosses. In a way the secrecy regarding the ailments of the President illustrates and stresses how much the office has assumed the aura of monarchy.

Certainly the health of Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, a title in which Roosevelt took great delight and a role which he had insisted on playing, is of more vital significance to the nation than the health of a mere private. But the private is compelled to undergo a rigid physical and mental examination before he is accepted for service; and he must continue to be revealed fit by subsequent examinations so long as he remains in the service. Psychopathic conditions call for compulsory relief from duty and discharge. The nation can not demand less of so important figure as its Commander in Chief. Nevertheless twice in a quarter of a century, the helm of the nation's ship of state has been held by paralytics who were mental and physical wrecks, Wilson and Roosevelt.

The safety and security of the nation demands that never again shall its destiny be controlled by agencies operating through the impotent hands of a prostrated executive. The nation must demand as rigid medical

examinations and as fit a physical and mental condition of its chief executive as it demands of the lowest soldier. There is danger enough in the domination and control of a healthy executive by malign forces. With a diseased executive it is certain, and fraught with grave peril for the nation. It should never happen again. The nation should require by law periodic physical examination of the President and honest reports to it of the findings. Disabling mental and physical conditions, by law should disqualify the incumbent and require his replacement.

The deception perpetrated on the public in regard to Roosevelt's health is characteristic of that which prevailed in all matters during his Administration.

CHAPTER XXIV

MORAL CONSEQUENCES OF NEW DEAL JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

One of the gravest injuries done the nation by the Marxist New Deal is the decay that it has wrought in the people's moral fibre. There has been a certain measure of decay, some rotten apples in the barrel, from the start. Gradual and insidious changes were brought about by legal and political termites, the disciples of Bismarxian propaganda, who have gnawed at the law and Constitution. This slow process was accelerated in Wilson's Administration. But in Roosevelt's regime, an overnight abrogation of the Constitution was effected on the grounds that it was antiquated. There developed a total disregard of all law by the very public officers who were sworn to uphold it. A destructive transformation was effected in the entire governmental organization that has converted it into the worst type of tyrannic autocracy in which the whim and caprice of every petty bureaucrat is a dictate from which there is no appeal.

In short, government by law and Constitution have ceased to exist. The United States has become as tyranny-ridden and corrupt a land as those of the pashas and viziers. Citizens have no longer any legally defined rights or privileges. There has been substituted for government by law, dictation by insolent, autocratic and irresponsible bureaucrats from whose

arbitrary and unprincipled dictates there is no appeal; and rule by favoritism and an unabashedly dishonest officialdom. As a consequence of the disregard of principle and law, the practice of law has degenerated to the practice of "reaching" and bribing key bureaucrats.

This conception has gone so far, even in our courts, that New Dealers themselves are beginning to protest against it. Thus U. S. Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, one of the sponsors of the New Deal placed on the Bench in connection with the packing of the Court, protested against the open collusion involved in the decision handed down by Judge Ben Moore in the CIO test case of the provision of the Taft Hartley Law on the use of union funds for campaign purposes. This section of the law is intended to prevent partial disfranchisement of some members of the unions by compelling them to contribute through union campaign funds to the election of candidates favored by the Labor Barons but opposed by themselves. Undoubtedly an element of this protest was directed to the failure of Judge Moore to disqualify himself because his old firm is employed by the United Mine Workers, CIO.

Equality before the law has ceased to exist. Such equality is decried as *unfair* and *inconsiderate* of "*human rights*". The average employer, the landlord, the investor and the person who has saved his money are criminally suspect and are held guilty in many directions, even if proved innocent. But the laborer, the poor and the improvident are generally held innocent no matter what they do — if they do not transgress against Dynastic interests or Labor Barons.

Property rights have virtually ceased to exist for the average citizen. In the quest for monopoly and dictatorship via Communism, labelled "New Deal", there has been spurned the sound commonsense counsel of Abraham Lincoln to a delegation of union officials who called on him after the New York Draft Riots:

"Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. That some should be rich shows that others may be rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him labor diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring his own shall be safe from violence when built".

In these few commonsense statements applying the

"Golden Rule" to property rights, Lincoln reduced to absurdity the fundamental Marxist and New Deal doctrines on property rights. But the Dynasty's malevolent purposes are better served by Marx's insane concepts, which they propagandize and foster in law.

Where there is no honesty in government, none can be expected in private life. Diligent, industrious, principled and provident individuals who provide employment, housing and other necessities of life for their fellow-men are pilloried by law and the government, as criminals on a priori grounds. They are deprived of the benefit of justice and honesty, and the protection of Constitution or law, by corrupt, demagogue officials and servile, venal and self-serving judiciary. In many instances, such as rent control laws, landlords are declared guilty of violating, retroactively, laws which did not exist at the time of the acts in question; and viciously are penalized therefore. A form of "lettre de cachet" has become a favorite "New Deal" device for dealing with those not in its favor.

The dishonesty of the situation is so patent it can not be overlooked by the rising generation. It is a natural consequence that juveniles hold in contempt law, honesty and decency that are so shabbily treated by their elders. Rampant juvenile delinquency is an inevitable result. The corruption, shiftiness, immorality and dishonesty of high public officials, from the President down, adds powerful stimulus to the delinquency of the younger generation.

When the President of the United States brazenly and unabashedly lies to the whole nation in fireside chats, then when he is confronted with his lies adopts the Jesuitic attitude that "the end justifies the means", and is acclaimed for the brazenness of his lying by a servile entourage and press, he is not encouraging honesty in the younger generation. When his folks deport themselves scandalously and with depravity, they are not setting an example of morality for impressionable youngsters.

Children can not be expected to grow up honest, moral and law-abiding when they see about them in public life nothing but dishonesty, corruption and contempt of decency and law; and when they are taught to believe that all public officials must be expected to be crooks. It is useless to appoint commissions to study the prevention of juvenile delinquency, as long as this situation prevails.

A child is not as devious in his mental processes as are so many of its elders. When a man is robbed of his earnings and wealth by law on the pretense of "distributing wealth", they recognize the arrant thievery involved. Rightly they can not see that such thieving is different from thieving on any other pretext. Youngsters are not capable of the casuistry that differentiates between holdups of the nation by corrupt autocrats who have seized its government, and the mugging and if necessary, killing of a man on the street to steal his possessions. They too engage in "distributing wealth" in their favorite direction, themselves.

When Labor Barons, goons, racketeers and thugs have the full blessing of the law in their systematic holdups and betrayal of the nation, what is more natural than that the youth should seek to emulate them in their preying on the community? Why work for a mere wage when by strong-arm tactics one can attain the "eminent" and "enviable" rank of Labor Baron, or his satellite, stand above law and order, levy tribute from both labor and industry, and dictate to the nation?

When impressionable youngsters see their teachers and professors employed as fronts by Labor Barons who dishonestly seek to force industry to pay workers for work that they have not done—by featherbedding, by "portal to portal" pay claims, and seek to bankrupt industry by assessments and levies, by restrictions and work rules, by disregard of property rights and law, and by fake wage claims; when they hear those self-same professors undertake to ethically justify this blackmail; and when they see the prostituted professors cynically appointed "neutral arbitrators" or "commissioners representing the public" in situations that involve them, they are not learning honesty or principle.

When children witness prostitutes engaged in the practice of their art while being maintained on public charity and Relief in hotels on a higher scale of living than can be attained by the average worker (\$500 a month and more) and their occupation and mode of life condoned and commended by government "welfare" agencies; when they see crooks and swindlers aided in repaying their thefts with government Relief funds; and when they see people who can afford mink coats and cars, shamelessly receiving aid from Relief agencies—they are being offered little inducement or example to lead honest decent lives.

In short, a life of dishonesty, immorality, crime, force and violence, rather than that of a law-abiding citizen, has become the highest attainable ambition of the youth of the nation. Is it not natural that violence and crime are steadily increasing, and that the world is fast travelling the road to rule by force that prevailed in the Middle Ages?

If force and violence are to be the rule of life of the New Deal, wherein lies its vaunted security? Can there be any security under such a rule, except for the strong-arm man and the thug when at the height of his strength and virility? Are not Marxism and its corollary, the New Deal, rapidly carrying society back to its most primitive state of slavery to force?

Only a return to the principle and freedom of true democracy can save the nation from this atavism.

CHAPTER XXV

PREDICTION OF COMING EVENTS

It is safe to predict that if any of the candidates now in the public eye, or any prominent political figure in any of the parties, is nominated presidential candidate, there will be no change in national policy. While lip service will be given to democracy, and Communism berated, the Bismarxian road to dictatorship and monarchy, will be followed steadily until every vestige of freedom eventually is wiped out. The United States will continue to be betrayed and sold out, and the Rockefeller Empire will be served to the last draftee and the last American dollar.

This prediction is based on the fact that every candidate thus far mentioned is a hand picked agent of the Dynasty, or of the Rockefeller Empire, or of both. Three of the Republican candidates, Robert A. Taft, Thomas Dewey and Douglas MacArthur are derived from the Roosevelt-Delano Dynasty, are more or less remotely related to Roosevelt, and are responsive to the same Dynastic and Rockefeller influences. They are in ultimate analysis, quite as completely, or more completely New Dealish, as Franklin Delano Roosevelt himself.

Taft's relationship to Roosevelt and the Dynasty already has been related. Like his father he is the prod-

uct of the Rockefeller-dominated Ohio Republican political machine which Mark Hanna built. Except in a few instances, his record has revealed him to be a weak and ineffective rubber-stamp of the New Deal who shammed an opposition that demanded nothing more than slight modification for the record. His law firm has been attorney and adviser, according to Danton Walker, to Jack Kroll, National Chairman of the CIO-PAC; and apparently his record has been satisfactory to them. The Taft-Hartley Act which bears his name, he did the best he could to emasculate in favor of the left wing, CIO elements; and he ruined a basically sound and excellent bill drawn up by Hartley. As the Act stands, it accepts in principle all the gross violations of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, justice and honesty that prevail in labor law and practice. He has served the labor elements and apostles of class warfare well, and deserves their gratitude and support instead of their opprobrium.

Further evidence of Taft's Marxist, New Deal mentality are to be found in his bill to socialize medical care and in his housing bill, the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill. In the latter his name is significantly coupled with that of one of Rockefeller's principal legislative agents and the staunchest friend of subversives, Senator Robert F. Wagner. No doubt Taft fancies himself as a great compromiser. But principle can not be compromised. Taft's nomination or election would bolster the Dynasty's pretensions to hereditary rulership in the land and serve to affirm that practice so dangerous to democracy.

Both Thomas Dewey and his wife are related to the Roosevelt-Delano clan. His wife is reported to be a fifth cousin of President Roosevelt through Jefferson Davis. The Rockefellers financed Dewey from the start of his career as running mate of their agent, LaGuardia, on their left-wing Fusion ticket. He served them well, as has been related, in diverting attention from really important issues by his dramatic, pre-fabricated prosecution of the white slave and "numbers" rackets. Dewey campaigned on LaGuardia's left-wing platform and was completely in accord with his pose of radicalism and his subserviency to the Rockefeller interests.

When he left the office of District Attorney of New York County and returned to private practice, Dewey was retained by several labor unions including the garment workers'. The platform on which he campaigned

for the governorship of New York was distinctly leftist and appealed to the radical and subversive elements. He called to his side as advisers, the Labor Barons Dubinsky and Hochman.

As Governor, Dewey had his eye on the White House. He showed a lack of creative intelligence applied to the problems which confront the community and the nation; and was satisfied to court both his masters, the Rockefellers who largely financed his campaign, and the radical and labor elements who employed him and whose vote he seeks. He is a political agent, and not of the calibre of the statesman and leader that the nation and the world require. His election would insure the steady advancement of the schemes of the Dynasty and of the Rockefeller Empire for the establishment of dictatorship and monarchy. In his presidential campaign in 1944 Dewey merely offered the nation a more virtuous "New Deal" than that of Cousin Franklin Delano Roosevelt. But the public were rightly sceptic when they saw the same Rockefeller-Labor Baron sponsorship of his and Roosevelt's nominations.

General Douglas MacArthur is a capable general. But his rise to the position of Chief of Staff of the Army was not attained without a record of amenability to Dynastic and Imperial dictates and designs. As dictator of Japan his disciplinarian attitude has spelled success. To the radical elements, who have reviled him for his handling of their numbers in the Veterans' March on Washington during the Hoover regime, he has endeared himself by enabling them to foist their unions and their New Deal on Japan. From this it can be concluded that MacArthur would continue to favor the same elements, would continue the Dynasty and its allies in power and carry forward their plans for dictatorship. These are not the qualifications of an American President.

Senator Vandenberg principal advocate on the Republican side of the Senate of the Rockefeller Empire was dubbed by the Gridiron Club "vacillating Van". For years he staunchly opposed betraying the United States to further private interests in foreign lands and was therefore labelled "isolationist". But he could be depended upon to follow and implement the policy of the Empire. There was no vacillation from its dictates. After the Dunkirk deal, Vandenberg shifted overnight and became one of the most rabid internationalists

and interventionists. Shifting from a position of opposition to all the frauds and inequities of the New Deal, he became one of its most dependable and staunch supporters. Obviously Vandenberg has but one principle and firm conviction—obedience to the dictates of the Imperial allies of the Dynasty.

Harold Stassen's metamorphosis is even more striking. He started off as a rabid left-winger, fellow-traveler and darling of the Reds. He was largely responsible for putting over on the nation through the Republican Party, the fraudulent candidacy of "One World", "Me Too" New Dealer, Wendell Willkie, as a fake opposition to F.D.R. He did so on behalf of his bosses and sponsors, the Rockefeller-Morgan-Dynastic interests. They are now supporting and financing him as a phony opponent of Truman. He is as completely their puppet as cousin Truman. They can not lose no matter which way the election goes. If elected he can be depended on to betray the nation once again to the interests of the Rockefeller Empire.

He closely followed the Communist party line and went to Moscow to do obeisance and lick the boots of Joseph Stalin. He returned to the United States and suggested that the nation bow to Stalin as he himself had done. When Communism began to grow unpopular in the United States and the Communist Party line was to denounce Communism, Stassen proclaimed himself rabidly anti-Communist. By curious chance the shift coincided with the reversal of the policy of the Rockefeller Empire towards Russia.

A study of the list of contributors to the fund that has supported Stassen, and his family, through several years of campaigning for the presidential nomination reveals that they are identified with the banking interests closely associated with the Rockefeller-Morgan-Dynastic group including Reeve Schley, President of the Chase National Bank, the young Rockefellers, the Vanderbilts, the Whitneys, and the millionaire pro-Communist, "Mission to Moscow" Joe Davis. Stassen is now the most open of the candidates in advocating the program of the Rockefeller Empire—immediate belligerency against Russia. Of all the presidential candidates, Stassen would probably prove to be the most pliant to the dangerously subversive Dynastic and Imperial interests, and the most destructive to human freedom and the security and independence of the United States.

The other Republican candidates that have been

paraded before the public eye are of about equal quality and equally tools of the Dynastic and Rockefeller interests. One of the most important of the Rockefeller agents in the Republican Party is its adviser on foreign affairs who so strongly dominates Vandenberg and Dewey, John Foster Dulles. Through his wife, Janet Pomeroy Avery, Dulles is related to the Rockefellers. He is a senior partner in the Wall Street legal firm, Sullivan and Cromwell, and Vice-President of the Association of the Bar of New York City, member of the New York State Banking Board, Chairman of the Bank of New York, and of the International Nickel Company. He is the liaison member between the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, of which he is Chairman, and the Rockefeller Foundation of which he is trustee. He was on the Peace Commission and the Supreme Economic Council of the World War I and United States Delegate to the San Francisco, London and New York United Nations Assemblies, and to the London and Moscow meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers after World War II. He ably represents the Rockefeller Imperial interests as an agent of the United States. Closely associated with him is his fellow trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation, John J. McCloy of the Rockefeller law firm Milbank, Tweed, Hope, Hadley and McCloy. He is head of the International Bank that was set up in accord with the Bretton Woods plan to finance the foreign activities of the Rockefeller Empire at the expense of the American taxpayer.

On the Democratic side, the picture is even uglier with regard to President Truman. It has been mentioned that it is more than a mere coincidence that the name of the grand-daughter of Senator W. Aldrich, and John D. Jr's kinswoman, is Lucy *Truman* Aldrich. Truman's change of character since he entered the White House is well nigh that of the Jekyll and Hyde, split personality type. Whatever may have been his prior associations and activities, Truman was outstanding in the Senate for the courage that he manifested in fearlessly attacking and exposing corruption even in his own Party. He made himself feared as a power for good and respected for his Americanism.

As an occupant of the White House, Truman underwent a metamorphosis and a deterioration of character that would be unbelievable if not so manifest. Almost incredibly, despite the strength of character which he

had previously manifested, he became a craven puppet of the very subversive and traitorous groups that previously he had fought with the utmost vigor. This indicates the tremendous pressure which the Dynasty and the Rockefeller Empire exert on a President.

The pressure on the President is materially enhanced in its effectiveness by the fact that the President of the United States is not paid sufficient to support his family; and meeting his expenses as Chief Executive is impossible on the salary that he is paid, unless he can draw on a private source of income—legitimate or illegitimate. Rather than face the disgrace of proclaiming his poverty, an incumbent is apt to prefer to accept loans, gifts or bribes. The donors of these advances generally manage to get what they want in the way of public favors. Two groups of citizens are now in the position to make such gifts without being severely penalized by the Treasury Department. One is the very wealthy especially those who derive tax-exempt income from outside the country. The others are the tax exempt Labor Barons, whose private tax on the American workers and industries runs into billions, and their allies, subversive propagandists. It is significant that the voices of these groups have been servilely heeded by the White House.

The Presidential salary of \$75,000 is meagre pay today for the president of a second rate industrial concern. Many clowns and numerous showfolk earn several times that sum. When income taxes are deducted there is left less than \$28,000, or less than \$2500 a month. Such low pay for an office that makes so many costly demands, bars any honest but poor man from accepting the presidency, even if the opportunity should offer.

Wisdom dictates that the President of the United States should be paid a salary that is commensurate with the responsibility, dignity and expenses that go with that office, and that would put him in a position in which corruption and bribery would offer no temptation. The President of the United States should receive a minimum salary of \$5,000,000 a year in the form of a tax exempt trust fund yielding him an annuity. This would place him on a par with the King of England and other chief executives. It would also provide a pension after leaving office that would reduce the temptation to seek repeated re-election, or to debase the presidency by undignified or sordid activities on

leaving office. Until something of that nature is done, it is impossible for a poor man to be President of the United States and remain honest and American.

The most horrible possibilities of nomination on the Democratic ticket are the sons of Franklin Delano Roosevelt who are eagerly scrambling for it. That would mean the evils of the New Deal intensified to the *nth* degree; the openly corrupt offers made by the Democratic Party in the 1944 campaign to sell Presidential favors at \$1000 per block would be regarded as virtue in comparison with what might then be expected. Nickerson's blueprint of electively attained hereditary monarchy would be an accomplished fact spelling the end to freedom and democracy. The U. S. would be irrevocably a wholly owned subsidiary of the Rockefeller Empire.

This brings to the fore the fact that if freedom is to survive in the United States control of nominations must be taken out of the hands of private cliques and parties and placed in the hands of the people. The betrayal of the nation by the Dynasty and the Rockefeller Empire has been accomplished by their control of the nominating machinery of all parties. This has reduced the right of franchise to the absurdity of choosing between two or more puppets of the same masters.

Campaigns for nomination and election must be financed in the future out of the public treasury. Every man who seeks to serve the public must be given an opportunity to offer himself and his program to the people. Unless that can be accomplished, dictatorship is inevitable.

World War III with Russia for which preparations are already under way, probably will not break out into open violence in the near future unless one of three things happens:

1. Open attack on our occupation troops on a scale that cannot be ignored. Minor attacks and restrictions have occurred, but they are being ignored.

2. A move by Russia threatening the Rockefeller Empire's Saudi Arabian oil fields. Such a move on the part of Russia before the completion of the pipeline and other developments would hardly be wisdom or good judgement on the part of the Communists. If they bide their time, they will get a completely developed oil empire. In the meantime Russia will collect direct and indirect bribes through the Marshall Plan

and will continue to expand in zones which the Rockefeller Empire yielded her through Roosevelt at Yalta, Teheran and Casablanca through secret agreements.

3. Revolutionary pressure and popular discontent within Russia may force her masters to go to war without regard to potential losses.

Ultimately Russia is forced by her ideology to either destroy all other forms of government or to be vanquished. That is the goal that her masters have set for her. The Rockefeller Empire, on the other hand, has set for itself an equally ambitious goal, when, as and if it can get the United States and other lands to fight their war.

They seek "One World", a Rockefeller-Standard Oil controlled world and Empire. Their propagandists shout that there can be no peace, they will allow no peace, until "One World" is theirs. They are as insistent as are the Soviets on this point. Since oil can be found in all parts of the world, a monopoly of oil is impossible without a complete and absolute control of the world.

This war can be averted in only one manner. An example must be given to the world of a surplus economy; an economy of plenty in which everyone will have all that he requires and is willing to work for; an economy which will give its people all the things that the Communists and other brands of Marxists pretend to secure but fail to do in practice. How this could be done within the framework of present law, as a full development of the economy envisaged and implied by the Constitution and by a truly American plan, will be pointed out in the last chapter.

The pretenses of "fighting Communism" by pouring billions of dollars of American taxpayers' money into Europe is absurd. Faith is not a matter of dollars and cents. On the contrary the very meaning of faith is a disregard of material advantage or the dictates of daily experiences. Those whose faith is Communism will no more change their faith for a dollar or for food, than those whose faith is Christianity. Some may pretend to change their faith in Communism for material advantage, but their conversion is more transient than the advantage gained. Such pretended changes in faith are part of the present day Communist party line. On the other hand a pretended increase of faith in Communism is the favorite device of foreign lands for grabbing important participation in the global handout

of the Truman administration on behalf of the Rockefeller Empire.

A successful surplus economy would reduce Communism to absurdity. It would undermine the faith of Russia and the Communists in their Marxist scarcity economy that is a hopeless failure. Since Communism is virtually a religious faith with most of its adherents, only such destruction of their false faith would dispel their illusions, bring the world back to an even keel, and make wars useless.

War is an absolute necessity for the continued maintenance of our present scarcity economies and for the support of the scarcity monetary system, whether that economy be Communist, Socialist, Nazi, Fascist or the speculative or "Gold Standard" economy we call Capitalism. In any managed, or speculative, scarcity economy, surpluses of men and materials develop in spite of all efforts at suppression, because of the bounty of Nature and the vagary of its moods. War is essential to wipe out these surpluses of humans and materials, in order to reestablish scarcity—to maintain the sanctity of "management" in the role of *deus ex machina*.

Instead of attempting to solve the grave problems of scarcity economy that deprives a large segment of the nation and of the world of necessities of life and makes war essential, the Truman Administration is deliberately undertaking to intensify the situation. The objective is ruinous inflation, leading to national bankruptcy and dictatorship or monarchy.

No stone was left unturned by the Roosevelt Administration to bring about inflation. For the so-called "economists" saw in inflation the remedy for depression. Production and surplus were the dragons that the Agricultural Allotment plan, the NRA and the whole New Deal vigorously fought. The price of gold was raised from \$20 to \$35 an ounce. Restriction of production was designed to force inflation. Enormous Relief handouts, pensions, Allotment Plan payments to farmers and other wasteful expenditures coupled with heavy taxation were employed to stimulate inflation.

The Treasury and the Federal Reserve Bank adopted an "easy money policy" and stimulated expansion of credit to bring about inflation. With the outbreak of the war, billions of "Lend-Lease" handouts to foreign lands and staggering military expenditures were coupled with a program of confiscatory taxation and steadily higher wage increases, to bring about inflation. Dur-

ing the war this inflation was masked by price control which was a sham completely negated by the transfer of goods from regular market to the "black market".

At the end of the war the Administration was forced by public outcry to take cognizance of damage wrought by the inflation that it had brought on with full deliberation and intent. On various specious grounds, with tongue in cheek, the Government then applied to the process of "fighting inflation" the same measures that it had adopted, in bringing it on. Since employment was at an all-time high there was little or no excuse for great Relief expenditures. Nevertheless recent exposures in New York City have revealed that the Relief agencies were urged to pour out public funds. Prostitutes were subsidized as highly as \$600 a month and housed in hotels by Relief agencies while they plied their trade. Criminals and wastrels were given aid amounting to more than honest men can earn. Since enormous expenditures could not be made on the pretense of "Relief" resort was taken to other methods of pouring out the wealth of the land. "Lend-Lease" was continued for years after the close of the war on a vast scale that cost billions. Much of it went to arm Russia. More American wealth and resources were poured out of the country into the laps of any taker with a foreign front, through relief agencies, the UNRRA, Export Bank loans, R. F. C. loans and an endless chain of devices topped by the Marshall Boodle Plan "to stop Communism".

Little of this money goes abroad. Most of the appropriations are drained out of the pockets of the taxpayers into those of the Dynastic and Imperial bankers. One glance at the glowing faces in the photographs of the Congressmen surrounding the President as he signs such an enormous "pork-barrel" bill as the Marshall Plan appropriation raises the question, "How much are they getting out of it, as a 'kick-back'?" They are too addicted to "pork-barrel" to be so happy handing out taxpayers' moneys without participation.

President Truman deliberately stepped out of line to advocate the C.I.O.-Communist Front program of repeated wage increases. Soldiers' bonuses were paid. Taxes were continued at an unconscionable level. Intensification of price control and harassment of legitimate enterprise forced ever more business into extortionate "black markets" that drove to sky-rocketing levels the prices that actually had to be paid for merchandise in

contrast with the official fixed price at which no merchandise could be purchased.

Even to an imbecilic mentality, it should be obvious that all these pretended "measures for fighting inflation" are designed and intended to do the reverse—to force constantly greater inflation and a steady rise in price of the necessities of life. Taxes must be added to prices. The higher the taxes go, the higher prices must follow. The pretense of increasing taxes "to fight inflation by keeping money out of circulation", is the height of absurdity. For inflation is the increase in price of necessities of life, and only a plentiful supply of those commodities can keep prices low and prevent inflation. But commodities can not be plentiful if the Government agencies constantly purchase all available necessities of life for shipment overseas through various competing agencies. The Government is deliberately forcing to a higher level of inflation, the necessities of life by its constant purchase of all commodities in sight at ever higher prices; and by supporting the speculative markets whenever prices settle to lower levels. Likewise speculation by key government officials on the basis of inside information does not constitute "fighting inflation". The continuous restriction of production of necessities of life in the interests of maintained scarcity likewise constitutes deliberate forcing of inflation while pretending to "fight inflation".

What is the purpose of this thoroughly dishonest and malicious policy of the Government to bring about constantly higher inflation while pretending to fight it? Where will it lead?

The Truman Administration, like that of Roosevelt, is undertaking to follow the Lenin formula and force dictatorship through bankruptcy. By direct and indirect taxation it is taking between a third and a half of the nation's income. As the percentage rises higher, ever more persons will be forced into straightened circumstances and bankruptcy. Finally, when a sufficient number of taxpayers and a sufficiently large proportion of the productive capacity of the nation has been bankrupted, the government itself will be bankrupt. The nation will be faced with the alternative of seizing private wealth and industry, as was done by the Communists in Russia; or concentrating wealth directly in the hands of the ultra-wealthy whose fortunes will have escaped taxation through various loopholes written in-

to the law, in which case the pattern will be that of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. In either case dictatorship will eventuate, as planned. The blight of wanton waste and of oppressive and confiscatory taxes is being depended upon to impoverish all but the Dynastic rulers and their allies. The Rockefeller Empire will then reign supreme.

To accomplish this ruin, the waste and destruction of another war may be needed, because of the great wealth of the nation. That war is in the making. And if military defeat is necessary to accomplish their purpose, the nation's malevolent rulers can be depended upon to traitorously engineer it. The U. S. will then have been sold into bondage to the largest, most ruthless and most hypocritic Empire that the world has ever known. For in all the process of engineering this sell-out, the wealth of the nation will have been drained off into the coffers of its behind-the-scene rulers.

The nation must demand a New Deal of its political parties and compel it. If necessary it must smash the monopolistic control of nominations. All the prostituted, chronic political candidates must be discarded. A true American who will not sell out his country, must be nominated and elected, if the U. S. is to remain free. Any honest American among our hundred and fifty million population will serve the purpose and make a better president than the stooges of the Dynasty and Rockefeller Empire. The U. S. must have a President who thinks and acts in terms of "America first, last and always" and who will not be afraid to be called an "isolationist" when that term is used synonymously with patriotism and protecting the interests of America.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE REMEDY — A SURPLUS ECONOMY

THE MASSACHUSETTS YANKEE PLAN

A conspiracy to destroy democracy might have been motivated either by lust for power or by fear of destruction and ruin. In the case of John D. Rockefeller both factors were involved. Initially fear played a larger role than the Napoleonic complex. But as Standard Oil grew and flourished, conquest became a predominant factor; but fear still loomed large.

John D.'s fear of want, amidst all his wealth, is evinced by the penurious and penny-pinching training he gave his children. His fear of being crushed by the weight of his own wealth and public resentment against it, is evidenced by his pretense of philanthropy. In the present Rockefeller Empire, this fear has been compensated for and supplanted by a Napoleonic complex.

There is security neither for the rich nor for the poor in any of the present scarcity economies. But to-day these fears should be as anachronistic as the scarcity economies which give rise to them.

In the past, not so many decades ago, there gripped the whole world a historic fear — the fear of want and starvation. It was very real. It arose from the inability of mankind to produce enough food and other necessities of life. Periodic droughts, or disasters, produced famines of the type that still scourge China, India and Russia, even in this modern era. In times of famine the short supply of necessities caused a rise in their prices. Only the rich and more fortunate who could find food and other necessities, and had the money to purchase them, could manage to survive. Supply and demand operated with direct and overwhelming force in influencing the prices of commodities in times of shortage.

Today the same fear grips the world under circumstances that make it very strange. Modern science and technology have so tremendously increased the world's productive capacity of necessities of life that the usual fear is no longer production of too little food and necessities of life but production of too much, in most parts of the world.

Though man's life-span has been extended to little less than the "three score and ten", it is a curious fact that modern-day society looks little beyond the immediate present under its present economic organization. The production of food, and other necessities, in excess of its immediate needs has repercussions and sequelae that are as drastic and, ultimately, are identical with those produced by shortages in primitive society. It matters not that an excess over immediate needs is essential to provide for tomorrow, to furnish a reserve against times of disaster and shortage. It matters not that such reserves are essential for security and for continued existence of man and society. Such excessive production of necessities, however slight, is labelled "overproduction".

"Overproduction" is converted by a perversion of the economic organization of society whether it be Capitalist or Communist (Super-Capitalist), into a major disaster. It leads to a drop in prices because of competition of producers in attempting to dispose of their production immediately, in order to "make them liquid". That means to sell them immediately to convert them into money.

The rush of all producers to sell causes a drop in prices. The function of carrying over the momentary surpluses is relegated to speculators, whose purchasing capacity is limited and who are forced to seek a profit by buying cheaply. Sellers compete with one another and force prices down. As a consequence the marginal producer sustains losses and drops out of production. That sets in operation a vicious cycle of reduced production, unemployment, lowered consumption, lowered prices, a further drop in production and so endlessly. The eventual outcome is production of less food and necessities than the nation requires, the same condition as was faced in the less advanced stages of society, and the wiping out of surpluses that spell security.

This situation comes about solely as a result of the mechanics of faulty economic organization of society, which is designed as a cut-throat, starvation, race suicide scarcity economy. It leaves but three alternatives — sustaining prices either by a monopoly which means private enforcement of scarcity, public enforcement of scarcity by a "managed economy", or a scarcity resulting from the interaction of supply, price and production. Fear of too little results from fear of too much.

The remedy for this absurd situation requires clear, untrammelled and unequivocal thought on the subject of the economic organization of society. In final analysis it is thought and ideas which rule the world. Unfortunately, there has been so little thought given to the problem, that the solutions that have been offered whatever their labels, especially if they be Communism or Fascism, are in their ultimate form merely identical aggravations of the evils of our traditional system.

Any quest for a solution must begin with a clear and concise expression of the problem.

What is the axiomatically basic function of Government? The reply is obvious:

Without life, there can be no government.

Therefore the basic function of government is *to enable its citizenry to live.*

Since raw materials of the necessities of life are essential for existence, the corollary basic functions of government requisite for its continuity are:

First: To make available stores and reserves of the necessities of life both for immediate needs and against times of disaster.

Second: To make it possible for its citizenry to obtain the wherewithal to purchase those necessities.

No government now undertakes to perform these basic functions except in the case of emergency and war. The reason for this is obviously that the character of the economic organization of society bars the way. The idea which is the cornerstone of that economic organization is the so-called "law of supply and demand."

The fallaciousness of this "law" is most simply revealed by the illustration used in elementary textbooks on economics for the very purpose of demonstrating its validity. It reads:

Three men are stranded on a desert island.

Only one of them has barely enough of the necessities of life for his own needs. Consequently, the economist relates, the price of those necessities would rise to a high level. For the demand exceeds the supply and scarcity lends value, he reasons.

But the conclusion which the economist draws is obviously fallacious. Any man who under those circumstances would undertake to sell the irreplaceable commodities which he requires for the preservation of his own life, as a matter of business, would be either stupidly avaricious or insane. He might share them with his fellows as a matter of humanity; but to trade in them would be equivalent to trading in his own life.

Quite as absurd is it for nations to permit their commerce in the necessities of life to be dominated by the supposed operation of the "law of supply and demand." It is absurd not only because it means a scarcity economy that is rendered entirely needless by the abundance which man can now derive from Nature; but also because it bars the government from performing its function of making available to its citizenry the raw materials of the necessities of life by enabling the creation of reserves and surpluses.

The idea of a "supply and demand" economy is even more absurd because it exists only for today and gives not a thought to tomorrow. The demand of a nation for the necessities of life, like population, remains rela-

tively constant. Likewise, though vagaries of Nature may cause variations of supply from year to year, the average productivity of the land remains constant. Even primitive man realized this clearly, as is illustrated in the Biblical story of Joseph and Pharaoh.

In reality, a study of the events of the past twenty years reveals that it is neither supply nor demand that determines prices of the raw materials of the necessities of life. This becomes apparent from the fact that the price of wheat was ten times higher during 1919, when there was a bumper crop, than it was in 1932, when there was an actual shortage. These facts impelled Professor Warren, the Cornell authority on chicken and "New-Deal" economics, to advance the explanation that it is the relation of the supply and demand of a commodity to the supply and demand of gold that determines prices. But this is a rather complicated formula for the simple fact that *it is neither supply nor demand but speculation* that determines prices.

Speculation prevents the setting up of surpluses of the necessities of life, which constitute the only real security for the nation and the individual. The holding of reserves by the government or by individuals acts on the speculative market as an excess supply, and depresses prices. Drop in price reduces profits and forces a reduction in production, which in turn forces using up of reserves.

Applied to labor and human values, as justified by Karl Marx's Socialism, by Communism and by labor unionism, the so-called "law" is even more destructive. In its converse expression, "scarcity alone lends value," the "law" demands restriction of the supply of human beings. The term "social" cannot be applied to such an organization which makes man serve it as victim and sacrifice. The birth control movement, the purges of Hitler and Stalin, the merciless condemnation to misery and death of refugees, the destruction of the livelihoods and futures of younger generations, national and racial antagonisms—sacrifices to the Moloch of human scarcity—are all natural outgrowths of such economic concepts.

Roseate and sanguine peace discussions always ignore what human experience has proved invariably true: that war is an absolute necessity for the maintenance of scarcity economies and is made inevitable by them. Under scarcity economies a certain portion of the people of a nation, and of the nations of the world must

do without a sufficiency of the necessities of life, must live a submarginal existence, and in some cases must actually starve—because scarcity economies mean that there must not be enough to go around, if values are to be maintained. It is inevitable that violence breeds among the groups that are condemned to want or starvation, and if and when those groups become sufficiently large, war readily emerges from their struggles for survival.

The factor that precipitates war, however, is the necessity of destroying accumulated surpluses of both men and materials in order to avert complete breakdown of the scarcity economy. For inevitably the vicious inverted spiral of lowered production, resulting in lowered employment, which results in turn in lowered consumption, that involves again a further lowering of production to maintain scarcity and value, ultimately brings about the state of widespread unemployment that means a surplus of labor, as well as surpluses of commodities. This cycle generally reaches its climax at intervals of about a quarter of a century. As a consequence of the intolerable stagnation, unemployment and hunger that results from it, war is eagerly sought by nations as a solution of the impasse created by politicians, on the counsel of malicious propagandists or of stupid fools who parade as "professors of economics".

Side by side with the more active destructive forces operating in scarcity economies actively to destroy surpluses of men and materials, there operates a slower, more insidious but even more basic destructive force—voluntary birth control and race suicide. It is this factor that has been responsible for the destruction of every empire and every civilization in history. Individuals either can not afford to have children as a consequence of the cost of living in relation to earnings under a scarcity economy, or else they voluntarily undertake to avoid bringing children into a world already cluttered with large numbers of unemployed. They thus aid in the effort to attain a scarcity of human beings. Since such voluntary efforts at birth control are usually adopted by folks of a higher level of intelligence and culture, the consequence is a lowering of both the population and its level of intelligence.

There are two types of scarcity economies.

Gold Standard, or *Laissez-Faire*, type of scarcity economy makes no effort to restrict, or manage, pro-

duction directly. It operates through the interplay of gold supply and production: with a fixed volume of gold as the basis of value, the more there is produced of commodities and necessities of life, the less they are worth as measured against the fixed supply of gold. Or if the supply of gold is restricted by manipulation or speculation, the price of commodities and necessities of life can be forced down without regard to the adequacy of the supply. Naturally when the price is forced down below the level of the cost of production, production falls off because it no longer pays to produce; discontinued production means unemployment with consequent lessened consumption; and that in turn means further reduction in production and repetition of the vicious cycle. Consequently, under the gold standard economy, the breakdown that leads to depressions and wars is precipitated by prosperity and by the approach of production to adequacy.

"Managed" economies are manipulated to attain the most rigid form of scarcity economy whether they be Fascist, Communist or "New Deal". The motive of these types of economy are variously expressed for ideologic or propaganda purposes. Thus the Fascists make no humanitarian representations for their managed scarcity economies but frankly advocate them to serve the purposes of the State. The so-called Liberal, i.e. the Communist, New Deal and Labor economies, profess to manage their economies for the purpose of preventing the accumulation of reserves and surpluses in order to avoid unemployment that they regard as the inevitable consequence of "overproduction." Their shibboleths are "Production for use not for profit" and "Labor must get all that it produces". The fallacy of this type of thinking is obvious: Use is in itself a form of profit; but for the maintenance of an economy other forms of profit are essential: there must be the profit to provide for the maintenance of surplus and reserves against times of need, which is the only true form of security; and the profit that must repay human ingenuity for its task of creating and must provide for production and maintenance of other machinery of production. Without these forms of profit, an economy must inevitably break down.

The obvious remedy of the evils of a scarcity economy is to remedy the basic defect — the more there is produced, the less it is worth. This would make it possible to set up the surpluses and reserves that spell

security without destroying thereby the price of the commodities — a surplus economy.

To accomplish this purpose, fortunately, it is not necessary to resort to another of those economic experiments that have trifled with, and endangered, the lives and livelihoods of many millions of people that have characterized the 'New Deal' in the past decade. The setting up of vast surpluses and reserves without depressing the price of the commodity involved has been accomplished for long periods of time in the case of one commodity — gold. Vast surpluses of gold have been stored up without depressing its price. Even when the production of gold was lowest, in 1929, its real overproduction relative to the amounts required for technologic uses was more than 90% of the total production. This overproduction has been buried in a hole in the ground at Fort Knox. So far as goes the nation's actual need of it for fabrication into necessary devices, it can remain in that hole forever, or until some technologic use for gold is discovered that requires the large surplus that has been built up in the course of world history. (This amounts to a block of gold about the size of a thirty foot cube that could be contained in the average thirty-five foot, three story building.) In spite of this real overproduction the price of gold actually has been raised by the New Deal.

The mechanism that has defied the speculative influence of supply and demand on the price of gold is the monetization of gold. It has been accomplished by the Currency Act of March 14, 1900 and its recent amendments.

Through the Currency Act, the nation alleges that it regards gold as absolutely essential for the existence of the nation — that it can not live without gold, it can not eat or drink without gold, it can not clothe itself without gold, it can not shelter itself without gold. These allegations implied in the Act, are obviously false. Nevertheless, the Act provides that in order to stimulate the production of gold to the nation's maximum capacity, no producer of gold shall have to rely upon speculators for marketing his production. It provides that all gold produced would be stored by the Treasury and warehouse receipts, in the form of gold notes, shall be issued for it at a fixed price, originally a dollar for each 25.8 grains of gold. The result has been complete stabilization of the price of gold no matter how great the overproduction; and the crea-

tion of a huge surplus of useless gold without impairing its market price.

Despite the allegations implied in the Currency Act, gold is not essential for human existence. If the men stranded on a desert island had all the gold in the world and all the money in the world with them, they would still starve to death. King Midas who mythology tells us was endowed with the gift he prayed for — that everything he touched be converted to gold — nevertheless starved to death. What then gives gold and money based on gold their value?

Obviously the only thing that gives gold, or any form of money, its value is solely its acceptance in exchange for the things required for existence: food, clothing, shelter and other necessities and luxuries. When gold or money can not buy these things it has no value. Therefore the only real security behind gold and money, that give them their value, are the raw materials from which the necessities of life can be made.

Though gold, silver and the national debt are the basis of the currency issued by the Treasury, that money constitutes only a small fraction of exchange medium of the nation. Currency created by the private banker constitutes the bulk of the currency in use. In 1929, for each dollar created by the Treasury on the basis of gold, the private banker created two hundred dollars. Without credit currency, the nation's business would come to a standstill.

The bulk of that credit currency is created by the private banker, when he desires to create it, on the basis of the things that people require for their existence. Therefore the real basis for this credit currency and the security behind it is the raw and fabricated materials constituting the necessities of life.

This credit currency is produced in violation of the Constitution and law. The Constitution states that Congress alone shall have the power to issue money and determine its value. It prescribes gold and silver as the basis for money. Credit currency and its creation by private bankers are implicitly prohibited by the Constitution.

This situation was brought about by the efforts of Alexander Hamilton, at the behest of George Washington, to win over the Tory elements, such as the Roosevelts, to the support of the Constitution. They insisted upon retaining the control over the real wealth of the land, the raw materials of the necessities of life,

through the device of private banking credit, and the speculative manipulation it made possible. This was granted them and the limitation of the monetary powers of Congress was written into the Constitution. Though the exclusive "power to issue money and define its value" was reserved to Congress, this provision of the Constitution was disregarded from the very start. Consistently since, the real security behind money and wealth, the nation's commodities, has been ignored by the law, and the currency based upon that wealth is denied the status of legal tender.

Before this had been done, however, the Colony of Massachusetts Bay had coped with the problem of inflation and had arrived at a true Yankee commonsense solution of the problem. Massachusetts, like the rest of the Colonies, had sought to evade its obligations to the Continental Army, the payment of wages and pensions to volunteers, by the issue of unsecured paper money. The money rapidly became so worthless as to give rise to the expression "not worth a Continental"; and the Colonial governments were bankrupt.

By 1780 the number of returned, unpaid veterans of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay had grown large. They threatened to seize the government if they were not paid. This was an emergency that stirred Yankee ingenuity to its full depths.

The Massachusetts Yankees reasoned soundly that the best way to stabilize prices and stop inflation was by direct action rather than by roundabout methods. They defined money in terms of the things that folks wished to purchase with it, the staple necessities of life. In that manner the lender would be sure to receive back the same purchasing power as he had loaned. They therefore defined the money in terms of the staple commodities produced in the Colony — beef, corn, sheep's wool and sole leather. These notes, a reproduction of one of which appears on the frontispiece, were issued in 1780 and came due in 1784. They were accepted as legal tender.

While this monetary plan prevailed, Massachusetts alone among the Colonies prospered. By 1784 it had been agreed that currency would be issued by the Federal Government. The Massachusetts Yankee staple product notes were redeemed at the same value at which they were issued. Yankee staple notes were the only currency ever redeemed at the value at which they were issued by any American governmental

agency. All the other forms of currency issued were either wiped out completely, like the greenbacks, or were so tremendously inflated like the Continental and the Roosevelt dollar, that they were redeemed at a mere fraction of their value at issuance.

The only measure that can block the wiping out of the major part of the wealth of the rank and file of Americans by this conspiracy is re-adoption of the Yankee staple product currency base. Since the only real security that lies behind the dollar and gives it its value is its acceptance in exchange for the raw or fabricated staples constituting the necessities of life and luxuries, it is essential that the fact be recognized. Money must be based upon those staples directly just as it is now based upon gold and silver directly. The staples that constitute the raw materials of the necessities of life can be kept in storage, with modern technology, almost as safely as can gold.

Widening the monetary base to include all staples that can be stored over periods of years would mean the inclusion in the base of the grains, such as wheat, corn, and soybeans; the elements, such as uranium, copper, tantalum, coal, tin and sulphur; minerals such as feldspar and phosphates; petroleum oil; the fibres, such as cotton, wool, hemp, rayon and silk; leather; rubber, and a wide array of other staples. The large number of staples included in the base would serve to prevent unbalancing the economy by a rush into production of the staples that were thus made liquid wealth. The liquidity of the staples would serve to stabilize the values of products fabricated from them. The entire economy would be stabilized and the dread of production of the staple necessities for fear of "overproduction" would vanish. The nation's economy will recognize what common sense teaches the individual: intrinsic values are not impaired by the amounts produced; momentary excesses in production over immediate utilization of staples, do not constitute overproduction from the viewpoint of long term needs; folks need not starve and want, as when rationing prevailed, if there is at hand too much of necessities, but they must starve if there is too little.

It is questionable if in a constantly expanding economy and steadily maintained prosperity, that such a program makes inevitable, there can be any tremendous actual overproduction. But even if there should chance to be such an overproduction in some staple

or another, any losses implied could be written off by a slight increase in seigniorage or taxes, and would involve no significant loss. Since free exchange of staples between the nations of the world would become possible as a result of stabilized values, such excessive surpluses should be few and far between.

The Yankee staple product currency would enable the government to perform the first of its axiomatically basic functions — the setting up of surpluses and reserves to insure the citizenry against want and starvation. It would also make possible its performance of the second function — enabling the citizenry to obtain the wherewithal to purchase. For when production of staples can be expanded to the maximum capacity, and the production has become liquid wealth, there is inevitably stimulation of the entire economy by the increased wealth. This would make for greater employment. More important still, widening the currency base and the monetization of staples, would enable a government to put an end to unemployment by creating absolute freedom of employment. Without this freedom, all other types of freedom assured citizens by documents—freedom of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness—are meaningless. For without the absolute right to employment and to earn an adequate living the citizen cannot even enjoy the freedom of life.

Until the government has created and given substance to the ideal of freedom of employment that is implied by our Constitution, we cannot claim to have fulfilled its letter, nor can we claim to be a democracy.

By freedom of employment is not meant the "right to organize" into labor unions. For that implies the substitution of one form of coercion, economic, by another, that of labor unions.

Freedom of employment also can not be effected by placing a host of persons on the Government payroll. Quite as ominous as the Relief rolls is the steady growth of the number of government employees, and the spectacle of hordes seeking Civil Service employment because it alone offers security of employment to many. Government employees, as a rule, do not produce or increase the resources of a land but deplete it. Parasitic bureaucratic systems eventually destroy the lands on which they prey.

Freedom of employment can be produced only by a social organization which gives man the freedom of choice between accepting employment offered him by

another or of creating adequately profitable employment for himself.

That a form of social organization which creates freedom of employment is possible, is indicated by the fact that our law and government do create it in one direction. Under our present law, the men who can go out and pan gold in sufficient amounts are given freedom of employment that is adequately and assuredly profitable. No matter how many men engage in the production of gold, no matter how much is produced, its price remains unaltered. They can be certain that if they can pan a definite amount of gold they will have enough for all their needs. This contrasts sharply with what would happen if an equal number of men engaged in any other form of production; for them the more they produced the less it would be worth.

It is truly absurd that gold should be the only commodity the production of which, and the producers of which, are adequately protected by a law which gives form to the dictates of our Constitution. For it alone among the commodities is useless—so useless that it is taken out of one hole in the ground and buried in another at Fort Knox.

The monetization of gold has created freedom of employment and has also tremendously stimulated employment and wages in its production. Widening the monetary base to include a wide array of commodities, the staple products that are the raw materials of the necessities of life, would obviously stimulate employment in many different directions.

Creating freedom of employment in directions other than self-employment in producing gold is not popular with the Labor Barons and their "Liberal" henchmen. It would wipe out any excuse for their activities. They therefore allege that freedom of employment can not exist because, they say, "sixty families and a few hundred companies own and control all the machinery of production". This is a Marxist myth that is proved obviously false by an examination of what, in ultimate analysis, constitutes the basic machinery of production. Some glibly state that labor is a basic machinery of production. But labor as often destroys as it produces: unthinking and plodding labor may produce little; and monkeys labor all day long and produce no wealth. It is the thing that differentiates man and monkey that constitutes the most important basic machinery of production.

The ultimate machineries of production are two—human ingenuity, and the earth and elements, which are the sources of the raw materials. It would be ridiculous to pretend that any six hundred families or ten thousand corporations have a monopoly of human ingenuity. The elements are relatively uncontrolled. Of the other machinery of production, the land, this group controls scarcely one percent in the United States. The largest owner of land in the United States is the Government, the people themselves. The governments control well over fifty percent of the nation's land. Over twenty percent are included in the Federal parks and reservations alone.

With regard to government lands there exists in the United States a curious situation. They are carried on the Government's ledger as liabilities together with the many billions of debt. As they are handled today they are really liabilities. They produce nothing, cost much to maintain and police, and eventually are given away to speculators or to homesteaders on the speculation that they will be able to hold out.

But this land situation is unquestionably absurd. The land could be converted readily into a very real asset that would salvage the nation's solvency and credit by a very wide margin if the disposition of the Crown Lands of England were followed as an example. The Crown Lands are usually not alienated from the Crown, but are leased for production for a percentage of what is produced in some instances.

Following the example of England, the United States could lease its lands for production and thus convert them into assets. With the widening of the currency base to include the staple products, it could go even further. It could utilize these lands for the creation of true freedom of employment. It could offer to lease to all who care to do so, as much land as each individual can work, for the production of staple products, at a rental consisting of a percentage of the production. Instead of frittering away the national wealth on a dole system, and stimulating sloth and shiftlessness, it could undertake to lend the money for financing purchase of machinery of production with the proviso that the loans be amortized in kind with a part of the staples produced. The incorporation of staples in the monetary base under the Yankee plan would make this possible.

Under the Yankee plan no depression or unemployment could ever exist. A bit of commonsense thinking

makes clear the irrationality of these problems. The consideration of them has been so stereotyped, that no one has stopped to reflect that the unemployed, like the rest of mankind, require their share of the necessities and luxuries of life. In producing those items for themselves lies the obvious solution of their unemployment.

The Antigonish movement that has converted a pauperized group of fishing villages in Newfoundland into a prosperous and model community, attests to the potentialities of such a solution. It contrasts sharply with the persistent accentuation of the unemployment problem that has resulted from the plans of the subversive, radical and "New Deal" groups that are more bent upon stimulating class hatred and wars than employment, prosperity and peace. The country was well on the way to arriving at such a solution in the barter plans of 1933, when the advent of the "New Deal" put a stop to the rational solution, resuscitated the banks and then rescued the old economic setup which repeatedly has proved unworkable.

Such a plan would satisfy every legitimate element in the community. It protects those that have, in the possession of that which they have. It also enables those that have not, to produce that which they need. It would make obvious the absurdity of the idea that the only possible solution is the dishonest concept of "distribution of wealth", which in ultimate analysis is merely a distribution of poverty. It eliminates the idea that accumulations of reserves or wealth are a menace to the nation. It does this by eliminating the only real danger of such accumulations, which is the paralysis of the currency system resulting from irrational restriction of currency.

At the same time it would dispel forever that irrational attitude which demands security, and at the same time decries the setting up of savings and reserves of the necessities of life, which alone offer real security. The current idea that bookkeeping balances offer security is absurd. Above all else it would eliminate the real basis for strife between the "haves" and "have-nots", whether those groups be within the same community or in different nations.

It is only such a plan that could make the United States the capitalist state that many folks falsely fancy that it is. It obviously is not "capitalist" in the sense of making the private ownership of property secure, for

there has been no real security in ownership, especially during the past decade. Ours has been a speculative economy that is as much the antithesis of true capitalism as are the theories of Communism or National Socialism. Communism in its ultimate development assumes the form of a super-capitalistic super-dictatorship. The only difference between these rival and supposedly antagonistic economies is the name of their masters.

Capitalism, it is safe to predict, is the only form of social organization that ever will be secure. For it is rooted in the very trait of possessiveness inherent in human nature which theorizing radicals have pretended it is possible to root out, merely to find that it had mastered themselves. If a form of social organization that is rooted in human nature cannot succeed, certainly no other has any chance whatsoever.

It is as absurd to say that "democracy (or republicanism) is a failure" as it is to say that "capitalism is a failure". The U. S. has never had either of them, in the correct sense of the terms. The nation has never carried out the blueprint of human organization drawn up by the wisest group of men that ever assembled for that purpose—the Constitution. They defined democracy in terms of "*freedom of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness*". These are the goals that man has striven for from time immemorial.

The authors of the Constitution were close enough to slavery and feudalism to keenly appreciate the value of freedom and the attributes of democracy. Unfortunately the present generation are so hedonic and lacking in insight that they fail to realize the meaning of slavery though they have witnessed it in the concentration camps of Nazi Germany and of Russia. They are willing to surrender, and have surrendered, "freedom" for the bait of slave-masters—a *mirage of "security"*,—even before they have attained the measure of freedom called for by the Constitution. They actually believe the shibboleth "Democracy is a failure", though the nation has never attained it.

Democracy has not been attained in the U. S. because it has never created the basic freedom—absolute freedom to earn a living, or freedom of employment. This freedom was taken for granted by the framers of the Constitution. Frontiers, all about them, provided freedom of employment for anyone who cared to work. It was implied in the expression "freedom of life . . .".

For there can be no "freedom of life" if there is no freedom to earn the wherewithal to live.

Likewise, a true capitalism is a form of social and economic organization which makes the private ownership of property secure. The speculative gold standard scarcity economy, latterly replaced in part by a "managed" scarcity economy, offers no security in the private ownership of property. The experiences of 1929 attest to that. It is reasonable to assume, in view of the experience of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, that if the development of our economy had been untrammelled by treacherous Tories who were in a position to impose their will, the Yankee surplus economy plan, which is the only possible basis for a true capitalism, would have been adopted as the pattern intended by the framers of the Constitution. It would have made the world a happier place to live in.

The Yankee surplus economy plan would eliminate the fear of starvation and want that results today from either under- or over-production, both at home and abroad. The adoption of the plan by any one nation would force its adoption throughout the world. For if any one nation offered, for instance, to pay three dollars a bushel for any wheat that might be turned over to its Treasury, every other country would have to do the same, or else lose the wheat its people require for their existence. No matter how high the barriers that might be set up to prevent the outflow of the wheat, it would be sure to make its way to the highest market. This would imply eventually an equally high standard of living in all lands.

When staples sell at the same level in all lands and the standard of living become equally high, barriers which are set up to prevent impairment of living standards, or jeopardy of employment, would disappear. Free trade on a world-wide basis would become possible and desirable. Such a plan offers the only practical solution of the impasse created by the breakdown of the gold standard system in international trade. It would eliminate the struggle for raw materials which underlies wars and alone could make possible international amity by making trade barriers unnecessary and anachronistic.

Fear of starvation and want would vanish rapidly in a world placed on a surplus economy basis. Humans would no longer be regarded by nations as liabilities, to be avoided—by race suicide, by retarding the young-

er generation in its start in life, by immigration barriers, by labor unionism, by DP camps, and by the massacres of the concentration camps which are the most eloquent expressions of the ultimate in scarcity economy.

This age-old solution of the problems of economic organization has been adopted, as in Massachusetts, whenever emergency brought to the fore the realization that the real basis of wealth is not gold but the necessities of life. In the story of Joseph and Pharaoh, it is one of the most important lessons the Bible has to offer, but one which our "economists" and "men of learning" refuse to learn.

The question arises: Why has not the Yankee plan been adopted during the decade and a half of absurd scarcity economy experiments of the New Deal? Foreign ideas are as popular and fashionable in the "social sciences" (made in Germany) as are the French gowns among the fair sex. And homely, commonsense American ideas on economics, are as deprecated as domestic gowns.

The state of the world, however, has become so critical, and the impasse so absurd, that mayhap folks will stop, look and listen long enough to adopt the sound idea and rational solution of the Yankee plan. In garbled form it has been advocated in recent years by diverse characters. Thus Sir Maynard Keynes was chief Bank of England propagandist for forcing the gold standard, scarcity economic concepts on the New Deal. In his "Treatise On Money" and in his address before the British Association for Advancement of Science in August 1938, he belied the scarcity propaganda he was paid to foist on the U. S. by urging the adoption of the staple product plan in England. Father Coughlin advocated a garbled form of the plan, as it was described in an article by this author, and made it the basis of his Social Justice plan; but he unfortunately confused it with the highly speculative Irving Fisher gold-index dollar, which is the exact antithesis. Wise and scholarly Senator Robert Owens, author of the Federal Reserve Act, attempted to introduce the Yankee staple product dollar into that Act; but Irving Fisher and Senator Carter Glass frustrated his plan. Had Senator Owens succeeded, the Federal Reserve Act would have served the interests of the nation instead of merely the Dynastic bankers and their allies; and World War I might have been averted.

If the U. S. and the world can be shifted onto a surplus economy base, the destruction of democracy and human freedom, the advance of Communism, managed economies and other forms of dictatorships and slave states, and the further advance of World War III can be averted. The drive behind the Dynasty and the Rockefeller Empire for an American monarchy can be checked; and the fear that filled the world and motivated John D. Rockefeller and other monopolists could be completely dispelled. With this out of the way the Napoleonic complex will fail to gain support.

To put the Yankee plan into operation in the U. S. will require another amendment to the Currency Act widening the monetary base to comply with existent realities; a change in the policy of the Interior Department with regard to public lands; supplanting Relief and bonus measures by a plan to finance folks who desire to produce, with loans to be repaid out of production; and enlargement of elevator and storage facilities to the point of adequacy.

The value to be given in the base to staple products should be the average historic value multiplied by the same factor as the price of gold has been increased. The advantage of the plan to the farmer and the other producers of staples are obvious. The fabricator would benefit from the stable value of raw materials and the enlarged market created by the high stable earnings of the producers of staples. The worker would benefit by earning all that he produces, or else by stabilization of his wage at the level of his ability to earn if he wished to resort to production of staples; and he would be free to earn as much as he is willing to work for. The rich would be secure in their wealth because their holdings would not constitute a barrier to others acquiring as much as they are willing to work for. Banking and industry would benefit from the liquidity of wealth and from the general prosperity. The nation and the world would benefit from the stabilization of its economy and the accumulation of the unlimited riches that Nature has to offer. These things could be accomplished in the brief period of six months, *if there is a will to accomplish them.*

This solution would defeat the purposes of the Dynasty to destroy democracy and freedom, and would render fruitless the martial plans for world conquest of both Russia and the Rockefeller Empire.

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THE ROOSEVELT DEATH

A Super Mystery

SUICIDE

ASSASSINATION

NATURAL DEATH

STILL ALIVE



*Nine Ghosts That Haunted FDR
Just Before His Death*

Cause of the Mystery

Until Eleanor Roosevelt explains to the world why the casket, containing the remains of Franklin D. Roosevelt, was not opened to be viewed by the public, the death of her husband, Franklin D. Roosevelt, will remain an unsolved mystery. Not only must Mrs. Roosevelt, the widow, in order to remove a million questions, explain this matter, but it must be explained satisfactorily. Glib answers will not suffice. Ordinary yarns told in the ordinary New Deal fashion will not satisfy a suspecting and suspicious and even a superstitious public.

Every prominent figure who has passed away in modern times has left behind him a responsible group of friends and relatives who have insisted that his body 'lie in state' to be viewed by the public prior to burial. This custom was not only violated by the Roosevelt family and the White House palace guard as pertains to the public, but even in the case of the eldest son, Jimmy, who barely arrived in time to see the casket lowered into the ground at Hyde Park.

It has been a custom among American families to open the casket even in the cemetery when a member of the family through some unavoidable circumstance was unable to return to the family home or the church in time for the funeral service. James Roosevelt at the time of his father's death was on duty in the South Seas. He was unable to reach the White House in time for the service.

Sensation: Although it has been assumed that the casket was opened by the family, the writer has been unable to find a single individual in the family circle, outside the family circle, or in the inner circle who positively will say that the casket was opened even in the White House.

The Mystery Doubled

The above facts were sufficient to start Washington tongues wagging and even to inspire concern, in many quarters, both in the pro-Roosevelt and the anti-Roosevelt camps. Lifetime political henchmen of the ambitious four term President were mystified, dumbfounded, chagrined, even openly embarrassed over the way the matter was handled. Some were very outspoken. Little could be done about it, however, because long since the American people had discovered that protest, indignation and shock had little effect on White House affairs.

It remained, however, for Joe Stalin, close friend of Franklin D. Roosevelt, to lock the door to the mystery with a double lock. Those of us close to the Washington scene who knew much of what was going on inside knew beyond the peradventure of a doubt that Stalin had been very influential in the White House, but little did we realize that he would be the one to make the passing of his political pal a deeper mystery even than domestic circumstances might warrant.

Upon being informed of the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Stalin immediately contacted in person the man who was the Ambassador to the United States, Andrei Gromyko. He instructed Gromyko to go personally to the White House, insist that the casket be opened, and report to him definitely whether or not he was convinced that Franklin D. Roosevelt was dead. Gromyko obeyed orders as far as possible, but was soon brought to a shocking halt. He discovered that even an Ambassador from one of the four most powerful nations on earth would not be permitted to view the remains.

Here's how he discovered it. He made a formal call on the man who was then our Secretary of State, Edward

Stettinius. He expressed Stalin's wishes to Stettinius. He evidently conveyed to Stettinius that there was some doubt in the Russian dictator's mind about the death of America's fourth-term President. Stettinius assumed that he had a simple mission to perform. Of course, the White House would grant this simple request. He would have no difficulty in satisfying Stalin's concern or doubt or curiosity, as the case might be. The white-haired diplomat, who later was to be unsuccessful in an attempt to consummate the Roosevelt plan for world government, walked briskly to the White House and contacted the one in authority, who in this instance happened to be, not the widow, not the private secretary, not the children—but Samuel Rosenman, whom the late President frequently referred to as 'Sammy the Rose.' It is an open secret that 'Sammy the Rose' wrote most of FDR's important speeches, especially those referring to our relationship with Germany, our international political strategy, and domestic measures h a v i n g to do with the establishment of new and unheard of bureaus.* The White House vetoed Stettinius, they vetoed Gromyko—yes, they vetoed Stalin. Why did Stalin want to know? Why was he suspicious? Why did he doubt the widow?, the family?, the newspapers?, the palace guard?, when

*The Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, United States Senator Pat McCarran, in a recent address on the floor of the United States Senate revealed that the American people are now compelled to obey 110,000 laws which have never been passed by members of Congress or the Congress as a whole. These laws are bureaucratic edicts, made possible by the dictatorial policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt, brought about by 13 years devoted to shifting authority from the Legislative Department of our Government to the Executive Department. Confirmation of this fact may be found on page A4678 of the Congressional Record for July 25, 1946.

the report was flashed over the wire, "Franklin D. Roosevelt is dead."

Experienced and keen observers in Washington believe to this very day, and all the arguments that might be brought forth cannot remove their conviction, that Stalin still doubts.

Why was he so anxious to know? Here is the answer. Roosevelt had conferred with Stalin in person to the knowledge of the world two times—once at Teheran and once at Yalta. These personal conferences cost the United States literally millions of dollars. When the President journeyed to the meeting place he was accompanied by dreadnaughts, bombers, anti-aircraft equipment, thousands of troops, and an unbelievable number of naval personnel. Before the arrival of Roosevelt and Stalin every house in the community where the meeting was held was searched. Every person under suspicion was either imprisoned or isolated. Stalin didn't trust the Americans to prepare his food, and the Americans didn't trust the Russians to prepare their food. Both Roosevelt and Stalin took their own food tasters, food samplers, who examined the food, tasted the food, and served the food. The conferences were surrounded with utmost secrecy, the type of secrecy which violates all the traditions of a free Republic. Both men conducted themselves as dictators—one was a dictator and admitted it, while the other was a dictator and denied it.

Many of us believed at the time, and it is now leaking out as an established fact—namely, that Roosevelt agreed to every demand made by Stalin.

These commitments will be discussed later in this

manuscript. He promised Stalin practically everything he desired—the lion's share of China, a chance at India, Hitler's booty in Europe. He promised to let the Communist Party in America alone. He promised to make no issue of Red propaganda* in the United States.

In olden times, especially in the Asiatic and semi-Asiatic countries, it was the custom of dictators, kings, rulers and military overlords to meet and strike agreements concerning matters involving the nations they represented. Occasionally a ruler, in his anxiety to strike a good bargain, would make impossible promises. Then after he returned to his country, disappear. Upon disappearing his palace guard would report to the world that he was dead. In this way his country enjoyed the assets of the agreement without having to fulfill all the liabilities.

Although Stalin claimed to be a friend of Roosevelt, and although Roosevelt promised and carried out practically everything that Stalin desired up to the hour of his death, Stalin must have known that Roosevelt was a smooth, slick operator. Surely there must have been times when Roosevelt's promises to him seemed too good to be true. He must have known, as many of us knew, that FDR was one of the most convincing promisers the

*Following one of his conferences with Stalin, Mr. Roosevelt issued an executive order demanding the destruction of all files having to do with Red personnel in the Army and Navy. It is believed that the Military Intelligence and Naval Intelligence followed these orders to the letter. The F.B.I., under J. Edgar Hoover, kept everything, and today it has perhaps the best record of Communist intrigue and the personalities involved of any organization of any kind on the face of the earth.

political world has ever known, whether he intended to carry out his promises or not.*

Stalin was afraid of just exactly what has happened—namely, that a United States without Dictator Roosevelt would not do as much for him as would be done if his political pal remained alive. Knowing the fox-like temperament of the Hyde Park squire, the Soviet dictator was anxious to make sure that the palace guard, or some powerful group, had not spirited their spokesman away on the ground that at last he had made some promises that could not be fulfilled or evaded.

Stalin is still in doubt. He is still suspicious.

The Plot Thickens

No statement from the White House, no report from the palace guard, no public expression from the Roosevelt family has ever been made concerning the denial of Stalin's request. If the Roosevelt family and their political coordinates were of a modest and retiring nature,

*Among the notorious promises of FDR, the super demagogue of all times, were the following: (1) During his 1940 campaign for President, Mr. Roosevelt knew that the American people didn't want war. In his Boston speech of 1940 he said: 'I say to you fathers and mothers again. . . and again. . . and again, your sons shall not be sent to fight and die on foreign soil.' In his Philadelphia speech, just prior to his Boston appearance, he had added the words 'unless attacked.' This had aroused great suspicion among the people who assumed that an attack would be precipitated as an alibi. In the meantime Willkie was promising 'no war under any circumstance.' Therefore, in order to outbid Wall Street's 'one worlder,' FDR raised the ante in Boston and omitted the words 'unless attacked.' (2) In his 1932 campaign Mr. Roosevelt deplored the extravagance and spending policies of the Hoover administration, and assured the Nation that he would reduce the spending budget 25 percent. During his terms of office, not counting war costs, the New Deal President spent more money than all the Presidents of the United States, up to his own term combined.

this might be understood as being merely a natural display of modesty. But the Roosevelt family talks about everything. Nothing seems to be sacred as far as domestic problems are concerned. Divorce scandals, profiteering scandals, money-making enterprises indulged in by Eleanor Roosevelt and the children, seem to cause them no anxiety or chagrin. Eleanor Roosevelt in her column has discussed everything from the mating dates of the household dogs on up to how much an American girl should drink. She has advocated the intimate and social intermixture of black and white. She has entertained Communists in the White House. She has addressed, encouraged, and inspired practically every left wing, pro-Stalin, pro-Communist organization in the United States. The Roosevelt sons have indulged in all the more crude forms of conduct necessary to establish themselves as brazen extroverts. Franklin, Jr., while in Paris, squirted champagne in a diplomat's face. Elliott obtained air passage priority, in time of war, for a dog belonging to his second wife (an actress) at a time when it was necessary to leave military personnel stranded in order to care for this dog belonging to the wife of a 'prince.' In the midst of a blare of trumpets the Roosevelt daughter, Anna, divorced the father of her children and remarried. The antics of the elder son are too numerous to mention. As a manipulator of high finance, he has been more successful than his brother Elliott, although neither ever missed an opportunity to use their father's power to turn a good deal for themselves.

Along with everything else, Franklin, Jr., who would like to step into his father's boots, married a DuPont. John, the youngest son, has been the most retiring member of the family.

John Roosevelt's secret is little known. While the

President and his wife Eleanor were shouting for war, their youngest son was a conscientious objector. He believed that the war was unnecessary, that it could have been avoided, and that it was precipitated by the lovers of war. He refused at first to enlist or to serve in any military capacity whatsoever. Finally, under pressure from his mother, he accepted a military post in the South Seas with the understanding that at no time would it be necessary for him to take a life or engage in combat. This conduct on the part of the youngest Roosevelt was pretty well covered up, and to this very day not one person out of ten thousand knows the story. There is much more to tell, but space here does not permit.

Thus, even a superficial survey of the conduct of the Roosevelt family should convince any person with ordinary intelligence that the Roosevelts are not modest, retiring or timid. The casket was left closed because somebody had something to hide. What it was we may never know exactly but some of us have some well-founded suspicions.

Following the death of the President, it was announced that the Roosevelt papers, the Roosevelt letters—in fact, all of the Roosevelt correspondence—would be sent to Hyde Park, but it wasn't that simple. 'Sammy the Rose' assumed complete authority over the files, and went through them letter by letter, paper by paper, pencil note by pencil note, and removed everything that, in his opinion, the public should never see. Were these papers destroyed? If so, who destroyed them? If not, where are they? Who was given authority over the official correspondence of a man who was our President? Why should this ghost writer have ever been given authority to delete the official files of a President of the United States? What is being hidden from the American

people? Much, much, much—too much! Not only is much being hidden now, but much was hidden prior to his death.

Pre-Death

Admiral Ross McIntyre was Roosevelt's personal physician. This Admiral was perhaps the most artful, convincing and unscrupulous falsifier and prevaricator ever to appear upon the public scene. Invariably he reported to the Nation that 'his master' was in perfect health. In 1944 when the political manipulators, aided by Wallace, Frankfurter and Rosenman, wanted the Democratic Party to nominate Roosevelt for a fourth term, the American people wanted to know if he was physically fit. Up came the willing Admiral with a so-called scientific report to the effect that the President was in sound health and excellent condition in general. Rumors persisted that he was a dying man. At the time of the Chicago Democratic Convention Roosevelt theoretically was not present. He was supposed to be investigating war equipment and defense materials across the Nation, but now it is a matter of knowledge that he went to Chicago secreted in the Presidential car on the railroad tracks in the suburbs, and there manipulated and pulled the wires. It was on this occasion that he uttered the much-publicized statement concerning the choice of a Vice-President: "Clear it with Sidney."*

*'Sidney' referred to Sidney Hillman who was then the President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of the CIO and national head of the Political Action Committee (PAC). Hillman was originally educated in Russia to be a Rabbi. He deserted the Jewish clergy to become a Communist organizer. He was exiled for revolutionary activities and fled as a refugee to the United States. He spoke with a thick Yiddish accent, and expert observers believe that he never became oriented to American tradition. He cooperated in one way or another with all the left wing organizations in America, including the Communist Party.

About the time of the President's secret visit to the Chicago Democratic Convention, motion pictures were taken, but they were too ghastly and shocking to exhibit. Some were shown in private previews. A few of the best ones were shown to the public, but even they portrayed the President as a haggard, broken, palsied man.

The American people, before voting for a man to occupy the most powerful position in their national life, have a right to know the truth. The writer is one who believes that Admiral McIntyre prostituted the medical profession and lied to the American people for political reasons and in order to satisfy and fulfill the ambition of the man who longed more than anything else to become ruler of the earth, President of the world, head of a super government.* For this he promised Stalin everything he wanted. For this he promised England all the money she wanted, in order that he might become the head of a world government.

The Warm Springs Mystery

On April 12, 1945, the press services announced to the world that Franklin D. Roosevelt was dead. Harry Truman, who had scarcely ever conferred with the President intimately concerning any matters, became the President of the United States. He had not been Roosevelt's choice. FDR really wanted Henry Wallace, although he had made promises to James Byrnes. Henry Wallace couldn't get it because of a rebellious convention. Sidney Hillman wouldn't stand for Byrnes. This

*On October 14, 1944, a little over three weeks before the election, McIntyre examined the President at the Naval Hospital in Bethesda, Maryland, at the insistence of certain Southern conservative Democrats. Publicly the Admiral doctor announced that the President was in perfect health. Privately he revealed that the President had but six months to live.

left the convention in an uproar. The conservatives, including the Southern Democrats, believed that Roosevelt was going to die, and although they had suffered Henry Wallace to stand in second place at other times, they could not swallow even the thought of his ever becoming President of the United States. The elimination of Byrnes, the defeat of Wallace, had thrown the convention in Chicago into the hands of the professional politicians in the North and the conservative Democrats in the South. Against Roosevelt's will, Truman was the choice.

Warm Springs, Georgia, had been the vacation home of Franklin D. Roosevelt before he was President, and before he was even Governor of New York. He and his boyhood pal Henry Morgenthau had hoped to make some money in Georgia raising rabbits. Later Roosevelt developed infantile paralysis. In this condition he found some minor relief in bathing in the warm water at Warm Springs. Ultimately the Warm Springs Foundation was formed. Millions and millions of dollars were raised for this Foundation. As of today, no child can be admitted to the Warm Springs Sanatorium for less than between \$10 and \$16 per day.

Various stories have been told about the actual death of Roosevelt. No details were made available to the public. It is believed that when he died the only person with him was a Russian artist, whose name was Elizabeth Shumatoff.* The picture that this artist was making

*It is believed by people 'in the know' that there were two Russians near Roosevelt when he died, one by the name of N. Robbins, a photographer, and the other, Elizabeth Shumatoff. The name of Robbins does not appear in the press notices. Reliable reports reveal that Robbins and Shumatoff left Warm Springs within one hour after the death. Shumatoff gives as the reason that she thought the rooms would be needed. Shumatoff is supposed to have been the only person to have heard FDR say, 'I have a terrific headache. Just before this Shumatoff heard him say, as he signed certain directives with a swagger, 'This is the way I make laws.'

of the President was incomplete. The nurse was not present. No member of the family was in Warm Springs. There is no eye-witness to his death as far as public conventional information is concerned. It is alleged that he was alone at least two hours. Some say that these two hours of solitude took place in the Little White House. Others say that he drove into the mountains and there requested that he be left absolutely alone.

Suicide Theory

Those who hold to the suicide theory insist that he withdrew from the Secret Service men, his servants, and other associates, put a pistol to his head and pulled the trigger.

The writer knows some people, whose judgment he respects, who are not satisfied with the accounting that has been given of the movements, the conduct, and the motives of the Russian artist. The story of the Russian artist is yet to be told. Time and space do not permit that even the speculations be reviewed in this manuscript.

Those who hold to the murder theory insist that Roosevelt was the tool of a terrible international cabal. They felt that he had fulfilled his purpose. They knew he was in bad health and they feared that he might make some horrible blunder growing out of delirium or senility that might expose their hand and spoil years of successful and satanic plotting. All through history it has been the custom of international conspirators to either murder their tools or condition them, by the power of suggestion, for suicide*

*The death of Roosevelt took place one week after he was quoted as saying, 'I learned more about Palestine in five minutes from Ibn Saud (ruler of all the Arabs) than I had known in my entire life previous.' Since Roosevelt's death Ibn Saud has been quoted as saying, 'He (Roosevelt) assured me that Palestine would never be taken away from the Arabs.'

Did Franklin D. Roosevelt commit suicide? Did he draw a weapon on himself which so defaced him or marred his physiognomy that his family and the White House authorities dared not permit him to lie in state for public view?

There sat Franklin D. Roosevelt, the man, broken in health, with more world secrets on his mind than any living creature, with the possible exception of certain unnamed international politicians, who, like their predecessors in centuries past, have played the ambitious politicians like chessmen in the dreadful game of power and authority. These international manipulators have no regard for the comfort and the welfare of the human race. They start and stop wars. They create panics. They promote booms. They pour the blood of millions on the ground. They reduce human beings to slavery and bondage without concern. They are the most powerful men on earth. They are the international bankers . . . the Rothschilds . . . the Warburgs . . . the Sassoons . . . the Morgans . . . the Normans . . . the Schiffs . . . the Kuhns . . . the Loeb's. Those of us whose opinions are not formed by superficial radio comment or newspaper headlines believe that Roosevelt occupied a paradoxical position in the international cabal. He played the role of both tool and master, and fulfilled his responsibility in the role of a saint with the motives of a sinner.

Motives for Suicide

The world may never know whether or not Franklin D. Roosevelt committed suicide. There is much, however, to support this theory. He loved power. His appetite for power was insatiable. He longed to dominate Congress completely. He grew fat during the days when he had what was commonly known as 'the rubber stamp

Congress.' He relished the opportunity to manipulate and spend and even squander billions and billions of dollars. He glowed with pride and vanity at the thought of seeing bankers, governors, manufacturers, Senators, and leading businessmen come to the White House for a Government grant, necessary to rescue them from an economic condition which his program of regimentation had helped to create.

The war came at a time when the falsity of his claims for the New Deal was beginning to be evident. Only war could save him. Only war could give him the master whip to crack over the heads of a Congress rapidly becoming belligerent. Only a war could absorb the men that were becoming unemployed. Only a war could give full employment where the New Deal had failed in its promise to give full employment.

Franklin Roosevelt, the country squire, who had never earned a living outside of politics, had a lot on his mind. His conscience was tortured by his weakened body. He was not longer in a condition to throw off the dreaded thoughts that haunted him. He had come to the end of the road where he was compelled to look his conscience and his past in the face. He had helped to set the whole world on fire. There was nothing left to ignite. No new emergency could be created to deflect the attention of the people toward the inevitable chaos which he and others had helped create.

If Franklin Roosevelt's mind was clear and rational when he sat in Warm Springs, Georgia, in April, 1945, he knew that he was about to be overtaken by his conscience, by the peoples of the world, by his own fellow citizens, and by public sentiment in general. He loved

nothing as much as praise, glory and power. He knew that the discovery of the truth by the public in general would rob him of everything he held dear. From a materialistic standpoint, he had nothing for which to live. He may have died from shock. The possibility of assassination is remote. He could have committed suicide, and even though he died a natural death, brought on by physical deterioration, it is easy to believe that even this physical deterioration was brought about by a circumstance which cornered this man and forced him to face repudiation in the eyes of the world, because he could no longer divert the attention of the people by a promise, a glib speech, a new emergency, or a world catastrophe. There was no more money to spend, no blood to spill, no promises to make. The end had come.

The sonless mothers, the bankrupt nations, the legless veterans, the battle dead, and the inevitable world chaos remain as the monuments and the memorials to this man who wanted to rule the world and failed.

NINE GHOSTS THAT HAUNTED FDR

Ghost No. 1: The Tyler Kent Episode. Among well-informed students of contemporary history there is no doubt that Franklin D. Roosevelt desired and actually helped to bring about and promote World War II. This theory is supported by numerous events and numerous facts. Among the most sensational is the story of Tyler Kent, the young code clerk, who worked in the American Embassy in London. Young Kent came from an old-time Virginia family. His father and mother were career diplomats, having served the State Department of the United States Government for many years. When Kent came to maturity he proved to be almost a genius in translating, speaking and interpreting foreign languages. He fol-

lowed his father's footsteps and entered the diplomatic service. He became a code clerk. At first he was at Moscow. He understood the Russian language so well that he could speak it without accent. He disguised himself as a peasant and mingled among the Russian people. He discovered the deceptive nature of Communism. He soon learned that the Soviet Government was merely a tyrannical, political machine, crushing 180 million people into human slavery. The Russians became suspicious of Kent, and because of this suspicion he became 'persona non grata' in Moscow. He was transferred from Moscow to London. He was followed to London by the Russian secret police. Here he was charged with the responsibility of interpreting and translating code messages sent by the United States to England. Late in 1938 and in 1939 young Kent began to see messages from President Roosevelt that alarmed him. He began to translate these messages for Winston Churchill and others, only to discover that there was a definite program on the part of Roosevelt to get us into this war. At that time Mr. Chamberlain was the Prime Minister. According to the cablegrams, Roosevelt wanted Chamberlain ousted. Winston Churchill in his cable messages to Roosevelt is alleged to have said: "You and I can rule the world." Something like 1500 messages were exchanged under the shocked eye of this young American — Kent. He felt within his heart that treason was being committed, that a great people was being betrayed. When the messages first began to be exchanged, Churchill was not the Prime Minister; in fact, he had no right to these messages. Kent was forced to decide between his technical duty and his patriotic duty. He chose the latter. He copied these messages and took them to his apartment. He did not know that he was being followed by the Russian secret police. It is

believed by informed and shrewd observers that the Russians copied these messages and sent them to Josef Stalin, who, even to this day, has them securely locked in the Kremlin safe. It is believed that he made it known to Mr. Roosevelt that he had copies of these messages and used this fact as a bludgeon over the head of the ambitious President.

Kent had hoped to get copies of these messages out of England in order that he might bring a report to such men as United States Senator Burton K. Wheeler, United States Senator Gerald P. Nye, and other courageous men who were ready to expose the truth to the Nation. Kent was unsuccessful. Roosevelt ordered that he be fired. Later he was picked up on the street by the British secret police and sentenced to seven years in a concentration camp on the Isle of Wight. His trial was secret, and he was given little opportunity to defend himself. Gradually the truth concerning this young man began to leak out in the United States. He was kept in this concentration camp for five years. A few months ago he was returned to the United States. It was hoped that he would tell all. However, shortly after he arrived, he was reminded indirectly by a representative of the State Department that if he told what he knew he would be sentenced under a new law to ten years in prison. It is believed that this new law was forced through purposely by FDR in order to prevent the truth from ever coming out concerning the secret cable messages between Roosevelt and his British co-conspirators.

Kent is now in the United States. He is watched day and night. His life is not safe. Locked in his mind is one of the big secrets of all time. He was the one who read the cablegrams between Franklin D. Roosevelt and

certain British politicians who desired, planned and plotted this war. There is only one way that we can get the truth out of Kent's mind without his being sentenced to ten years in prison—namely, if a Congressional Committee will subpoena Kent, put him under oath, and demand that he tell all, he can speak with immunity. It was hoped that the Pearl Harbor Investigating Committee or some other outstanding Congressional Committee, might do this, but the leftover leadership of the Roosevelt administration shuddered at the thought. The international warmongers brought terrific pressure on the proper authorities and Kent was not called.

The ghost of the incident of Tyler Kent was one of the terrific things that haunted the sick man at Warm Springs.

Ghost No. 2: The Mystery of Pearl Harbor. The truth, the real truth, and the full truth concerning Pearl Harbor has never been brought out. The nearest that we have ever come to getting it was found in a series of articles written by that courageous journalist, John T. Flynn. Mr. Flynn made himself a student of the Pearl Harbor scandal, and in his articles he identified the scoundrels of the world. Time and space do not permit us to discuss the Pearl Harbor scandal in detail in this manuscript. When the full truth comes out concerning the attack at Pearl Harbor, it will require a full-sized book to cover the subject. It is believed by those 'in the know' here in Washington that Mr. Roosevelt had given up the idea of trying to get the United States into World War II based on anything that was taking place in Europe or on the high seas of the Atlantic. Before the Pearl Harbor incident, the anti-war sentiment was predominant in the United States. A poll of public opinion revealed

that 81% of the people were against entering the war. Roosevelt had promised war. He had told the French that if they entered the war we would support them. At one time, our then Ambassador to France had asserted that the United States would be in the war nine days after France entered the war. Doubtless Roosevelt had made commitments to the British authorities which he felt obligated to keep. On the Atlantic he had virtually taken us into the war without the consent of Congress. He was on the toughest spot of any man in history. God only knows how many times he broke his oath and violated the law in order to arbitrarily participate in the war without an official declaration by the Congress of the United States. He had to have an incident. He had to have what it took to produce hysteria in the United States. The attack on Pearl Harbor was the answer.

The Pearl Harbor attack was not a surprise. Roosevelt expected it, Roosevelt desired it, Roosevelt precipitated it. Even Eleanor Roosevelt, in one of her column articles, said: "We were all expecting it."

The recent Pearl Harbor investigation, outside of a rather limited report made for the minority by United States Senator Ferguson of Michigan, was little more than a whitewash. The minority could not even bring out the facts because the necessary files were locked to the minority on the committee. Two members of the committee, it is believed, were virtually blackmailed by political pressure into signing a report not in harmony with their deepest convictions.

The weak, sick, burned-out, exhausted, crippled man at Warm Springs was haunted by the ghost of Pearl Harbor. Whether or not he committed suicide, the fact re-

mains that many men have committed suicide under less pressure.

Ghost No. 3: The Japanese Offer to Surrender Before Okinawa. Few people realize that the Japanese government offered to surrender completely, even as completely as they finally did surrender, before our attack on Okinawa. It seemed wise for us to accept their surrender. Conventional military procedure required that we accept their surrender. But Roosevelt refused to accept it, by saying: "They have not suffered enough." His arbitrary determination to wreak vengeance on millions of innocent people, who had nothing to do with starting the war, cost in American lives, wounded and killed alone, more than 100,000. It is a known fact that the battle of Okinawa was one of the bloodiest of all time. The boys killed on Okinawa and killed after Okinawa were sacrificed to the vanity of this man who desired to be the head of a world empire and a one-world government.

Ghost No. 4: The Assassination of United States Senator Huey P. Long. Few people realize that one of the great unsolved mysteries of this century is the assassination of Huey P. Long, who was Roosevelt's most effective opponent in the South. He was the first outstanding Democrat ever to oppose a Democrat President of the United States. Mr. Long became Mr. Roosevelt's obsession. Late in the summer of 1935 a dictaphone account was made, recording the conversation of a group of plotters who met in Room 506 in the DeSoto Hotel in New Orleans. They were leading New Deal politicians, Roosevelt henchmen, and the most outstanding enemies of Huey P. Long. A few days after the conversation Mr. Long arose on the floor of the United States Senate and re-

ported the words of the plotters. One plotter said, "It will only take one gun, one man, one bullet." Another plotter said: "If we kill Long in Washington I can guarantee that President Roosevelt will pardon the killer." It is still a mystery why they decided to have Long assassinated in Baton Rouge, the capital of Louisiana. Suffice it to say, the plot was fulfilled, and on the 8th of September, 1935, Long was shot by a young Jewish doctor by the name of Karl Weiss. Weiss was killed on the spot by the bodyguards. Long died two days later and was buried on September 12. Two hundred and fifty thousand people attended the funeral. Floral tributes covering two acres surrounded the grave. Every informed individual in Washington knew that Roosevelt desired the death of Huey Long, and it is believed by many who have evidence to support their contentions that he cooperated with those who desired and precipitated the assassination of the only man who really ever threatened his power over the solid South.

The ghost of Huey Long could easily have visited the emaciated Roosevelt as he sat in his wheelchair in Warm Springs.

Ghost No. 5: The Appeasement of the Comintern. The cooperation that Franklin D. Roosevelt gave to the Communist International is almost beyond belief. As time went on, he began to desert his old friend Winston Churchill. He became increasingly pro-Stalin, pro-Russian, pro-Communist. Under pressure from Stalin, Roosevelt ordered that the Communists be commissioned in the United States Army. He ordered that the files on the activities of the international Communist plotters being kept by the Military and Naval Intelligence be destroyed. His will was carried out. He tried unsuccessfully to get

J. Edgar Hoover fired because Mr. Hoover has always been vigorously anti-Communist. Through public pressure and the support of the Congress of the United States, Hoover has been kept in his job. Fortunately, the Government now has in Mr. Hoover's office the most complete file on Red treason to be found anywhere in the world. If Roosevelt had had his way these files would have been destroyed. Thanks to President Truman, Mr. Hoover has been kept in authority and enjoys the full cooperation of the Truman administration, which is obviously anti-Communist.

It will always be a mystery as to why Franklin D. Roosevelt became such a tool of international Communism. Several theories are advanced. One theory is that he was never able to make money independently in business. He developed an inferiority complex. He became jealous of his old friends and neighbors who had become wealthy by their own right. He took a fiendish delight in seeing their opportunities impaired and destroyed. Another theory is that he was so vain that he would respond to anyone who would flatter and glorify his ego. Another theory is that he was so hungry for power that he was willing to trade off American tradition for the chance to become the President of the world.

Ghost No. 6: Lend Lease. Felix Frankfurter, who always had the ear of President Roosevelt, was the one who wrote the actual Lend Lease bill. This Lend Lease bill was one of the most vicious betrayals of the American people ever to take place. When Benedict Arnold sold the troops at West Point to the British Government, he was a piker, compared to those who forced through, under the lash of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the so-called Lend Lease bill. It gave our President the authority to virtually

exhaust our natural resources and give our wealth and donate our wealth to the nations of the world. Congress abdicated its authority and put into the hands of the President of the United States the power to donate billions of dollars to anyone, anywhere, arbitrarily, without confirmation, doublecheck, or review. The passage of the Lend Lease bill was the boldest, most brazen betrayal of the people's rights ever to take place in connection with our economic life. Children of our grandchildren will be paying interest on money which we were compelled to borrow in order to fulfill Mr. Roosevelt's vain ambitions to dominate the world through financial power. The little nations, and the great nations, understanding his power over this uncountable sum of money began to kowtow to him, and he began to demand political administrations in these various nations satisfactory to himself. Those who knew Roosevelt believed that he expected to use Lend Lease donations to corrupt and buy and control the governments of foreign countries, just as he had used relief and PWA and bureaueratic appropriations to get control of Congressmen, Governors, state administrations, etc.

As this sick man reflected in Warm Springs, Georgia, he must have known that he had saddled on the backs of the American people a debt much greater than necessary, a debt so great that millions of people some day would be reduced to virtual peonage if it were ever paid.

Ghost No. 7: Bargaining in Human Slaves. When Roosevelt met with Stalin on foreign soil, he was not in the dark concerning the savage practices of this cruel dictator. He knew that Stalin was as powerful and as merciless as any half-savage ruler in all history. Not since the days of Ghengis Khan, not since the days of the bar-

barians of old, had any ruler crushed and killed and enslaved and tortured more human beings than Josef Stalin. Today he stands as the champion crucifier, the champion Christ killer, the champion liquidator of all time. Roosevelt was a well-informed man. He had access to sources of information which proved to him beyond the peradventure of a doubt that when he bargained with Stalin, he bargained with a savage killer. No one can ever convince this writer or any informed individual that Roosevelt's agreements with Stalin were innocent. Among those things which he agreed to do was to turn over to Stalin German citizens for human slaves. The estimated number that he offered to give Stalin ranges between two and ten million. Now that the war is over and we see the conduct of the Russian dictator, we can understand what these awful agreements meant. Millions of the cream of Germany's youth have been kidnapped and taken into bondage and human slavery. This has been done because of earlier agreements made between Stalin and Roosevelt. We know that Roosevelt hated the German people, even the millions of innocent ones who were in no way responsible for the rise and power of Hitler.

As the declining Roosevelt sat in Warm Springs he must have pictured in his mind these millions of poor German people being reduced to Russian slavery. He must have known that he was jointly to blame for the inevitable. What a ghost to haunt such a hypocrite! Had he not posed as the great emancipator of the modern generation? Had his wife not posed as the greatest friend the Negro had? Had they not used their political power and political position to convince the poor and wretched of the Nation that theirs was the voice of the common man? What a haunt! What a ghastly specter to rise be-

fore this declining hypocrite to realize within his own secret heart that while posing as the friend of the oppressed in America, he had agreed to the revival of medieval slavery in Eastern Europe and Russia!

Ghost No. 8: The Destruction of Food and Commodities — Planned Scarcity in the Face of World Famine. No act in the history of the human race ever exceeded in cruelty, lunacy, and folly the orders that came out of the White House through Henry Wallace, the obedient servant of FDR, to destroy the Nation's food supply, to destroy the Nation's clothing supply. Overnight, millions of tons of cotton were destroyed. Millions of cowhides, necessary for shoes, were burned up. Millions of pounds of wool went up in flames. Sugar cane, piled as high as houses, was burned under the order of the Secretary of Agriculture. Millions of gallons of milk were poured on the ground. Over one million head of cattle were shot and buried in one month. Hogs were ground into fertilizer and spread out on the ground like dirt. Sows about to give birth to pigs were thrown into the river and drowned. The order had gone out from the White House to create artificial scarcity, reduce the supply of the abundance that God had given a great people in answer to their prayers. At the very time that this abundance was being destroyed, millions of people were starving all over the world. Later America was to experience a shortage of every necessity. Meat was to be rationed, food and commodities of all sorts were to be rationed. A nation, flowing with milk and honey, was to find itself short of every necessity of life. Those who knew and understood the tricks of the bureaucratic tyrants in Washington knew that Roosevelt and his henchmen wanted to create an artificial scarcity, then seize control of the food and

clothing supply to force a free people to file by some bureaucrat, one at a time, in order to obtain the right to purchase the necessities of life. This was the Stalin plan. This was the plan of regimentation for which the President longed.

If one spark of rich American tradition lingered in his heart at Warm Springs he must have been haunted when he reviewed the ghastly facts concerning this awful plot.

Ghost No. 9: False Promises Concerning the Possibility of War. Franklin D. Roosevelt knew that there would be a second World War if he could possibly bring it about. He had been promising it to the French, and to the Russians, and to the British. He knew what he had been saying in the secret cablegrams to England which had been copied by the young code clerk, Tyler Kent. He knew what he was willing to do in the Pacific, and although he may not in 1940 have planned the Pearl Harbor episode, he knew he was willing to precipitate a Pearl Harbor in order to keep his promise to the war-makers to get the United States into the war. He wanted war, he was willing to promote war, he later precipitated war. Even so, with all these things in his mind, he was willing to promise the mothers and fathers anything in order to get re-elected for a third term in 1940. In his speech in Philadelphia, he said: "I say to you fathers and mothers again . . . and again . . . and again . . . your sons shall not be sent to die on foreign soil—unless attacked." Public reaction rose against the last phrase. Many people believed that the phrase, "unless attacked," was merely an alibi phrase, and would be used later on as an excuse to prove that he had not violated his promise to the people. So, when he went on up to Boston to make his

next speech, his political advisors insisted that he leave off that phrase. Therefore, in Boston he made a complete, unconditional promise, in these words: "I say to you fathers and mothers again . . . and again . . . and again . . . your sons shall not be sent to die on foreign soil." This promise was the most hypocritical promise ever made by a man in the history of the world. Others, of course, had made hypocritical promises. Woodrow Wilson had been elected to a second term because 'he kept us out of war,' although before his first term was ended he knew that we were going to war. The thing that made Roosevelt's promise hyper-hypocritical was because he was the most powerful man on earth, and for him to be so powerful and know so completely that he wanted war and give this false encouragement to the mothers and fathers of the Nation marked him as one of the most diabolical betrayers of confidence the human race has ever known.

As he sat in Warm Springs, Georgia, he must have seen through his dying eyes a vision of the millions whose blood was spilled, perhaps unnecessarily, on the battlefields of the world. As we now measure the cost of World War I and the results of World War II, surely no sane person could believe that we had won the peace. We defeated Hitler and then handed the victory on a silver platter to Roosevelt's friend, Josef Stalin. Stalin dominates Europe, he dominates the Orient, he imperils and menaces all Christian civilization. He could not have risen to such power, but for the help of the United States. The United States would never have fattened this savage as it did had it not been for Franklin D. Roosevelt.

If ghosts could tempt a man to suicide, if the ghastly reminders of guilt could tempt a man to reach for the

fatal weapon or drink the deadly potion, * then surely this man Franklin D. Roosevelt had all the temptations necessary to encourage him to retire from the scene in advance even of Nature's call.

*Rumors from sources we consider reliable has it that Admiral McIntyre was heard to say that the Roosevelt body was not embalmed, and that it turned black in less than four hours after death. Students of the embalming science insist that one of the few causes of such physical reaction on the part of dead bodies is arsenic poisoning.

Wall Street and FDR

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About Professor Sutton

"And if one prevail against him, two shall withstand him; **and a threefold cord is not quickly broken**" (Ecclesiastes 4:12).

Though he was a prolific author, Professor Sutton will always be remembered by his great trilogy: *Wall St. and the Bolshevik Revolution*, *Wall St. and the Rise of Hitler*, and *Wall St. and FDR*.

Professor Sutton left rainy, cloudy England for sunny California in 1957. He was a voice crying in the academic wilderness when most of the U. S. colleges had sold their souls for Rockefeller Foundation money.

Of course he came to this country believing that it was the land of the *free* and the home of *brave*.



Professor Sutton
(1925-2002).

ANTHONY C. SUTTON was born in London in 1925 and educated at the universities of London, Gottingen, and California. A citizen of the United States since 1962, he was a Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution for War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford, California from 1968 to 1973, where he produced the monumental three-volume study, *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development*. In 1974, Professor Sutton completed *National Suicide: Military Aid to the Soviet Union*, a best-selling study of Western, primarily American, technological and financial assistance to the U.S.S.R. *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler* is his fourth book exposing the role of American corporate insiders in financing international socialism. The two other books in this series are *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution* and *Wall Street and FDR*.

Professor Sutton has contributed articles to Human Events, The Review of the News, Triumph, Ordnance, National Review, and many other journals. He is currently working on a two-part study of the Federal Reserve System and the manipulation of the U.S. economic system. Married and the father of two daughters, he lived in California.

OTHER BOOKS BY ANTHONY C. SUTTON

Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development, 1917-1930.

Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development, 1930-1945

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National Suicide: Military Aid to the Soviet Union.

Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution

Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler

Wall Street and FDR.

The War on Gold

How the Order Controls Education. (Yale University's Skull and Bones unmasked). Yale is the *evil twin* versus Harvard which is the *good* university!!

Editor's Note

Sunny California was discovered in 1579 by Saint Francis Drake in his ship the [Golden Hind](#). He called the land Nova Albion or New Albion and claimed it for his sovereign Queen Elizabeth I —daughter of saint ANNE BOLEYN and King Henry VIII.

There were no SPANIARDS there at that time because the natives came out to meet Saint Francis and treated him and his crew with love and affection.

Had the Spaniards been there before that time, the natives would have all ran and hid themselves fearing that the white men were Spaniards with their cruel Inquisition and blood-thirsty dogs.

CHAPTER 1

Roosevelts and Delanos

The real truth of the matter is, as you and I know, that a financial element in the larger centers has owned the Government ever since the days of Andrew Jackson—and I am not wholly excepting the Administration of W.W.* The country is going through a repetition of Jackson's fight with the Bank of the United States—only on a far bigger and broader basis.

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to Col. Edward Mandell House, November 21, 1933, F.D.R.: His Personal Letters (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce 1950), p. 373.

This book¹ portrays Franklin Delano Roosevelt as a Wall Street financier who, during his first term as President of the United States, reflected the objectives of financial elements concentrated in the New York business establishment. Given the long historical association—since the late 18th century—of the Roosevelt and Delano families with New York finance and FDR's own career from 1921 to 1928 as banker and speculator at 120 Broadway and 55 Liberty Street, such a theme should not come as a surprise to the reader. On the other hand, FDR biographers Schlesinger, Davis, Freidel, and otherwise accurate Roosevelt commentators appear to avoid penetrating very far into the recorded and documented links between New York bankers and FDR. We intend to present the facts of the relationship, as recorded in FDR's letter files. These are new facts only in the sense that they have not previously been published; they are readily available in the archives for research, and consideration of this information suggests a reassessment of FDR's role in the history of the 20th century.

Perhaps it always makes good politics to appear before the American electorate as a critic, if not an outright enemy, of the international banking fraternity. Without question Franklin D. Roosevelt, his supporters, and biographers portray FDR as a knight in shining armor wielding the sword of righteous vengeance against the robber barons in the skyscrapers of downtown Manhattan. For instance, the Roosevelt Presidential campaign of 1932 consistently attacked President Herbert Hoover for his alleged association with international bankers and for pandering to the demands of big business. Witness the following FDR blast in the depths of the Great Depression at Hoover's public support for business and individualism, uttered in the campaign address in Columbus, Ohio, August 20, 1932:

Appraising the situation in the bitter dawn of a cold morning after, what do we find? We find two thirds of American industry concentrated in a few

hundred corporations and actually managed by not more than five human individuals.

We find more than half of the savings of the country invested in corporate stocks and bonds, and made the sport of the American stock market.

We find fewer than three dozen private banking houses, and stock selling adjuncts of commercial banks, directing the flow of American capital.

In other words, we find concentrated economic power in a few hands, the precise opposite of the individualism of which the President speaks.²

This statement makes Franklin Delano Roosevelt appear as another Andrew Jackson, contesting a bankers' monopoly and their strangle-hold on American industry. But was FDR also an unwilling (or possibly a willing) tool of the Wall Street bankers, as we could infer from his letter to Colonel Edward House, cited in the epigraph to this chapter? Clearly if, as Roosevelt wrote to House, a "financial element in the larger cities has owned the Government ever since the days of Andrew Jackson," then neither Hoover nor Roosevelt was being intellectually honest in his presentation of the issues to the American public. The gut issues presumably were the identity of this "financial element" and how and by what means it maintained its "ownership" of the U.S. Government.

Putting this intriguing question temporarily to one side, the pervasive historical image of FDR is one of a President fighting on behalf of the little guy, the man in the street, in the midst of unemployment and financial depression brought about by big business speculators allied with Wall Street. We shall find, on the contrary, that this image distorts the truth to the extent that it portrays FDR as an enemy of Wall Street; this is simply because most historians probing into Wall Street misdeeds have been reluctant to apply the same standards of probity to Franklin D. Roosevelt as to other political leaders. What is a sin for Herbert Hoover or even 1928 Democratic Presidential candidate Al Smith is presumed a virtue in the case of FDR. Take Ferdinand Lundberg in *The Rich and the Super-Rich*.³ Lundberg also looks at Presidents and Wall Street and makes the following assertion:

In 1928 Al Smith had his chief backing, financial and emotional, from fellow-Catholic John J. Raskob, prime minister of the Du Ponts. If Smith had won he would have been far less a Catholic than a Du Pont President....⁴

Now the Du Ponts were indeed heavy, very heavy, contributors to the 1928 Al Smith Democratic Presidential campaign. These contributions are examined in detail in this volume in Chapter 8, "Wall Street Buys the New Deal," and no quarrel can be made with this assertion. Lundberg then moves on to consider Smith's opponent Herbert Hoover and writes:

Hoover, the Republican, was a J. P. Morgan puppet; Smith his democratic

opponent, was in the pocket of the Du Ponts, for whom J. P. Morgan & Company was the banker.

Lundberg omits the financial details, but the Du Ponts and Rockefellers are certainly on record in Congressional investigations as the largest contributors to the 1928 Hoover campaign. But Wall Street withdrew its support of Herbert Hoover in 1932 and switched to FDR. Lundberg omits to mention this critical and pivotal withdrawal. Why did Wall Street switch? Because, as we shall see later, Herbert Hoover would not adopt the Swope Plan created by Gerard Swope, long-time president of General Electric. By contrast, FDR accepted the plan, and it became FDR's National Industrial Recovery Act. So while Hoover was indebted to Wall Street, FDR was much more so. Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. in *The Crisis of the Old Order: 1919-1933* comes closer to the point than any establishment historian, but like other Rooseveltophiles fails to carry the facts to their ultimate and logical conclusions. Schlesinger notes that after the 1928 election the Democratic Party had a debt of \$1.6 million and "Two of the leading creditors, John J. Raskob and Bernard Baruch, were philanthropic Democratic millionaires, prepared to help carry the party along until 1932".⁵ John J. Raskob was vice president of Du Pont and also of General Motors, the largest corporation in the United States. Bernard Baruch was by his own admissions at the very heart of Wall Street speculation. Schlesinger adds that, in return for Wall Street's benevolence, "they naturally expected influence in shaping the party's organization and policy."⁶ Unfortunately, Arthur Schlesinger, who (unlike most Rooseveltian biographers) has his finger on the very pulse of the problem, drops the question to continue with a discussion of the superficialities of politics—conventions, politicians, political give-and-take, and the occasional clashes that mask the underlying realities. Obviously, the hand on the purse ultimately decrees which policies are implemented, when, and by whom.

A similar protective attitude for FDR may be found in the four-volume biography by Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt*.⁷ Discussing the shattering failure of the Bank of the United States just before Christmas 1930, Freidel glosses over FDR's negligence while Governor of the State of New York. The Bank of the United States had 450,000 depositors, of which 400,000 accounts held less than \$400. In other words, the Bank of the United States was a little man's bank. A report by Senator Robert Moses on the condition of an earlier banking failure—City Trust—had been ignored by Governor F. D. Roosevelt, who appointed another commission that produced milder recommendations for banking reform. Freidel poses the question:

Why had he [FDR] failed to fight through reform legislation which would have prevented the Bank of the United States debacle? These are sharp questions that critics of Roosevelt asked at the time and later.⁸

Freidel concludes that the answer lies in FDR's "personal confidence in the banking

community." Why did FDR have this complete confidence? Because, writes Freidel,

Herbert Lehman was one of the soundest as well as politically the most liberal of Wall Street bankers; in banking matters Roosevelt seems to have followed Lehman's lead, and that was to cooperate as far as possible with the banking titans.⁹

This is something like saying that, if your banker is a liberal and loses your money, that's OK, because after all he is a liberal and a supporter of FDR. On the other hand, however, if your banker loses your money and happens not to be a liberal or a supporter of FDR, then he is a crook and must pay the price of his sins.

The four-volume Freidel biography has but a single chapter on FDR as "Businessman," the most space given by any major FDR biographer. Even Freidel reduces important ventures to a mere paragraph. For example, while the American Investigation Corporation venture is not named, an associated venture, General Air Service, is mentioned, but dismissed with a paragraph:

In 1923, together with Owen D. Young, Benedict Crowell (who had been Assistant Secretary of War under Wilson), and other notables, he organized the General Air Service to operate helium-filled dirigibles between New York and Chicago.¹⁰

We shall see that there was a lot more to General Air Service (and more importantly the unmentioned American Investigation Corporation) than this paragraph indicates. In particular, exploration of the Freidel phrase "and other notables" suggests that FDR had entree to and worked in cooperation with some prominent Wall Street elements.

Why do Schlesinger, Freidel, and other lesser FDR biographers avoid the issue and show reluctance to pursue the leads? Simply because, when you probe the facts, Roosevelt was a creation of Wall Street, an integral part of the New York banking fraternity, and had the pecuniary interests of the financial establishment very much at heart.

When the information is laid out in detail, it is absurd to think that Wall Street would hesitate for a second to accept Roosevelt as a welcome candidate for President: he was one of their own, whereas businessman Herbert Hoover had worked abroad for 20 years before being recalled by Woodrow Wilson to take over the Food Administration in World War I.

To be specific, Franklin D. Roosevelt was, at one time or another during the 1920s, a vice president of the Fidelity & Deposit Company (120 Broadway); the president of an

industry trade association, the American Construction Council (28 West 44th Street); a partner in Roosevelt & O'Connor (120 Broadway); a partner in Marvin, Hooker & Roosevelt (52 Wall Street); the president of United European Investors, Ltd. (7 Pine Street); a director of International Germanic Trust, Inc. (in the Standard Oil Building at 26 Broadway); a director of Consolidated Automatic Merchandising Corporation, a paper organization; a trustee of Georgia Warm Springs Foundation (120 Broadway); a director of American Investigation Corporation (37-39 Pine Street); a director of Sanitary Postage Service Corporation (285 Madison Avenue); the chairman of the General Trust Company (15 Broad Street); a director of Photomaton (551 Fifth Avenue); a director of Mantacal Oil Corporation (Rock Springs, Wyoming); and an incorporator of the Federal International Investment Trust.

That's a pretty fair list of directorships. It surely earns FDR the title of Wall Streeter *par excellence*. Most who work on "the Street" never achieve, and probably never even dream about achieving, a record of 11 corporate directorships, two law partnerships, and the presidency of a major trade association.

In probing these directorships and their associated activities, we find that Roosevelt was a banker and a speculator, the two occupations he emphatically denounced in the 1932 Presidential election. Moreover, while banking and speculation have legitimate roles in a free society—indeed, they are essential for a sane monetary system—both can be abused. FDR's correspondence in the files deposited at the FDR Library in Hyde Park yields evidence—and evidence one reads with a heavy heart—that FDR was associated with the more unsavory elements of Wall Street banking and speculation, and one can arrive at no conclusion other than that FDR used the political arena, not the impartial market place, to make his profits.¹¹

So we shall find it not surprising that the Wall Street groups that supported Al Smith and Herbert Hoover, both with strong ties to the financial community, also supported Franklin D. Roosevelt. In fact, at the political crossroads in 1932, when the choice was between Herbert Hoover and FDR, Wall Street chose Roosevelt and dropped Hoover.

Given this information, how do we explain FDR's career on Wall Street? And his service to Wall Street in creating, in partnership with Herbert Hoover, the trade associations of the 1920s so earnestly sought by the banking fraternity? Or FDR's friendship with key Wall Street operators John Raskob and Barney Baruch? To place this in perspective we must go back in history and examine the background of the Roosevelt and Delano families, which have been associated with New York banking since the 18th century.

THE DELANO FAMILY AND WALL STREET

The Delano family proudly traces its ancestors back to the Actii, a 600 B.C. Roman family. They are equally proud of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Indeed, the Delanos claim that the Delano influence was the predominant factor in FDR's life work and accounts for his extraordinary achievements. Be that as it may, there is no question that the Delano side of the family links FDR to many other rulers and other politicians. According to the Delano family history,¹² "Franklin shared common ancestry with one third of his predecessors in the White House." The Presidents linked to FDR on the Delano side are John Adams, James Madison, John Quincy Adams, William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor, Andrew Johnson, Ulysses S. Grant, Benjamin Harrison, and William Howard Taft. On the Roosevelt side of the family, FDR was related to Theodore Roosevelt and Martin Van Buren, who married Mary Aspinwall Roosevelt. The wife of George Washington, Martha Dandridge, was among FDR's ancestors, and it is claimed by Daniel Delano that Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt were "eighth cousins, once removed."¹³ This almost makes the United States a nation ruled by a royal family, a mini monarchy.

The reader must make his own judgment on Delano's genealogical claims; this author lacks the ability to analyze the confused and complex family relationships involved. More to the point and without question, the Delanos were active in Wall Street in the 1920s and 1930s and long before. The Delanos were prominent in railroad development in the United States and abroad. Lyman Delano (1883-1944) was a prominent railroad executive and maternal grandfather of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Like FDR, Lyman began his career in the insurance business, with the Northwestern Life Insurance of Chicago, followed by two years with Stone & Webster.¹⁴ For most of his business life Lyman Delano served on the board of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, as president in 1920 and as chairman of the board from 1931 to 1940. Other important affiliations of Lyman Delano were director (along with W. Averell Harriman) of the Aviation Corporation, Pan American Airways, P & O Steamship Lines, and half a dozen railroad companies.

Another Wall Street Delano was Moreau Delano, a partner in Brown Brothers & Co. (after 1933 it absorbed Harriman & Co. to become Brown Brothers, Harriman) and a director of Cuban Cane Products Co. and the American Bank Note Company.

The really notable Delano on Wall Street was FDR's "favorite uncle" (according to Elliott Roosevelt), Frederic Adrian Delano (1863-1953), who started his career with the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad and later assumed the presidency of the Wheeling & Lake Erie Railroad, the Wabash Railroad, and in 1913 the Chicago, Indianapolis and Louisville Railway. "Uncle Fred" was consulted in 1921 at a critical point in FDR's infantile paralysis attack, quickly found Dr. Samuel A. Levine for an urgently needed diagnosis, and arranged for the special private train to transport FDR from Maine to New York as he began the long and arduous road to recovery.¹⁵

In 1914 Woodrow Wilson appointed Uncle Fred to be a member of the Federal Reserve

Board. Intimate Delano connections with the international banking fraternity are exemplified by a confidential letter from central banker Benjamin Strong to Fred Delano requesting confidential FRB data:¹⁶

(Personal)

December 11, 1916

My Dear Fred: Would it be possible for you to send me in strict confidence the figures obtained by the Comptroller as to holdings of foreign securities by national banks? I would be a good deal influenced in my opinion in regard the present situation if I could get hold of these figures, which would be treated with such confidence as you suggest.

If the time ever comes when you are able to slip away for a week or so for a bit of a change and rest, why not take a look at Denver and incidentally pay me a visit? There are a thousand things I would like to talk over with you.

Faithfully yours,

Benjamin Strong

Hon. F. A. Delano

Federal Reserve Board, Washington, D.C.

Following World War I Frederic Delano devoted himself to what is euphemistically known as public service, while continuing his business operations. In 1925 Delano was chairman of the League of Nations International Committee on opium production; in 1927 he was chairman of the Commission on Regional Planning in New York; he then became active in sponsoring the National Park Commission. In 1934 FDR named Uncle Fred Delano as chairman of the National Resources Planning Board. The Industrial Committee of the National Resources Planning Board, which presumably Frederic Delano had some hand in choosing, was a happy little coterie of socialist planners, including Laughlin Currie, Leon Henderson, Isador Lublin (prominent in the transfer of industrial technology to the USSR in the pre-Korean War era), and Mordecai Ezekiel. The advisor to the Board was Beardsley Ruml.

Then from 1931 to 1936, while involved in socialist planning schemes, Delano was also chairman of the board of the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond, Virginia. In brief, Frederic Delano was simultaneously both capitalist and planner.

Delano left a few writings from which we can glean some concept of his political ideas. There we find support for the thesis that the greatest proponents of government regulation are the businessmen who are to be regulated, although Delano does warn that government ownership of railroads can be carried too far:

Government ownership of railroads is a bugaboo which, though often referred to, the public does not demand. If government ownership of

railways comes, it will come because the owners of railways prefer it to government regulation, and it will be a sorry day for the republic when regulation is carried to such an extreme that the owners of the railways are unwilling to accept any longer the responsibilities of management.¹⁷

However, in another book, written about 20 years later, Delano is much more receptive to government planning:

A big problem in planning is that of educating the people. If the public only realized that there can be social gains from directed effort, and that the time to accomplish most by planning comes before the need of making changes are manifested, the other problems of planning could be more easily solved.¹⁸

Further:

The above brief classification of the problem involved in planning serves as a basis for indicating the need for both direct and indirect social control. Very few people really know the best use of land for their own advantage, to say nothing of planning its use for the common good. Institutions have done a great deal in educating farmers how to plan individual farms, and yet many of the farms in this country are poorly organized.¹⁹

In brief, the Delano side of the family has undertaken capitalist enterprises and has Wall Street interests going well back into the 19th century. By the 1930s, however, Frederic Delano had abandoned capitalist initiative for socialist planning.

THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY AND WALL STREET

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was also descended on the Roosevelt side from one of the oldest banking families in the United States. FDR's great-grandfather James Roosevelt founded the Bank of New York in 1784 and was its president from 1786 to 1791. The investment banking firm of Roosevelt & Son of New York City was founded in 1797, and in the 1930s George E. Roosevelt, FDR's cousin, was the fifth member of the family in direct succession to head the firm. So the New York City banking roots of the Roosevelt family extend without interruption back into the late 18th century. In the industrial sphere James Roosevelt built the first American sugar refinery in New York City in the 1740s, and Roosevelts still had connections with Cuban sugar refining in the 1930s. FDR's father, also named James Roosevelt, was born at Hyde Park, New York in 1828 into this old and distinguished family. This James Roosevelt graduated from Harvard Law School in 1851, became a director of the Consolidated Coal Company of Maryland and, like the Delanos in subsequent years was associated with the development of transportation, first

as general manager of the Cumberland & Pennsylvania Railroad, and then as president of the Louisville, New Albany & Chicago Railroad, the Susquehanna Railroad Co., Champlain Transportation Co., Lake George Steamboat Co., and New York & Canada Railroad Co. James Roosevelt was also vice president and manager of the Delaware & Hudson Canal Co. and chairman of the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua, but most significantly was an organizer of the Southern Railway Security Company, established in 1871 and one of the first of the security holding companies formed to buy up and consolidate railroads. The Southern Railway Security Company was a consolidation or cartelization scheme similar in its monopolistic principle to the trade associations formed by Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1920s and to the National Recovery Act, another cartelization scheme, of the New Deal. James Roosevelt's second wife was Sara, daughter of Warren Delano, and their son was Franklin Delano Roosevelt, later President of the United States.

Franklin was educated at Groton and Harvard, then went on to Columbia Law School. According to his son Elliott,²⁰ FDR "never graduated or took a degree, but he was able to pass his New York State bar examination."²¹ FDR's first job was with the old established downtown law firm of Carter, Ledyard and Milburn, whose principal client was J. Pierpont Morgan, and in three years FDR worked his way up from minor legal research posts to the firm's municipal court and admiralty divisions. We should note in passing that, when FDR first went to Washington D.C. in 1916 to become Assistant Secretary of the Navy, it was Thomas W. Lamont—international banker and most influential of the Morgan partners—who leased the FDR home in New York.²²

There were other Roosevelts on Wall Street. George Emlen Roosevelt (1887-1963) was a cousin of both Franklin and Theodore Roosevelt. In 1908, George Emlen became a member of the family banking firm Roosevelt & Son. In January 1934, after passage of FDR's Banking Act of 1933, the firm was split into three individual units: Roosevelt & Son, with which George Roosevelt remained as a senior partner, Dick & Merle-Smith, and Roosevelt & Weigold. George Emlen Roosevelt was a leading railroad financier, involved in no fewer than 14 railroad reorganizations, as well as directorships in several important companies, including the Morgan-controlled Guaranty Trust Company,²³ the Chemical Bank, and the Bank for Savings in New York. The full list of George Emlen's directorships at 1930 requires six inches of small print in Poor's *Directory of Directors*.

Another Morgan-associated Roosevelt was Theodore Roosevelt, 26th President of the United States and the grandson of Cornelius Roosevelt, one of the founders of the Chemical National Bank. Like Clinton Roosevelt, whom we shall discuss later, Theodore served as a New York State Assemblyman from 1882-1884; he was appointed a member of the U.S. Civil Service Commission in 1889, Police Commissioner of New York City in 1895, and Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1897; and was elected Vice President in 1900 to become President of the United States upon the assassination of President

McKinley in 1901. Theodore Roosevelt was reelected President in 1904, to become founder of the Progressive Party, backed by J. P. Morgan money and influence, and so launched the United States on the road to the welfare state. The longest section of the platform of the Progressive Party was that devoted to "Business" and reads in part:

We therefore demand a strong national regulation of interstate corporations. The corporation is an essential part of modern business. The concentration of modern business, in some degree, is both inevitable and necessary for national and international business efficiency.

The only really significant difference between this statement backed by Morgan money and the Marxian analysis is that Karl Marx thought of concentration of big business as inevitable rather than "necessary." Yet Roosevelt's Progressive Party plugging for business regulation was financed by Wall Street, including the Morgan-controlled International Harvester Corporation and J. P. Morgan partners. In Kolko's words:

The party's financial records for 1912 list C. K. McCormick, Mr. and Mrs. Medill McCormick, Mrs. Katherine McCormick, Mrs. A. A. McCormick, Fred S. Oliver, and James H. Pierce. The largest donations for the Progressives, however, came from Munsey, Perkins, the Willard Straights of the Morgan Company, Douglas Robinson, W. E. Roosevelt, and Thomas Plant.²⁴

There is, of course, a long Roosevelt political tradition, centered on the State of New York and the Federal government in Washington, that parallels this Wall Street tradition. Nicholas Roosevelt (1658-1742) was in 1700 a member of the New York State Assembly. Isaac Roosevelt (1726-1794) was a member of the New York Provincial Congress. James I. Roosevelt (1795-1875) was a member of the New York State Assembly in 1835 and 1840 and a member of the U.S. House of Representatives between 1841 and 1843. Clinton Roosevelt (1804-1898), the author of an 1841 economic program remarkably similar to Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal (see Chapter 6) was a member of the New York State Assembly in 1835. Robert Barnwell Roosevelt (1829-1906) was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives in 1871-73 and U.S. Minister to Holland 1888-1890. Then, of course, as we have noted, there was President Theodore Roosevelt. Franklin continued the Theodore Roosevelt political tradition as a New York State Senator (1910-1913), Assistant Secretary of the Navy (1913-1920), Governor of the State of New York (1928-1930), and then President (1933-1945).

While FDR was in office, other Roosevelts assumed minor offices. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. (1887-1944) was a member of the New York State Assembly from 1919 to 1921 and then continued the virtual Roosevelt Navy monopoly as Assistant Secretary of the Navy from 1921 to 1924, Governor of Puerto Rico from 1922 to 1932, and Governor General of the Philippines from 1932 to 1933. Nicolas Roosevelt was Vice Governor of the

Philippines in 1930. Other Roosevelts have continued this political tradition since the New Deal era.

An alliance of Wall Street and political office is implicit in this Roosevelt tradition. The policies implemented by the many Roosevelts have tended toward increased state intervention into business, desirable to some business elements, and therefore the Roosevelt search for political office can fairly be viewed as a self-seeking device. The euphemism of "public service" is a cover for utilizing the police power of the state for personal ends, a thesis we must investigate. If the Roosevelt tradition had been one of uncompromising *laissez-faire*, of getting the state out of business rather than encouraging intervention into economic activities, then our assessment would necessarily be quite different. However, from at least Clinton Roosevelt in 1841 to Franklin D. Roosevelt, the political power accumulated by the Roosevelt clan has been used on the side of regulating business in the interests of restricting competition, encouraging monopoly, and so bleeding the consumer in the interests of a financial élite. Further, we must consider the observation conveyed by Franklin D. Roosevelt to Edward House and cited in the epigraph to this chapter, that "a financial element in the large centers has owned the government ever since the days of Andrew Jackson." Consequently, it is pertinent to conclude this introductory chapter with the 1943 observations of William Allen White, an honest editor if ever there was one, who made one of the best literary critiques on this financial establishment in the context of World War II; this, it should be noted, was after ten years of FDR and at the peak of Roosevelt's political power:

One cannot move about Washington without bumping into the fact that we are running two wars—a foreign war and a domestic one.

The domestic war is in the various war boards. Every great commodity industry in this country is organized nationally and many of them, perhaps most of them are parts of great national organizations, cartels, agreements, which function on both sides of the battle front.

Here in Washington every industry is interested in saving its own self. It wants to come out of the war with a whole hide and with its organization unimpaired, legally or illegally.

One is surprised to find men representing great commodity trusts or agreements or syndicates planted in the various war boards. It is silly to say New Dealers run this show. It's run largely by absentee owners of amalgamated industrial wealth, men who either directly or through their employers control small minority blocks, closely organized, that manipulate the physical plants of these trusts.

For the most part these managerial magnates are decent, patriotic Americans. They have great talents. If you touch them in nine relations of life out of ten they are kindly, courteous, Christian gentlemen.

But in the tenth relation, where it touches their own organization, they are

stark mad, ruthless, unchecked by God or man, paranoics, in fact, as evil in their design as Hitler.

They are determined to come out of this war victorious for their own stockholders—which is not surprising. It is understandable also for Hitler to desire to come out of this war at any cost victorious for the German people. But this attitude of the men who control the great commodity industries, and who propose to run them according to their own judgment and their own morals, do not make a pretty picture for the welfare of the common man. These international combinations of industrial capital are fierce troglodyte animals with tremendous power and no social brains. They hover like an old silurian reptile about our decent more or less Christian civilization—like great dragons in this modern day when dragons are supposed to be dead.²⁵

Footnotes

*W.W. is Woodrow Wilson—editor's not.

1. A previous volume, Antony C. Sutton, *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution*, (New Rochelle, N.Y., Arlington House, 1974), hereafter cited as Sutton, *Bolshevik Revolution*, explored the links between Wall Street financiers and the Bolshevik Revolution. In great part, allowing for deaths and new faces, this book focuses on the same segment of the New York financial establishment.
2. The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Volume 1 (New York: Random House, 1938), p. 679.
3. New York: Lyle Stuart, 1968.
4. Ibid., p. 172.
5. Boston: Riverside Press, 1957, p. 273.
6. Ibid.
7. This series is: Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Apprenticeship*. (1952), hereafter cited as Freidel, *The Apprenticeship*; Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal* (1954), hereafter cited as Freidel, *The Ordeal*; Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Triumph* (1956), hereafter cited as Freidel, *The Triumph*; Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt*,

Launching The New Deal (1973). All four volumes published in Boston by Little, Brown.

8. Freidel, *The Triumph*, op. cit., p. 187.

9. Ibid., p. 188.

10. Freidel, *The Ordeal*, op. cit., p. 149.

11. This raises a legitimate question concerning the scope of this book and the nature of the relevant evidence. The author is interested only in establishing the relationship between Wall Street and FDR and drawing conclusions from that relationship. Therefore, episodes that occurred in 1921, while FDR was on Wall Street, but not associated directly with his financial activities, are omitted. For example, in 1921 the Senate Naval Affairs Committee issued a report with 27 conclusions, almost all critical of FDR, and posing serious moral questions. The first conclusion in the Senate report reads:

"That immoral and lewd acts were practiced under instructions or suggestions, by a number of the enlisted personnel of the United States Navy, in and out of uniform, for the purpose of securing evidence against sexual perverts, and authorization for the use of these enlisted men as operators or detectives was given both orally and in writing to Lieut. Hudson by Assistant Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt, with the knowledge and consent of Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy." The 26 related conclusions and the minority report are contained in United States Senate, Committee on Naval Affairs, 67th Congress, 1st Session, *Alleged Immoral Conditions at Newport (R.I.) Naval Training Station* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921).

However, while FDR's conduct in the U.S. Navy may have been inexcusable and may or may not reflect on his moral fiber, such conduct is not pertinent to this book, and these incidents are omitted.

It should also be noted that, where FDR's correspondence is of critical import for the argument of this book, it is the practice to quote sections verbatim, without paraphrasing, to allow the reader to make his own interpretations.

12. Daniel W. Delano, Jr., *Franklin Roosevelt and the Delano Influence* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Nudi Publications, 1946), p. 53.

13. Ibid., p. 54.

14. See Sutton, *Bolshevik Revolution*, op. cit., pp. 128, 130-3, 136 on Stone & Webster.

15. Elliott Roosevelt and James Brough, *An Untold Story: The Roosevelts of Hyde Park* (New York: Putnam's, 1973), pp. 142, 147-8.

16. United States Senate, *Hearings before the Special Committee Investigating the*

Munitions Industry, 74th Congress, Second Session, Part 25, "World War Financing and United States Industrial Expansion 1914-1915, J. P. Morgan & Company" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 10174, Exhibit No. 3896.

17. Frederic A. Delano, Are Our Railroads Fairly Treated? Address before the Economic Club of New York, April 29, 1913, p. 11.

18. Frederic A. Delano, What About the Year 2000? Joint Committee on Bases of Sound Land Policy, n.d., pp. 138-9.

19. Ibid., p. 141.

20. Elliott Roosevelt, An Untold Story, op. cit., p. 43.

21. Ibid., p. 67.

22. See Sutton, Bolshevik Revolution, for numerous citations to Thomas Lamont's connections with the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, while residing in FDR's leased house in New York.

23. It is important to note as we develop the story of FDR in Wall Street that Guaranty Trust is prominent in the earlier Sutton, Bolshevik Revolution.

24. Gabriel Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism (London: Free Press, 1963), p. 202. Willard Straight was owner of The New Republic.

25. Quoted from George Seldes, *One Thousand Americans* (New York: Boni & Gaer, 1947), pp. 149-150.

CHAPTER 2

Politics in the Bonding Business¹

I am going to take advantage of our old friendship and ask you if you can help me out any [sic] in an effort to get fidelity and contract bonds from the powers that be in Brooklyn.

Franklin D. Roosevelt to Congressman J. A. Maher, March 2, 1922.

In early 1921 Franklin D. Roosevelt became vice president of the Fidelity & Deposit Company of Maryland and resident director of the company's New York office at 120 Broadway. Fidelity & Deposit of Maryland was an established insurance company specializing in the bonding and surety policies required on government and corporate contracts and a range of individual employments ranging from secretary of a trade union to employees of stock brokerage houses. In fact, a potential for bonding business exists wherever a contractor or employee can violate a fiduciary trust or fail to complete a contract, as in construction projects. In brief, bonding is a specialized field of insurance covering the risk of noncompliance. In 1921 Fidelity & Deposit was the fourth largest such bonding house in the United States, but not to be confused with the Fidelity and Casualty Company of New York, another insurance company, which incidentally had W. Emlen Roosevelt, FDR's cousin, on its board of directors.

Why did Van-Lear Black, owner of The Baltimore Sun and board chairman of Fidelity & Deposit, hire insurance novice Franklin D. Roosevelt as vice president of the important New York office? Almost certainly he hired FDR because the bonding business is unusually dependent upon political influence. Reading through FDR's Fidelity & Deposit letter files from 1921 to 1928, we find that only rarely do price or service appear as competitive elements in bonding. The main competitive weapons are "Whom do you know?" and "What are your politics?" In other words, politics is a substitute for the market place. Politics was FDR's forte and Van-Lear Black knew his bonding world when he acquired FDR. It is important to note the political nature of the bonding business because FDR's biographers have, in some cases, suggested that FDR, a business novice, was relatively useless to VanLear Black. For example, Frank Freidel writes:

Whether Van-Lear Black hired him because it was a smart business move or merely to collect a celebrity is impossible to determine. The worst Wall Streeters unfriendly to Roosevelt were able to charge was that the company wasted the twenty-five thousand dollars per year it paid him in salary.²

What then were the roles of politics and politicians in the bonding business in New York State in the 1920s?

POLITICIANS AS BOND WRITERS

The pervasive political nature of the bonding business is reflected in a contemporary, but anonymous, news clipping found in the FDR letter files and carefully marked by FDR himself. The clip refers to New York State government officials negotiating state contracts while at the same time acting as members of private bond-issuing firms selling security bonds to state contractors. The newspaper aptly headed the column "All Under One Roof" and reported that Daniel P. O'Connell, a member of the Albany bonding firm O'Connell Brothers & Corning and simultaneously in charge of the public affairs of the city and county of Albany, was endeavoring to exert a statewide influence over the issue of his bonds, to the dismay of competing bond writers:

Whereas, formerly Daniel P. has been somewhat busy going on the bonds of various and sundry constituents, hereafter he will do his utmost, it is said, to wish his bonds on other persons, especially contractors doing business with the city and county.

His advent into the bondwriting world has been about as welcome as a snowstorm would be to a blushing bride on a bright and sunny June morning. Local insurance men, Democrats as well as Republicans, it is said, who have been engaged in writing contractors' bonds for many years, resent Daniel P's coming into their field, while perhaps admiring his ambition and display of courage and all that sort of thing; and in state political circles it is said that Royal K. Fuller, state commissioner of the bureau of canals and waterways, is fearful that if Daniel P. succeeds in the local field [it will be] to his (Mr. Fuller's) detriment, or rather to the detriment of the bondwriting firm with which he is connected and for whose benefit, it is said, he uses the influence of his position.

Bond writer cum office holder O'Connell then wrote soliciting letters to all Albany city and county contractors to the effect that he was in the bonding business at the City Savings Bank Building, owned incidentally by Albany Mayor Hackett and which also happened to be the headquarters of the Albany county Democratic organization. O'Connell's letter to State contractors concluded with the appeal:

I would appreciate it if you will allow this office the opportunity of serving you. A telephone call or letter addressed to me at this office will receive prompt attention.

It is important to note this prevailing and apparently acceptable use of political office and influence to feather one's own nest. In the light of the evidence below, it suggests that FDR was merely following the contemporary mores of his environment. The use of politics to obtain bond business is reflected in the FDR letter files and essentially is the

only way he obtained bonding business while vice president of Fidelity & Deposit Company. Of course, his letters soliciting business to the other Wall Street Roosevelts are entirely legitimate. We find for example, a letter to "Dear Cousin Emlen" (W. Emlen Roosevelt of Roosevelt & Son, 30 Pine Street) dated March 10, 1922 to inquire about obtaining the scheduled bond for the Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburgh Railway Company, a bond then written by the competing National Surety Company. Emlen replied promptly on March 16 that he "was able to speak to the President about the matter." This must have stirred FDR's imagination because on March 16, 1922 he wrote to "Dear George" (George E. Roosevelt), also at Roosevelt & Son, inquiring about the blanket bond taken out by the firm itself for its own protection.

Trade unions were a special FDR target for business; as each union local secretary and treasurer is required to have a bond, this was a lucrative field. On December 13, 1921 general secretary treasurer E. C. Davison of the International Association of Machinists wrote FDR:

We are now carrying the bulk of our bonding business with your company, which we were influenced to do in a great measure by the fact of your connection with this concern.

Then on January 26, 1922 Joseph F. Valentine, president of the International Molder's Union of North America, wrote to FDR that he was most appreciative of all FDR's efforts for the union while acting as Assistant Secretary of the Navy and

I have a desire to give the Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland as much of our business as possible ... as soon as our existing bonds have lapsed, it will be a personal pleasure to have your Company handle our business in the future.

Union officials in Washington and elsewhere were prompt to request their locals to divert business to their old friend FDR and away from other bonding companies. In turn, local union officials were prompt to report on their diverting actions, information in turn promptly conveyed to FDR. For example, the president of the International Association of Boilermakers wrote to Secretary Berres of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L., in Washington, D.C.:

... You may rest assured that anything that I can do to be of service to Mr. Roosevelt in his new position will be a pleasure on my part, and I am today writing Mr. Roosevelt.

Naturally FDR exploited his old political friends to the utmost and with a commendable attention to detail. In a sales pitch dated March 2, 1922 addressed to Congressman J. A.

Maher, FDR wrote two letters, not one. The first letter read in part:

Howe [Louis Howe, FDR's right-hand man] told me of his conversation over the telephone with you and I am inclosing a more formal letter for exhibition purposes. This is a little friendly note lest you think I have suddenly grown formal since I have adopted Wall Street as my business address.

Do come over and see me. I know it will do your soul good to hear the language which Brother Berres and various others connected with the Labor Bureau, are using in regard to the present administration in general and Congressmen in particular. If the Missus happens to be out of hearing when you arrive I will repeat some of the more quotable extracts.

FDR enclosed for Congressman Maher a more formal letter obviously to be shown around to Maher's friends stating precisely what it was he wanted: "fidelity and contracts bonds from the powers that be in Brooklyn:"

I am going to take advantage of our old friendship and ask you if you can help me out any in an effort to get fidelity and contract bonds from the powers that be in Brooklyn. There are a large number of bonds needed in connection with the city government work, besides the personal bonds which every city official has to give, and I am in hopes that some of my old friends will be willing to remember me. Unfortunately, I cannot take this matter up with them myself at the present time, but as all my friends are your friends I feel that if you have the time and inclination, you can be of real help to me. I assure you the favor will not soon be forgotten.

Later we shall see how successful this approach was for F & D.

POLITICAL INFLUENCE AND CONTRACT AWARDS

FDR's political contacts and influences were of course well known within Fidelity & Deposit, and he was repeatedly called upon by other members of the firm to use his political expertise and personal credit to generate bond business, even outside New York. This may be exemplified by a letter dated August 23, 1928 from F & D director F. A. Price, in charge of the Chicago office, about business from local Chicago politicians. Price wrote "Dear Franklin" with a message that, since the death of Chicago political leader George Brennan, several names had been proposed as leaders of the local Democratic Party machine. Brennan before his death requested that M. L. Igoe be his successor, Price writes FDR:

You undoubtedly got in touch with him while at Houston and in the event you have a personal acquaintance with him, I would like to have you give

me as strong a letter of introduction to him as possible.

Price noted that recently when in Baltimore he had discussions with F & D company president Charles Miller about "the thought of making some deal with the new democratic leader in Illinois. It is with this view in mind that I wish the letter of introduction." As machine politics in Chicago has been notorious for its low ethical standards, it requires little imagination to visualize the kind of deal Price was suggesting and which FDR used his name and influence to further.

That personal friendship alone was insufficient to get bonding business and that some variety of sweetener was used is brought out in a letter on the New York political situation dated September 23, 1925 from John Griffin, in charge of the New York office contract division, to "My Dear Mr. Roosevelt." It discusses the complex interconnections between New York political offices and the bond brokerage business. In part the letter reads:

The big victory of Walker over Hylan will, of course, make a new set-up in the bond broker situation. Sinnott & Canty, from whom we were able to get some bonds in the early part of the Hylan Administration and in the latter part were not so much favored, will no doubt be out of it and either Charles F. Murphy, Jr., Hyman & McCall, Jim Hoey, or a man named McLaughlin, a brother of the Banking Superintendent, will be the favored one. As I see it, our strongest connection will be through Al Smith into Charlie Murphy or McCall or McLaughlin as Hoey has his own Company—the Columbia Casualty Company. Perhaps Murphy receives from the National Surety Company, or the Company to whom he gives business now, a larger commission than we might be willing to give for his direct business, but a word into his ear through you and, of course, through the Governor and possibly Jimmie Walker, would at least put us under the most favored nation clause or [for] any division of these bonds as you know all of them must be divided between two or more companies.

I know all of these people pretty well and favorably, but mere personal friendship will not be sufficient.

A meticulous reading of this internal company letter suggests that kickbacks were the usual way to get bond business from New York government agencies; note the paragraph, "Perhaps Murphy receives from the National Surety Company, or the Company to whom he gives business now, a larger commission than we might be willing to give for his direct business." The concluding sentence, ". . . mere personal friendship will not be sufficient" has an ominous ring.

Politicization of the surety business, so obvious in Chicago and New York, extended also to the Federal government contract arena in Washington D.C. On May 5, 1926 F & D

second vice president F. A. Bach in Baltimore wrote FDR about a \$11¼ million Veterans Bureau building projected for construction that spring:

Dear Franklin,

Among other projects of the Veterans Bureau this spring is one involving approximately a million and a quarter dollars at Bedford, Mass., and I am secretly hoping that through influence such as knowing Mrs. Rogers, Representative of Massachusetts, that we might have some chance of getting a piece of that business although, of course, the biggest project will be at North Port, Long Island.

Similarly, to a contact in a "firm holding Navy contracts" FDR wrote:

A casual reference in a letter from one of my old friends in the Navy Department to the award of some 8-inch gun forgings to your company, brought to my mind the very pleasant relations we held during my term as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and I wondered if you would feel like letting my company write some of the contract bonds that you are obliged to give the government from time to time. I would like very much to have one of our representatives call.

Louis Howe, FDR's right-hand man, also worked at F & D offices, also actively solicited bonds, and was not at all backward about canvassing business. Howe's letter to Homer Ferguson of the Newport News Shipbuilding Company in December 1921 noted that the company had entered bids on construction of the vessel Leviathan and thanked Ferguson for the bond:

If by any chance the fact that this was Mr. Roosevelt's company influenced you in making this award it would cheer Mr. Roosevelt tremendously if you could write him a little line to that effect.

These political methods of doing business are, of course, a long way from the competitive market place of the college textbooks. It would be naïve to think that political preference and personal friendship have no role, or only a minor role, in business relationships. In reviewing FDR's bond business, however, it is difficult to visualize another business in which politics plays such an all-encompassing role as it did in the bonding and surety business in the 1920s. The morality of kickbacks and of the use of political office to generate personal business is questionable, and the legality is definitely doubtful. Much less obvious is the consequent loss of economic efficiency and loss to society as a whole. If purchase and sale of such bonds is determined by price and past performance—and personal acquaintance can be a legitimate factor in judging past performance—then the market place will yield maximum economic benefits and

efficiency for society. In a politicized business atmosphere these impartial competitive factors are eliminated, economic efficiency is foregone, and benefits are reduced. We have, in effect; a microcosm of a socialist economy in which all decisions are politicized to the detriment of society as a whole. In brief, FDR's bonding operations were to some degree antisocial.

Yet other letters in the Roosevelt files provide authentic glimpses into the back rooms of 1920 era politics, the wheeling and dealing that has so often degenerated into outright corruption. Witness an FDR letter dated July 11, 1928 to first vice president George L. Radcliffe in Baltimore relating to the manner in which John J. Raskob became Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Raskob was vice president of Du Pont and of General Motors and consequently as much a member of the Wall Street establishment as could be found anywhere:

At a meeting last night the Governor [Smith] definitely decided on John J. Raskob as Chairman of the National Committee. He said he wanted an organizer and a man who would bring the Democratic Party into favor with the business interests of the country. My first judgment is that it is a grave mistake as he is a Catholic; secondly, he is even wetter than Smith, seeking the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment: and third, he is the head of the largest business organization in the world. I fear that it will permanently drive away a host of people in the south and west, and rural east who are not particularly favorable to Smith, but who up to today have been seeping back into the Party.

I don't know Raskob very well, but expect to have a conference with him within a few days, and will mention among other things the possibility of V.L. B. [Van-Lear Black].

Later in this book we shall record the enormous funds poured into the Democratic Party by Raskob and the quid pro quo for big business: the New Deal and the National Recovery Administration (NRA).

On August 24, 1927 another letter to George Radcliffe outlined the manner in which the bonding industry could get together on behalf of James Beha, then Superintendent of Insurance in the State of New York. This quotation confirms the fact that "regulated" industries are no more than political devices to keep unwelcome competition at bay and that the regulators can be in the pockets and act on behalf of the supposedly regulated industry:

Vic Cullen³ and I have just had a talk in regard to Superintendent Beha. Vic says that he thinks there is some move on foot initiated by Joyce, to get Beha into the National in some capacity and Cullen makes what to me

seems a most worthwhile suggestion. It is that Beha might become the head of the Surety Association. We all like Beha and trust him; he is a man of courage and independence, and I cannot think of any one better suited for the position. Of course, it would cost a high salary—my thought is \$35,000 a year—but this divided up among all of the members, amounts to but a drop in the bucket.

If you think well of this suggestion, Cullen and I both feel that you are the man, rather than either of us, to approach the heads of the American, U. S. F. & G. and one or two others in an informal and confidential way.

On the other hand, there were attempts in New York to eliminate abuses in the bonding business. One such effort was that by State Architect Sullivan W. Jones to eliminate a state requirement for bonds. Governor Al Smith was at first induced to extend his approval to the Jones plan. This brought a swift letter to FDR from R.H. Towner at 160 Broadway to the effect that the Jones Plan would be disastrous and (if) "Governor Smith (has gone) astray some of his friends ought to put him right." FDR's prompt reply to Towner was, "I hope to see the Governor in the next couple of weeks and will then talk to him like a Dutch uncle about Jones' plan." We read no more in the FDR files about abolishing compulsory surety bonds in the State of New York.

That F & D's office was hard nosed about its own interests is reflected even in relatively minor matters: for example, no New York business association was able to win F & D financial support. On August 5, 1926 a request from the Better Business Bureau of New York for a subscription evoked a cold response from F & D. FDR passed the letter to vice president Cullen to prepare a "suitable reply," and Cullen promptly turned down the Better Business Bureau. This turn-down was supported by president Charles R. Miller in Baltimore, "I am not so keen on making a contribution toward the Better Business Bureau at this time...." Then the Merchants Association of New York wrote FDR on May 23, 1925 about membership of F & D in their association. Again Cullen argued that "the Merchants Association is of absolutely no benefit to us." No law requires membership in better business associations, but these brush-offs make suspect do-gooder social appeals from these nonjoiners.

THE PAY-OFF FOR FIDELITY & DEPOSIT COMPANY

This brief review of Franklin D. Roosevelt's career from 1921 to 1928 as vice president of Fidelity & Deposit Company in New York suggests the philosophical road Roosevelt followed for the next two decades. The bonding business was pervasively political, and FDR in politics was like a duck in water. Political contacts made during his service as Assistant Secretary of the Navy were utilized to the full, new political contacts, encouraged by the Baltimore management of F & D, were made, and FDR had seven years to practice this art of politics in business. The results for F & D were exceptionally good. Business expanded, in some measure perhaps because almost all business

expanded in the 1920s, but almost certainly to a major extent because of FDR's political activities. In the period January 1st, 1923 to January 1st, 1924 Fidelity & Deposit showed a gain of \$3 million in the year and surged into third place among the bonding companies, a good jump ahead of U.S. Fidelity and Casualty Co., its displaced competitor. The figures read:

Surety Company Bonds in the State of New York

	Jan. 1, 1923	Jan. 1, 1924	Gain/loss
Fidelity & Deposit Co.	\$ 7,033,100	\$10,184,600	+\$3,151,500
National Surety Co.	\$14,993,000	\$15,677,550	+ 684,550
Fidelity & Casualty Co. Surety Co. of New York	\$ 3,211,900	\$ 3,215,150	+ 3,250
Aetna Casualty & Surety Co.	\$ 5,517,200	4,799,500	- 717,700
U.S. Fidelity & Casualty Co.	\$ 8,064,500	\$ 6,817,000	- 1,247,500
American Surety Co.	\$13,263,125	\$12,127,400	- 1,125,725

The Fidelity & Deposit office at 120 Broadway was FDR's base of operations in the 1920s, but the bonding business, successful as it was, was not FDR's only business activity. Other interesting endeavors will be explored in subsequent chapters. These seven years in a politically charged business atmosphere—a microcosm of a socialist society, because socialist societies are also politically run economies—were undoubtedly a determining influence in FDR's later approaches to solutions of national economic problems. This was FDR's first exposure to the business world. It was not an exposure to the competitive market elements of price and product quality; it was exposure to business on the basis of "Whom do you know?" and "What are your politics?"—ultimately the most inefficient and unprofitable bases possible for business enterprise.

Footnotes

1. This chapter is based on the FDR papers at Hyde Park, New York: specifically Group 14, file entitled "Fidelity & Deposit Co. of Maryland, Correspondence of FDR as Vice President, 1921-1928."

2. Freidel, *The Ordeal*, op. cit., p. 138. Freidel is unfair to Roosevelt. No evidence is given of Wall Street criticism of the appointment. Criticism is unlikely—given the political nature of the business, that politics was FDR's strength, and the long Roosevelt tradition

on "the Street."

3. Cullen was Manager of the New York production office.

CHAPTER 3

FDR: International Speculator

One of the most morale-damaging aspects of the inflation was the "sack of Germany" that occurred at the height of the [1923] inflation. Anyone who possessed dollars or sterling was king in Germany. A few American dollars would allow a man to live like a millionaire. Foreigners swarmed into the country, buying up family treasures, estates, jewelry and art works at unbelievable low prices.

Marjori Palmer, *1918-1923 German Hyperinflation*, (New York: Traders Press, 1967)

Franklin D. Roosevelt was organizer and president of several speculative international financial enterprises linking Germany and the United States, and in particular one enterprise to profit from the ruinous German hyperinflation of 1922-23. In 1922 FDR became president and was one of the organizers of United European Investors, Ltd., with a Canadian charter, but based at 160 Broadway, New York. In 1927 FDR was also organizer of the International Germanic Trust Company, Inc. and the Federal International Investment Trust, which never got off the ground. By far the most important of these speculative enterprises in the world of international finance was United European Investors, Ltd., formed to accumulate German marks deposited in the United States and to reinvest these marks in Germany by purchasing property from destitute Germans. Fully to understand the scope and meaning of United European and to follow the activities of International Germanic Trust Company, we need to make a brief review of German financial conditions in the early 1920s.

THE GERMAN HYPERINFLATION OF 1922-23

Lionel Robbins, the prominent British economist, has described the German inflation of 1922-23:

It was the most colossal thing of its kind in history: and next probably to the Great War itself, it must bear responsibility for many of the political and economic difficulties of our generation. It destroyed the wealth of the more solid elements of German society: and left behind a moral and economic disequilibrium, a breeding ground for the disasters which have followed. Hitler is the foster child of the inflation....¹

The Treaty of Versailles imposed a massive reparations burden upon a defeated Germany, a country already financially weak from fighting World War I with deficit spending and postwar territorial reduction, with consequently reduced natural resources. Reparations have an effect on the balance of payments similar to imports. They require either taxation or deficit spending to offset the drain. If the course of deficit spending is followed, the result will be inflationary, and this was the course followed in Germany.

Germany was obligated by the Allies to make recompense for all damage to private property, except in Russia and to pay all costs of Allied troops on German soil, but no maximum limit was set on the demands. Germany had forthwith to surrender 100 billion gold marks, with payments of one billion gold marks annually after 1921. The final payments plan worked out at the "London Ultimatum" in May 1921 reflected these harsh and impossible terms and so provided a clear incentive to inflate to remove the burden of direct payments.

What is extraordinary about the reparations program is the identity of the so-called experts engaged in making the reparations arrangements, incidentally creating the monetary and social chaos alluded to by Lionel Robbins. The 1923 Reparations Committee had as its U.S. members Brigadier General Charles G. Dawes and Owen D. Young of the General Electric Company.

The 1928 Committee of Experts on the Young Plan comprised, on the American side, Owen D. Young and J.P. Morgan, with Thomas N. Perkins and Thomas W. Lamont as alternates. On the German side the members were Hjalmar Schacht and A. Voegler, with C. Melchior and L. Kastl as alternates.

In brief, the General Electric-Morgan elements prominent in the Bolshevik Revolution, and as we shall see also prominent in the New Deal, were the negotiators of a scheme generally regarded as one of the prime causes of World War II—and incidentally a scheme in which these same financiers, as well as Franklin Delano Roosevelt, were to profit.

It is also worthy of note that businessmen on the German side of the reparations negotiations were associated with the rise of National Socialism in Germany. Witness Hallgarten in his essay "Adolf Hitler and German Heavy Industry:"

... in November 1918 a group of the Reich's most prominent businessmen, comprising Stinnes, Albert Voegler (then director of the Gelsenkirchen Mining Co., Ltd.), Carl Friedrich von Siemens, Felix Deutsche (of German General Electric), Director Mankiewitz of the Deutsche Bank, and Director Salomonsohn, of the Diskontogesellschaft, financed the movement of a Hitler forerunner,

one Dr. Eduard Stadtler, who demanded the establishment of a German National Socialist state....²

The pertinent point is that the Felix Deutsche mentioned was a director of German General Electric and the American reparations representatives included Owen D. Young of General Electric, while the Albert Voegler mentioned by Hallgarten was the German representative in the Young-Plan negotiations.

The depreciation of the German mark into worthless paper currency as a result of this reparations burden imposed by these men is illustrated in the following table:

The German Mark in Terms of³

Date	Foreign Exchange	German Wholesale Prices
	(1913=1.00)	
January 1913	1.0	1.0
January 1920	15.4	12.6
January 1921	15.4	14.4
January 1922	45.7	36.7
July 1922	117.0	101.0

The inflation accelerated following the formation of United European Investors, Ltd., with Franklin D. Roosevelt as President and John von Berenberg Gossler as a member of the German advisory board:

January 1923	4,279.0	2,785.0
July 1923	84,150.0	74,787.0
August 1923	1,100,100.0	944,041.0

The inflation went entirely out of control following the dismissal of Chancellor Wilhelm Cuno, who returned as president of HAPAG, and co directors John von Berenberg Gossler and Max Warburg:

September 1923	23,540,000.0	23,949,000.0
October 1923	6,014,300,000.0	7,095,500,000.0
November 1923	1,000,000,000,000.0	750,000,000,000.0

The policies that led to the ruinous German inflation were initiated under Chancellor Wilhelm Cuno, who was, immediately prior to becoming Chancellor, the president of Hamburg-America Line (HAPAG). Two of Cuno's co directors at HAPAG were Max Warburg, Hamburg banker and brother of Paul Warburg, member of the Federal Reserve System Advisory Board in the United States, and John von Berenberg Gossler, a member of the German advisory board of Franklin D. Roosevelt's United European Investors, Ltd.

Cuno was dismissed as German Chancellor in August 1923, but it will be noted from the table that inflation was already out of hand, and in November of that year the mark had depreciated to zero. The point to be made is that Wilhelm Cuno was Chancellor in 1922-23, when the mark was rapidly depreciating, and that Cuno came from a business circle that was able and willing to take pecuniary and personal advantage of the German inflation.

This terrifying monetary inflation and the ultimate collapse of the German mark in 1923 ruined the German middle class and benefited three groups: a few German big businessmen, a few foreign businessmen who were in a position to gain advantage from the inflation, and the rising Hitler movement. As president of United European Investors, Ltd., Franklin D. Roosevelt was among those foreign businessmen who took advantage of Germany's misery for their own gain.

THE BACKGROUND OF WILLIAM SCHALL

Unfortunately, there is a deeper perspective to this question of what could be called an élitist group preying on the world's misfortune. In the previous volume in this series, *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution*, we identified personal links between Wall Street financiers and Bolshevik revolutionaries. Some of these same personal links can be extended to FDR and United European Investors. The precisely established links previously implicated the then German Ambassador to the United States, Count von Bernstorff, and his friend Adolph von Pavenstedt, senior partner in Amsinck & Co., who was "for many years a chief paymaster of the German spy system in this country."⁴ Amsinck & Co. was controlled by the J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, and other New York financial interests through American International Corporation. With Guaranty Trust Company, the American International Corporation constituted the central points for financing German and Bolshevik espionage in the United States and North America during World War I. Adolph von Pavenstedt and Edmund Pavenstedt, the two Amsinck partners, were also members of another financial house, Müller, Schall & Company. And it is at Müller, Schall that in 1922 we find Franklin D. Roosevelt and his United European Investors, Ltd.

After the public disclosures in 1918 of the connection between Amsinck & Co. and German espionage, the German interests in Müller, Schall & Co. were represented by Edmund S. Payne, a New York attorney. Müller, Schall & Co. was formally liquidated, and a "new" firm—William Schall & Co.—took its place at the same address, 45 William Street, New York City. The new firm, formed in January 1918, included the two original partners, William Schall and Carl Müller, who were now joined by John Hanway of Harris, Forbes & Co., Frank M. Welty, vice president of the American Colonial Bank of Puerto Rico, and attorney Edmund S. Payne, a partner in the law firm of Rounds, Hatch, Dillingham & Debevoise, who represented the German interests of the former Müller, Schall & Co.

The Pavenstedts were also "heavily interested in Puerto Rican sugar properties and owned and controlled the Central Los Canos."⁵ William Schall was president of the Colonial Bank of Puerto Rico and president of the South Puerto Rico Sugar Company. Similarly, the Roosevelt family had interests in the Caribbean sugar industry going back to the late 18th century, and George Emlen Roosevelt was in 1918 a director of Cuban Cane Products Co. in New York. It is therefore conceivable that through this common interest in Caribbean sugar the Pavenstedts and Roosevelts became known to each other. In any event, it was the Schall-Pavenstedt group, previously part of the German espionage operation in the United States, that in 1921-22 merged with Franklin D. Roosevelt and several dubious financial entrepreneurs to form United European Investors, Ltd. to profit from the crushing burden of German inflation.

UNITED EUROPEAN INVESTORS, LTD.

The original organizing group for United European Investors, Ltd. comprised the aforementioned William Schall and Franklin D. Roosevelt, joined by A. R. Roberts, Charles L. Gould, and Harvey Fisk & Sons. The 60,000 preferred shares issued were held by Harvey Fisk & Sons (\$25,000), Franklin D. Roosevelt (\$10,000) and Schall, Roberts, and Gould (\$5,000 each). In brief, FDR was the largest individual preferred shareholder of the incorporating group.

United European Investors, Ltd. was granted an unusual Canadian charter that provided the company with unique powers, including the right to promote trade and commerce between Canada and any other country; to acquire title to property; underwrite or otherwise deal in bonds, stocks, and shares; act as brokers and agents; undertake all kinds of functions in regard to purchase, exchange, and transfer of stocks and shares; lend money; carry on any business, "manufacturing or otherwise;" and buy and sell property. In fact, on reading the charter, it is difficult to visualize any activity that could not be carried out under its numerous clauses.⁶

The capital stock was divided into two segments: Canadian \$60,000 divided into 60,000 preference shares and 60,000 ordinary shares, denominated in 10,000 German marks. The objective of the company as noted in the contemporary press was to invest the many billions of German marks then held in the United States and Canada in German real property:

Once marks are invested in property in Germany, the funds should begin to earn money immediately and the funds cannot disappear, since they are represented by the ownership of tangible property, and the advantage may still be taken of a possible rise in exchange value. Compared with this, the holding of mark currency or drafts is a most hazardous operation and the funds are either idle or earning very little. Besides if the exchange quotation should approach the vanishing point, there would be nothing tangible left for the holders of marks or drafts. The capital of the company will be invested in improved real estate, mortgages, financing of goods in transit and participation in profitable industrial and commercial enterprises.⁷

Reference to the preceding table recording depreciation of the German mark (page 39) confirms the remarkable timeliness of United European Investors, Ltd. In July 1922 the mark, with 1913 as a base of 100, was at 117 in foreign exchange. This reflects a heavy rate of inflation of the mark, but nothing to distinguish it from inflation in many other countries. Yet the U.E.I. brochure specifically mentions the possibility of the mark's "approaching the vanishing point," which it did achieve a year later in November 1923.

The actual investment of U.E.I. was carried out in Germany by a German advisory board that occupied an office in Hamburg headed by Senator August Lattman, formerly a partner in G. Amsinck & Company of New York (see page 41). The second member of this German board was Senator John von Berenberg Gossler, head of the Hamburg banking firm Berenberg, Gossler & Co. Berenberg, Gossler was also a member of the management board of the Hamburg-America Line (HAPAG); other members were Wilhelm Cuno, at that time Chancellor of Germany and responsible for his country's economic policy, and Max Warburg, brother of Paul Warburg, member of the Federal Reserve Board in the United States.

In a letter dated November 11, 1922 to U.E.I., the German Advisory Board recorded its initial investments: "All the investments so far made are of first class industrial shares." However, the prospectus issued in the U.S. emphasized investment in real estate, and on this point the German board wrote:

As to investing in mortgages we understand your point of view but shall eventually come back to the question in case we shall be able

to offer you mortgages with a gold clause which might be possible, and would exclude any additional risk in case the mark should further decline.

There is no mention anywhere in the United European Investors file of the purchase of real property or any other of the tangibles mentioned in the company charter and the public announcements.

The investments made by the board during the next few years were stocks of German companies. Further, the investment prices were cited in an unusual manner, not in German marks or absolute figures of any kind, but as a percentage increase, presumably from a 1913 base, which enabled the German Board to write to New York, "the shares which you so far bought have risen considerably with the depreciation of the mark."

These shares and the percentage increase cited included, for example:

Deutsche Maschinen A.G.	bought at 1350% now quoted 1805%
Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft	bought at 740% now quoted 5000%
Nobel Dynamit	bought at 1119% now quoted 3975%

The German Board did not mention the fact that the depreciation of the mark in terms of the U.S. dollar had been greater than the advance in the prices of the shares they bought as quoted in German marks. In effect, the claims of rising share prices made were illusory. One earlier writer has described it this way: "untrue and pure bunco steering, evidently intended to gull other holders of German marks to invest them with a company that could perform such miracles."⁸

This was not, however, of concern to the New York board of directors. At the regular meeting of the board held January 15, 1923 Franklin D. Roosevelt called the meeting to order, and George W. Muller acted as secretary. It was then recorded that the mark value of the German stock investments so far made by the company was more or less 73 million marks, and this investment was currently quoted at 420 million marks.

There is an interesting letter in FDR's files from Professor Homer B. Vanderblue, Professor of Business Economics at Harvard University, asking for explanations about the U.E.I. investment program. The letter was addressed to FDR, as president of the company, but replied to by Edmund S. Paine, who stated that the original idea of investing in tangible property, such as real estate, had proven

impracticable as it "would entail a very heavy overhead owing to the necessity of supervision and operation," and so it was decided to invest only in German stocks "representing the indirect ownership in tangible assets." Paine added that the theory justified itself to a "remarkable degree:"

Taking as a test the first Mks 60,000,000 invested by the company, we find that the appreciation in price of the securities has somewhat exceeded the depreciation in the exchange value of the mark. In other words, the securities purchased could probably be sold today for a price in marks which would bring somewhat more in dollars than could have been secured by the holders of marks had they sold them at the time of the investment in spite of the fact that the value of their marks has gone down tremendously.

However, Paine to the contrary, a "Statement of Conditions as of January 31st 1923" located in FDR's files records that the book value per share of common stock at that time was \$2.62 per share, while the average book value at the time of investment was \$2.64—in other words, a slight decline.

At the directors meeting of September 19, 1923 it was confirmed that the total dollar value of investment was about \$120,000, and in May 1925 this was still approximately the amount recorded in the treasury. However, in the intervening years following stabilization of the mark, conditions improved and a statement dated May 12, 1926 shows a net worth of \$147,098.07, with 17,275 shares outstanding, and then equal to \$8.50 per share. On May 21st, 1926 the company offered to buy all stock offered within 90 days at \$7.50 a share. In May 1926 FDR resigned as president and accepted the offer of \$7.50 per unit for his 1005 common stock shares.

Did the American holders of German marks who invested in United European investors gain or lose on their investment? If we suppose they held their stock to 1926 and accepted the company offer at \$7.50 per common share unit, then buying at the issue price of 10,000 German marks in September 1922 (the date offered) they would have lost considerably. In September 1922 the dollar-mark exchange rate was \$1.00 to 764 German marks. Thus a 10,000 mark share would be equivalent to \$13.00 per share, and a share held from 1922 to 1926 would have realized a loss of approximately \$5.50 per share; on the other hand, a shareholder would have avoided total depreciation and a loss of all his funds from holding on.

INVESTIGATION OF UNITED EUROPEAN INVESTORS, LTD.

The Roberts-Gould element that joined FDR and Schall on the Board of U.E.I. had a poor reputation on "the Street". In fact, Roberts and Gould were under investigation for suspected criminal activities. In July 1922, when United European was in the early stages of incorporation, a Mr. Crary, an old-time investigator for Proudfoot's Mercantile Agency—the top ranking investigation agency used by prestigious Wall Street firms—approached FDR's secretary, Miss Le Hand. Crary conveyed to "Missy" information about what he termed a "band of crooks with offices at 7 Pine Street" and with a nameplate on the door inscribed "United European Investors, Ltd." Missy Le Hand carried the information to FDR's right-hand man Louis Howe, who in turn raised the problem with Schall's earlier partner Müller. From Müller and other sources, Howe learned that Roberts and Gould were a part of this alleged "band of crooks" who, according to Crary, were "engaged in all manner of disreputable promoting and ... he is certain that they have as a member of their force an ex-convict under an assumed name with a most unsavory reputation."⁹ When the name United European Investors, Ltd. was posted on their office door at 7 Pine Street, investigator Crary, who had been routinely watching the office for a year, began quietly probing Roberts and Gould. Although Roberts was never in the 7 Pine Street office, Crary found that Gould "had been in the habit of using that office for at least a year, and was considered one of their (i.e., the crooks') tried and true friends." Gould's association with "the crooks" made Crary suspicious because, while the Proudfoot Agency had previously given Gould "a clean enough record," it had also put him in "the professional promoter class."

Crary's investigation was undertaken on behalf of the owners of the building at 7 Pine Street, "who intend to dispossess the whole bunch in a short time." It was during the investigation that the Proudfoot Agency came upon a circular listing the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt as president of United European Investors, Ltd. and William Schall as its banker. The evidence unearthed by the Proudfoot Agency was substantiated to Louis Howe by a Mr. Hanway, a member of the stock brokerage firm of Harris, Forbes. Hanway said he had "been familiar with Mr. Gould's activities for a number of years, and that he so thoroughly distrusted him as to lead him to make every effort to prevent from meeting Schall originally."

Even further, the Proudfoot Agency suspected that Gould had attempted to acquire confidential information from them and that Gould was acting as "a spy for the crooks to find out what knowledge Proudfoot & Company had of their crooked deals."

All this information was duly reported by Howe in a letter ("Dear Boss") to FDR (July 29, 1922). Probably most businessmen faced with this caliber of partner would abandon any proposed operation such as United European Investors, but Howe's memorandum to FDR recommends nothing of the kind. It reads in part:

My recommendations are as follows: That Gould and Roberts be directed to immediately find new offices, preferably in a church or some other respectable place. That we get rid of Roberts, who is a wild man on publicity anyway, and who has no important function in this game, and that closest watch be kept of Gould. If Mr. Crary actually turns up the circular I would tear off the roof over it and make sure that its use is stopped until we are ready to make a formal announcement. I think it would be wise to insist that during the summer I be made a member of the Board of Directors, particularly as both Jenks and Rogers will be away most of the time and some one wants to watch every action taken.

In other words, Howe suggests that precautions against double-dealing will be sufficient and that the best way to do this is to put Louis Howe on the board of directors.

In any event, the enterprise went forward as planned; Roberts became Secretary of the U.E.I., and Gould, alleged spy for the crooks, retained his role as active promoter and continued to report periodically to FDR by letter on the progress of their fund-raising efforts. On July 20, before Howe reported to FDR the substance of the Proudfoot investigation, Gould had written FDR from the Southern Hotel, Baltimore about his talks with Edward Clark & Co., the Baltimore bankers, whose partner Herbert Clark had known FDR from their Harvard days. Then on August 13, 1923 Gould wrote FDR from the Canadian Club of New York to relay telegrams received from William Schall in Europe and concluded:

I was sorry to hear you were again under the weather. Probably too much overdoing, one must not try to go to (sic) fast after such an illness. In any case I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you before I return to Europe in early September.

There is no clue that FDR communicated in any way with Gould, and the next letter in the files is from Gould to FDR, dated September 14, 1923 and also written from the Canadian Club of New York. This letter criticized the "jealous bankers whose scheme we hurt, and whose plans were upset. Had we not issued today we would have failed."

Gould then concludes, "Thank you for the great & noble way you have stood behind us, and I personally feel it was your strong attitude which is making our project a complete success," adding that when he (Gould) called on the large banks and trust companies to present "their proposal" he found "On every hand your name [FDR] was applauded as being the master mind in securing the proper operation to aid the unfortunate American investor," and that if FDR could have heard these comments from "the largest financial houses" it would have given him

"great satisfaction."

On the basis of these letters, we must conclude that FDR knowingly entered a business arrangement with persons whose reputation was, to say the least, dubious, and that this business arrangement was continued after evidence of impropriety was brought to FDR's attention by Missy Le Hand and Louis Howe.

There is only superficial evidence that the whole United European Investors operation was designed by Roosevelt. When Gould tells FDR that his "name was applauded as being the master mind," it is reasonable to assume that Gould was flattering Roosevelt for his own purposes. There is really no evidence either way in the files or elsewhere that Roosevelt's background and financial knowledge were sufficient to originate a plan as ingenious as U.E.I.

CHANCELLOR WILHELM CUNO AND HAPAG

The disastrous depreciation of the German mark that was the *raison d'être* of United European Investors was concentrated in the period mid-1922 to November 1923. The table indicates how inflation got completely out of hand after mid-1922. The German Chancellor between mid-1922 and August 1923 was Wilhelm Cuno (1876-1933). Cuno was originally a civil servant, always active in politics, and in November 1917 was elected a director of the Hamburg-America Line (HAPAG). When Ballin, the president of HAPAG, committed suicide in 1918, Cuno became its president. After May 10, 1921 Karl Wirth was German Chancellor, and Walter Rathenau, the president of German General Electric (A.E.G.), was Minister for Reparations. Then followed a series of dramatic events. The German Minister of Finance Matthias Erzberger was assassinated August 26, 1921. In January 1922 Rathenau became Foreign Minister and on June 24, 1922 was also assassinated. In October of 1922 Friedrich Ebert was Reich Chancellor and Wilhelm Cuno of HAPAG was appointed German Chancellor. The depreciation of the mark occurred under Cuno and culminated in the financial crisis and his dismissal in August 1923. Cuno returned to the presidency of the Hamburg-America Line. We might note in passing the prevalence of corporate presidents in contemporary politics: e.g., German General Electric's Rathenau and HAPAG's Cuno. Owen D. Young of General Electric in the U.S. was also creator of the Young Plan for German Reparations, and German General Electric (A.E.G.) president Rathenau was German Reparations Minister in 1922. These appointments are usually explained on the basis of "the best man for the job" but, given the evidence presented in the last chapter on politics in the bonding business, we can justifiably express skepticism about this explanation. It is much more likely that the Youngs, Cunos, Rathenaus—and the Roosevelts—were mixing business and politics for their own pecuniary gain. Unfortunately, while we must leave unanswered the key question of how far these elitist groups used the state apparatus for their own

ends, it is clear that, when we probe the background of Wilhelm Cuno, we arrive back at Franklin D. Roosevelt and the formation of United European Investors, Ltd. Cuno, under whose auspices the great German inflation raged, was a director of the Hamburg-America Line; John von Berenberg Gossler, the United European Investors adviser in Germany, was also a member of the board of that company. In sum, Cuno and Gossler were on the same board of directors at HAPAG. Cuno's policies were essentially responsible for the German inflation of 1922-23 while his co director Gossler, in cooperation with Franklin D. Roosevelt, was making profit out of the very same inflation policies. It makes one ponder.

THE INTERNATIONAL GERMANIC TRUST COMPANY

The International Germanic Trust Company, founded in 1927, was prompted, according to its promoters, by a demand for American banking institutions in central Europe. Among the organizers of the trust as approved by the Banking Department of the State of New York were Franklin D. Roosevelt; Herman A. Metz, a director of I. G. Farben; James A. Beha, Superintendent of Insurance for the State of New York; and E. Roland Harriman of the international banking firm of W. A. Harriman & Co. The president of the associated International Germanic Company and chairman of the executive committee of the trust company was Harold G. Aron, who had had more than his share of law suits involving stock promotion. The main offices of the International Germanic Trust were on the ground floor of 26 Broadway, the Standard Oil Building in New York. The authorized capital consisted of 30,000 shares to provide a capital of \$3 million and a surplus of \$2 million. In its application to the banking department the company was represented by Senator Robert F. Wagner; although not listed among the organizers, FDR's old friend, James A. Beha, Superintendent of Insurance for the State of New York, became a member of the board of directors.

The objectives of the company as stated by its president, Harold G. Aron, were:

There appears to be a real need for an institution of sufficient size and backing, to take the place of those institutions which existed before the war and were primarily concerned in financing commercial intercourse between America and the Central European business world. Through its incorporators the trust company will have and develop relations both with Americans of German descent throughout this country and with business and banking institutions in Germany. It is the intention of the company to stress particularly the development of its foreign and trust departments, and to provide an effective fiscal agency in the expected liquidation of German properties and trusts still in Government custody.

The company will, from the outset, be assured the support of

important organizations and societies in this country, and the small depositor both in and outside of New York City will be welcome. It will aim to distribute its shares widely and in comparatively small amounts. There will be no voting trust nor individual or group control.

Roosevelt was involved in the flotation of the proposed company. A telegram dated April 7, 1927 from Julian Gerrard, president of the trust company, to FDR requested him to telegraph Frank Warder, Superintendent of Banks in the State of New York, to the effect that he (Roosevelt) was interested in the trust company. It was anticipated that this intervention would clear the delay in granting the charter. Board meetings were held in the Standard Oil Building, in FDR's office, and in the Bankers Club, the latter both located at 120 Broadway. The first meeting of the organization committee was held at the Bankers Club Friday May 27, 1927; although FDR was unable to attend, he wrote Julian M. Gerrard, "What is the news of the trust company?" Again on August 15, 1927 FDR asked Gerrard, "How is the organization work proceeding and what is being done in regard to the stock subscriptions?"

A considerable part of the FDR letter files of this promotion consists of requests for employment, stock in the proposed company, or related favors. For example, the National Park Bank of New York wrote FDR July 26, 1927 that it was interested in the creation of the International Germanic Trust Company and would be pleased to "have one of our officers address that body, going into detail regarding our facilities." In other words, the National Park Bank was looking for deposit business. FDR promised to take up the matter with the organization committee of the new trust company. Then on August 12, 1927 Roosevelt's partner Basil O'Connor dropped him a note: "Dear Franklin, On the Germanic Bank, see if you can get me 100 shares." The stock issue itself was heavily oversubscribed. It was planned to issue 30,000 shares, but total requests by September 12 were in excess of 109,000 shares, and by September 20 applications exceeded 200,000 shares from approximately 1900 individuals. The trust notified FDR on October 3, 1927 that his allotment was 120 shares at \$170 per share and must be taken up by October 5. The telegram added that the issue was heavily oversubscribed and quoted at 187 bid, 192 asked, which would give FDR a profit on an immediate resale. This telegram from Howe added, "Would like ten of your shares for Grace if you are willing."

FDR was duly elected a member of the board of directors and notified on November 4, 1927 that the first meeting of the board would be held Friday, November 11 at the Bankers Club at 120 Broadway. However, Basil O'Connor, Roosevelt's law partner, apparently had cold feet or received adverse information on the promotion because he wrote FDR on November 14:

I don't know what our position now is in this matter but if it is as when I parted I feel very badly about it. The proposition has not helped us any (with) other banking connections on which I have been working on a year and frankly it has all the earmarks that Gerrard (sic) thinks he can "kid you."

O'Connor suggested that FDR should resign from the board because "heretofore I have been able to say we have no banking affiliations, that was wrong. I can't say that now." Apparently, FDR did not immediately take this advice, because on January 19, 1928 he was notified of reelection as director for the coming year, but in a letter dated January 27, 1928 FDR wrote Gerrard as follows:

Dear Julian,

The more I consider my directorship and the trust company and the International Germanic Company, the more I am inclined to feel that it is somewhat futile. I have already told you of my partner's and my feelings in regard to extraneous connections on the part of either of us which involve merely attending occasional meetings and nothing more. It is somewhat difficult of course for me to go to the meetings at 26 Broadway in view of the steps but, frankly, I feel that in retaining my directorship I am accomplishing little either for myself or for the Trust Company or the International Germanic Company.

Whereupon FDR offered his resignation. It is notable that the reasons for resigning were "I am accomplishing little either for myself or for the trust company." In view of the rather unsavory reputation of the promoters, this explanation is a little weak.

Footnotes

1. Constantino Bresciani-Turroni, *The Economics of Inflation: a Study of Currency Depreciation in Post War Germany, 1914-1923* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1937), "Foreword," p. 5.
2. George W. F. Hallgarten, "Adolf Hitler and German Heavy Industry" in *Journal of Economic History*, Summer 1952, p. 224.
3. Source: *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*.
4. See Sutton, *Bolshevik Revolution*, op. cit., pp. 64-67, and Johann-Heinrich von Bernstorff, *My Three Years in America* (New York: Scribner's, 1920), p. 261.

5. Paul Haber, *The House of Roosevelt* (New York: Authors Publishing Co., 1936), p. 71.
6. The copy of the U.E.I. charter in FDR's files carries an amendment by A. B. Copp, Canadian Secretary of State, that prohibits building of railways and issue of paper money.
7. This is taken from a press release marked "From Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt" in the FDR files.
8. Haber, *The House of Roosevelt*, op. cit., pp. 81-2.
9. Information taken from letter Howe-FDR, June 29, 1922 in United European Investors, Ltd. files.

CHAPTER 4

FDR: Corporate Promoter

The meshes of our banking laws have been woven so loosely as to permit the escape of those meanest of all criminals who squander the funds of hundreds of small depositors in reckless speculation for private gain. The entire Banking Law is in need of revision and the Banking Department needs immediately far more adequate inspection facilities.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Annual Message to New York State Legislature, January 1, 1930.

Quite apart from floating speculative enterprises in the field of international finance, FDR was intimately involved in domestic flotations, at least one of which was of some substance. The most important of these ventures was organized by a prominent group including Owen D. Young of General Electric (the ever-present Young of the Young Plan for German reparations described in the last chapter) and S. Bertron of Bertron Griscom, investment bankers in New York. This syndicate created the American Investigation Corporation in 1921. In 1927 followed Photomaton, Inc. and in 1928 the Sanitary Postage Service Corporation. Then Roosevelt became a director of CAMCO, Consolidated Automatic Merchandising Corporation, but only briefly, resigning upon his election as Governor of the State of New York. As we read in the above epigraph, by 1930 FDR has had second thoughts about playing with other peoples' money.

AMERICAN INVESTIGATION CORPORATION

German scientists and engineers made an early and successful start in the use of lighter-than-air vehicles or airships for passenger and freight transportation. As early as 1910 Germany operated scheduled airship passenger services. Patents for airships were seized in World War I by the U.S. Government under the 1917 Trading with the Enemy Act, and after the war Germany was forbidden by the Reparations Commission to construct airships. This left the field open to American enterprise. The opportunities presented by German work and development restrictions in Germany were observed by a group of Wall Street financiers: S.R. Bertron of Bertron, Griscom & Co. (40 Wall Street) and not surprisingly, since he was intimately involved in German reparations, by Owen D. Young of General Electric (120 Broadway). This group was particularly interested in the profitable opportunities for development of airship transportation in the United States. On January 10, 1921, as FDR was unpacking his bags in the offices of the Fidelity & Deposit Company at 120 Broadway, he received a letter from Bertron which read in part:

My dear Mr. Roosevelt:

Representing the small group of prominent men here who are becoming greatly interested in the question of air transportation, I had a long conference with Army officials in Washington last week in regard to it. I am advised that you, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, are very familiar with this subject and I should like immensely to discuss it with you....

FDR and Bertron met to discuss air transportation over lunch at the Down Town Association. We can surmise that Bertron filled in Roosevelt on technical developments up to that time. We know from the files that there was also a meeting between Owen D. Young, S.R. Bertron, and engineer-attorney Fred S. Hardesty, representing the German patent holders, who had good connections in Washington where the seized patents were in the custody of the Alien Property Custodian and had yet to be released.

This second meeting yielded a preliminary compact dated January 19, 1921 known as the Hardesty-Owen-Bertron agreement that planned the road to development of commercial airship operations in the U.S. A syndicate was subsequently formed by Owen-Bertron to "investigate all phases of aerial navigation, legislation required and methods of fund raising." Hardesty and his associates turned over to the syndicate all their data and rights in exchange for a refund of their out-of-pocket expenses of \$20,000 incurred to that date and an interest in the syndicate. FDR's role was that of fund raiser, using his numerous political contacts throughout the United States. On May 17, 1921

Bertron wrote FDR that he had been trying to raise funds from people in St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Chicago, while Stanley Fahnestock, a partner in his firm, had been making the rounds in California and Chicago. Lewis Stevenson, another syndicate member, was at work among his contacts in the mid-West. So Bertron appealed to FDR for a set of personal introductions to potential contributors:

Stevenson is very anxious for you to give him a line to Edward Hurley, E. F. Carey and Charles Piez, all of whom you know. He would like a letter also to Edward Hines, R.P. Lamont, and H.C. Chatfield-Taylor. I am afraid this is a large order. Won't you do your best?

FDR acknowledged Bertron's request, to the effect that he was sending letters to Stevenson "introducing him to Edward Hurley and to Charles Piez and E.F. Carey. I am afraid I don't know the others." Charles Piez, president of Link-Belt Company in Chicago, excused himself from participation on the ground that "... I am practicing the most rigid economy, bending a deaf ear to the most inviting and alluring prospects," and citing the "deplorable shape" of the industry. (This plea of poverty was supported by Piez's letter to FDR, on old stock stationery, with the new address printed over the old one—hardly becoming a president of a major corporation such as Link-Belt Company). Edward N. Hurley wrote that he was "not very active in business," but when next in New York "I am

going to make it a point to call on you and check up the past."

On June 1st, Lewis Stevenson reported to Roosevelt on his fundraising progress in the mid-West. He confirmed the fact that Piez was short of funds and that Hurley wanted to talk later, but that Carey might have some interest:

Charles Swift, Thomas Wilson, both packers, are now considering the proposition, as are Potter Palmer, Chauncey McCormick and a dozen others. Since securing Marshall Field I have added to our list C. Bai Lehme, a zinc smelter of very large means; Mr. Wrigley, junior member of the great chewing-gum firm; John D. Black, of Winston, Strawn & Shaw; B.M. Winston and Hampton Winston, of Winston & Company, and Lawrence Whiting, president of the new Boulevard Bridge Bank. Gradually I am getting together a desirable group but I must confess it is discouragingly slow and hard work. My experience has been I can convince an individual of the feasibility of this scheme but as soon as he discusses it with his friends, who know nothing whatever of the proposition, they develop a serious doubt in his mind which I have to combat all over again. As a result of my observation abroad I am firm in my belief it can be made a success.

Stevenson concluded by requesting a letter of introduction to prominent Chicago attorney Levy Meyer. It is clear that by the end of June 1921 Stevenson had induced a number of prominent Chicago citizens, including Marshall Field, Philip N. Wrigley, and Chauncey McCormick, to sign on the dotted line.

So far as FDR is concerned, his sales letters on this project would do credit to a professional salesman. Witness his letter to Colonel Robert R. McCormick, of the Chicago newspaper empire:

Dear Bert:

As you happen to be a progressively minded person I am asking Mr. Lewis G. Stevenson to have a talk with you about something which at first blush may seem a perfectly wild idea. However, it is really something very different and all I can tell you is that a good many of us here, such as Young of the General Electric Company, Bertron of Bertron Griscom & Co, and a number of other perfectly respectable citizens have shown enough interest to look into the question further. All of this relates to the establishment of commercial dirigible lines in the United States...

Similar letters went to Chauncey McCormick, Frank S. Peabody of Peabody Coal, and Julius Rosenwald of Sears, Roebuck. These initiatives were followed up with personal

dinners. For example, on April 21, 1921 FDR wrote to Frank Peabody:

... is there any possibility you may be able to dine with Mr. Bertron, Mr. Snowden Fahnestock and several others of us at the Union Club next Monday evening at 7:30? Bertron is just back from the other side and has some very interesting data in regard to these commercial dirigibles, which have proved successful in Germany.

FDR added that the group "will promise not to hold you up against your will." To which a reluctant Peabody telegraphed, "Impossible to be there, would not be at all afraid of being held up would have enjoyed visit with you immensely."

To Edsel B. Ford FDR wrote, "I am sending this note by Mr. G. Hall Roosevelt, my brother-in-law, who is familiar with the whole matter." G. Hall Roosevelt, who happened to work for General Electric as a division manager, proved himself to be an alert negotiator, but not sufficiently so to win Ford during the early stages.

However, by February 18, 1922 the American Investigation Corporation had compiled a very healthy list of subscribers, as the following partial list confirms:¹

Name	Affiliation	Location
W.E. Boeing	President, Boeing Airplane Co.	Seattle
Edward H. Clark	President, Homestake Mining Co.	New York
Benedict Crowell	Crowell & Little Construction Co.	Cleveland
Arthur V. Davis	President, Aluminum Co. of America	Pittsburgh
L.L. Dunham	Equitable Building Association	New York
Snowden A. Fahnestock	Bertron, Griscom & Co.	New York
Marshall Field, III	Capitalist	Chicago
E.M. Herr	President, Westinghouse Electric & Mfg. Co.	Pittsburgh

J.R. Lovejoy	Vice President, General Electric Company	New York
John R. McCune	President, Union National Bank	Pittsburgh
Samuel McRoberts	Capitalist	New York
R.B. Mellon	President, Mellon National Bank	Pittsburgh
W.L. Mellon	President, Gulf Oil Co.	Pittsburgh
Theodore Pratt	Standard Oil Company	New York
Franklin D. Roosevelt	Vice President, Fidelity & Deposit Co.	New York
Philip N. Wrigley	Vice President, Wm. Wrigley Co.	Chicago
Owen D. Young	Vice President, General Electric Co.	New York

The initial board of directors included National City Bank vice president Samuel McRoberts,² William B. Joyce, president of National Surety Company—one of FDR's competitors in the bonding and surety business—and Benedict Crowell, former Assistant Secretary of War and chairman of the board of the Cleveland construction company Crowell & Little Construction. Snowden A. Fahnestock of Bertron, Griscom was the son of New York financier Gibson Fahnestock and a partner in the stock brokerage firm of Fahnestock & Company. Gibson's brother William Fahnestock, a partner in the same firm, was director of several major corporations including Western Union and, with Allen Dulles, of Gold Dust Corporation. David Goodrich, another subscriber, was chairman of the board of B.F. Goodrich Company and a director of American Metals Company of New Mexico.

It should be noted with care that this enterprise was a private venture where the risk and the rewards were taken by experienced and clear-sighted capitalists. No criticism can be made of the financing of this venture; the criticism lies in the manner in which it acquired its main asset, the German patents.

The president's report for the year 1922, issued on January 8, 1923, summarizes the A.I. C. achievements to that date.

The German Reparations Commission refused to allow construction of large airships in Germany, and there was a delay in the completion and test of the new apparatus

designed by the U.S. Bureau of Mines for the economical manufacture of helium gas, but it was considered that A.I.C. was within a few months of the time to appeal to the public for financial support. According to this report, the first stage of the work had been brought to a close by signing a contract on March 11, 1922 between the American Investigation Corporation and the Schuette-Lanz Company whereby the American Investigation Corporation secured the world patent rights on the Schuette designs and methods of construction for rigid airships. The contract provided for installment payments and included an agreement with Schuette-Lanz either to construct an airship or to provide the services of the experts to undertake construction in the U.S.

The company had "definitely determined through the Department of State that the Reparations Commission and Council of Ambassadors would not consent to the construction in Germany of the full sized ship considered by the American Investigation Corporation," and so Dr. Schuette was requested to visit the U.S. to reach a final agreement. The ultimate object, continues the report, is the establishment of the airship industry in the U.S. and "is never lost sight of; nevertheless obtaining the first ship from Germany at less cost and built by the best experts is highly desirable."

The importance of ensuring a supply of helium gas for airships was highlighted by the destruction of the British R. 38 and the Italian *Roma* airships. After consultation with the Helium Board and the chief chemist of the Bureau of Mines, a decision on the helium question was deferred until completion of the improved apparatus the Bureau was designing for the production of commercial helium. Under the terms of the agreement between the American Investigation Corporation and Washington engineer Hardesty and his associates, in addition to the \$20,000 provided to cover their work before the formation of the American Investigation Corporation, certain actual out-of-pocket expenses were to be repaid for assistance in organizing the corporation. The final agreement was, however, conditional upon the signing of a contract regarding the share which Mr. Hardesty and his associates were to receive in the American Investigation Corporation and any of its subsidiary companies in return for their promotion work: above all, it required that the German patents held on behalf of the American public by the Alien Property Custodian be released to the A.I.C.

POLITICS, PATENTS, AND LANDING RIGHTS

Consequently, the A.I.C. syndicate had a major hurdle to overcome before work could begin on commercial development of airships in the U.S. This political hurdle—to acquire the rights to the Schuette-Lanz airship construction patents—required the astute political assistance of FDR. These rights were German, but under the control of the U.S. Government. By U.S. law, seized alien property can be disposed of only by auction sale and competitive bidding. However, we find in the report of the president of A.I.C. dated May 26, 1922 that A.I.C. was then "the owner of the present Schuette-Lanz patents" and listed 24 patents and 6 patent applications originating in Germany, 6 applications

originating in England, and 13 patents and 6 applications originating in the United States. The report continued: "In the U.S. 7 patents are subject to return by the Alien Property Custodian. Through filing assignments all new U.S. patents are being issued directly in care of A.I.C." How, then, did the A.I.C. syndicate obtain the German patents held in trust by the U.S.? This is particularly important because no record exists of auctions or competitive bidding. The A.I.C. report notes only:

The interests of A.I.C. were protected by the collaboration in drawing the contracts and assignments of Mr. J. Pickens Neagle (Solicitor of the Navy Department) Franklin Roosevelt, Mr. Howe and Blackwood Brothers.

This certainly raises the question of the propriety of a U.S. Navy Department solicitor acting on behalf of a private syndicate. The German patents were sprung loose from the U.S. Government for A.I.C. by the personal intervention of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Let's see how he went about the job.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was former Assistant Secretary of the Navy, one of a series of Roosevelts to hold the job, and consequently had good political contacts in the Navy Department. In mid-1921 FDR began to probe among his old Navy friends on two questions: (1) the position of the Schuette patents and (2) the possibility of acquiring private use for the A.I.C. syndicate of the Lakehurst naval base for A.I.C. airships. On May 4, 1921 Admiral R.R. Byrd in the Office of Naval Operations acknowledged an invitation to visit FDR's estate at Campobello. Nine months later, on May 23, 1922, Commander E.S. Land, of the Navy Bureau of Aeronautics, also acknowledged an invitation to visit FDR when next in New York. Land added that there "appears to be little likelihood of my going to New York during the next three or four weeks. If you could advise me relative to the nature of your inquiries, I might be able to give you some information along the lines desired."

FDR replied to Commander Land in a letter marked *Personal*, but sent to the Navy Department, to the effect that his inquiry could not be made by telephone or letter. FDR then briefly reviewed the position of A.I.C. and stated that the company "is about to go ahead with the actual construction and operation of dirigibles," but needed to know more about the U.S. government's program for such craft: "I am not looking for any confidential information but merely such facts as I feel sure I could obtain without much difficulty were I able to go to Washington myself."

This information is, wrote FDR to Land, "for the good of the cause generally," and he then offered to defray Commander Land's expenses if he would visit New York. This apparently had little success because on June 1 FDR again requested the information and pushed even further: "Incidentally would there be any objection to our getting a copy of the Zeppelin contract? Theoretically they are all public documents."

In the final analysis, it was Pickens Neagle of the Judge Advocate Generals Office in the Navy who was the prime mover in obtaining the required German patents for A.I.C.; Neagle was obviously making himself useful to FDR in other areas, as well. On May 15, 1922 FDR wrote Neagle about Hardesty, the engineer-attorney handling the patent negotiations in Washington:

Both Mr. Fahnestock and I passed without question the very modest sum that Hardesty put in for you, [Neagle] and I feel sure that the Directors will approve of this when they meet, which will not be long now.

Navy Solicitor Neagle replied to this on June 16 to give FDR information about possible bonding business:

I am ashamed to mention so small a thing as the bond that would accompany a contract for \$29,000 but things are very dull in the Government contracting line just now. The Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company just received an award of contract for 8" gun forgings totaling a trifle under \$29,000. The bond will be for an amount equal to something like 15 to 20 percent of the amount of the contract.

Again, on August 9, 1922 Neagle wrote to Louis Howe and referred to FDR's Navy papers, which were apparently undergoing the customary examination within the department before release to FDR. FDR's problem was to stop the papers "going through the hands of file clerks or inquisitive people with little sense of responsibility or meddlesome novices." The Navy Department would not release the papers without proper examination, even after Neagles' personal intervention. Writes Neagle to FDR:

I didn't see any way in which I could induce Mr. Curtis to change his view on the subject so I left it in that condition with the mental reservation however that you will be down here soon yourself and perhaps shake him loose.

The file to this point suggests that Pickens Neagle, Solicitor in the office of the Judge Advocate General of the Navy was working more on behalf of FDR than the taxpayer and the Navy Department. The contents of this file then shift to the attempt to acquire use of the German patents for A.I.C.; these letters are no longer on navy stationery, but on plain paper, without a printed address but signed by Neagle. On February 16, 1922 a letter to Howe from Neagle relates that

our office this aft. (sic) returned to Aeronautics Bureau that suggested form of contract with endorsement saying the station might be leased to the A.I. C. and [Navy] employees furloughed for the corporation to employ.

Neagle added that, although navy officers could not direct and supervise A.I.C. employees, they could be detailed into private industry to learn the business of building airships. This private information is followed by a formal letter to Fahnestock of A.I.C. from Neagle (now wearing his official hat as Solicitor in the U.S. Navy) to confirm the fact that the navy was willing to lease the station and plant at Cape May, a permission revocable without notice. Another dated January 6, 1923 reports that Hardesty has signed a contract that "ought to be acceptable to the Corporation."

It is clear that the Schuette patents were transferred without public auction and competitive bidding, but by private agreement between the U.S. government and attorneys acting on behalf of a private company. This was a violation of the Trading with the Enemy Act.

The files also record another Navy Department employee rushing to the aid of FDR. A letter dated March 31, 1923 from M.N. McIntyre, head of the Navy News Bureau, to Louis Howe suggested that A.I.C. get hold of the "German airship being built for the Navy," as well as access to the naval base at Lakehurst. McIntyre is refreshingly open about his proposed political assistance: "If you will let me know where you stand on the Lakehurst proposition there may be something I can do to help 'grease' the ways. The same applies to the other suggestion."

We can establish from the files that FDR and his syndicate were able to call on sources of information and assistance within the Navy Department. Precisely how then did A.I.C. get control of the Schuette-Lanz patents? These were supposedly public property to be disposed of by competitive bidding. The Hardesty report of February 1921 explains the legal status of the patents and throws more light on their transfer.

The patents had been seized by the Alien Property Custodian and up to that time licensed only to the War and Navy Departments. An application was submitted January 10, 1921 by Fred Hardesty, submitting

the information that a corporation (presumably A.I.C.) was to be formed that needed the patents, but Hardesty denied "that the patents themselves are of great intrinsic value." In other words, Hardesty walked a tightrope. The A.I.C. had absolute need of the patents to protect themselves from outsiders. At the same time, argues Hardesty, the patents really had no great value. They are required, he wrote to the Alien Property Custodian, "to form a moral bulwark for us against aggression of outside parties." Hardesty argued that the public interest was vitally involved and that he would be "pleased to receive information as to the value that has been set on the patents, if their value has been appraised, and as to the terms of and conditions on which they might be sold to us."

Attached to this letter in the FDR files is a "Memorandum for Mr. Hardesty" on the Johann Schuette patents that appears to have originated in the Alien Property

Custodian's Office. The memorandum confirms the fact that the patents were held under the Trading with the Enemy Act of 1917, that the only right remaining to the German holder was the right to claim release, and that such claims must be settled as directed by Congress. It is unlikely, states the memorandum, that the patents would be sold by the Alien Property Custodian but, if the patents were offered for sale, "there would be little or no competition, as there are probably very few companies in existence or proposed that contemplate using them, and that therefore the prices offered would not be very high." The memorandum then gets to the crux of the problem facing A.I.C.:

The A.P.C. makes sales of patents, other than sales to the Government, only to American citizens at public sale to the highest bidder after public advertisement unless the President shall otherwise determine. Purchasing property from the A.P.C. for an undisclosed principal or for re-sale to a person not a citizen of the United States, or for the benefit of a person not a citizen of the United States is forbidden under severe penalty.

This leaves open the possibility that the Secretary of War or the Secretary of the Navy might recommend immediate sale to the President "as a matter of sound business policy in the public interest."

The syndicate then attempted to go the Presidential route, apparently with success. On February 4, 1921 FDR in New York wrote Hardesty in Washington, D.C., "I agree with you that we should do something immediately in regard to the Schuette patents, and at least make the try before the present administration goes out."

Then a memorandum of services rendered in the files records that on both February 9 and 17, 1921 FDR went to Washington and at least met with the Alien Property Custodian. Subsequently, Schuette granted power of attorney to Hardesty, and the patents were released by the Alien Property Custodian, although not immediately. The FDR files do not contain original signed documents on the release, only drafts of documents, but as the patents were ultimately released to A.I.C. it can be assumed that these working drafts are reasonably close to the final signed document. One document signed by both the Alien Property Custodian and German patentee Johann Schuette reads as follows:

It is hereby further understood and agreed by and between the parties hereto that the price or prices at which the above enumerated patents of Johann Schuette may be sold to the American Investigation Corporation by the Alien Property Custodian are and shall be considered only a nominal value of said patents fixed and agreed on by and between the parties hereto and the actual value thereof; and that the said agent shall give, execute, and deliver to the Alien Property Custodian an unqualified release by and on

the part of the said Johann Schuette and his said agent and their and each of their heirs and assigns and legal representatives of all claims, demands, etc.

It is clear from this document (1) that the Alien Property Custodian sold the patents to A.I. C., (2) that it charged A.I.C. only a "nominal price," (3) that there was no competitive bidding for the patents, and (4) that the former German holder Schuette was granted an interest either directly or indirectly. All four actions appear to be contrary to the requirements of the Trading with the Enemy Act of 1917 (see p. 000), even if there was Presidential authority for procedures (1) and (2).

Subsequently, on May 9, 1922 a contract was drawn between American Investigation Corporation and Johann Schuette. This paid Schuette \$30,000 in cash, with a further \$220,000 payable in monthly installments, with the last payment due not later than July 1, 1923. In the event of failure to pay by A.I.C., all rights in the patents would be turned over to Schuette. A stock allowance was granted Schuette, who in turn was to provide cooperation and technical assistance to A.I.C. There is also in the FDR files an internal memorandum that appears to be written on the typewriter normally used for FDR's letters; therefore, it is possibly a memo drawn up either by FDR or more probably by Louis Howe. This memorandum summarized the A.I.C. strategy. It lists "What we have to sell" and answers this question as follows:

1. The Schuette-Lanz patents, described as fundamental and needed by Ford's engineers also working on airship construction.
2. "A tentative contract to the Navy whereby over a million dollars in construction of a plant and building hangar are saved. This is our property as contract proposed is in exchange for license to use the Schuette patents by the Navy." In other words, A.I.C. not only was able to acquire the patents without public bidding in behind-the-scenes political maneuvers, but also acquired the right to sell them back to the Navy. This is the kind of deal most poor taxpayers don't even dream about, although they foot the bills in the end.
3. All the data, designs, and tests of the Schuette-Lanz patents.
4. An arrangement for production of helium.
5. "A list of stockholders comprised of men of public spirit and considerable means."
6. This wasn't enough, because the next section is headed "What we Need" and lists (1) funds and (2) work. The memo then proposes an amalgamation of A.I.C. work with that of Ford engineers.

We can summarize the FDR's American Investigation Corporation deal as follows:

First, the A.I.C. was able through the personal intervention of Franklin D. Roosevelt to obtain seized patents as a gift or at a nominal price. The law required that such seized patents be offered for public bidding and not for the advantage of the former German owner. In practice, they were released behind closed doors as a result of private understanding between FDR and the Alien Property Custodian, possibly with Presidential intervention, although no trace of such assistance can be found. These patents, previously described as of no value, then became the subject of a contract involving payment of \$250,000 to German citizen Schuette and the main asset of a company to promote airship construction in the U.S. On the face of the documents in the files, there is a prima facie violation of the law both by FDR and the Alien Property Custodian.

Second, these patents appear to have been released for the indirect benefit of a foreign party, a procedure subject to severe penalties under the law.

Third, the A.I.C. was able to obtain use of navy facilities valued at \$1 million and official information from within the Navy Department.

Fourth, the only risk taken by the Wall Street operators was to put the enterprise together. The patents were obtained nominally, the funds came from outside New York City, and the expertise was German or that of the Ford Motor Company. Franklin Delano Roosevelt provided the political leverage to put together a deal that was on the face of it illegal and certainly a long way from the "public trust" FDR and his associates were fond of promoting in their writings and speeches.

FDR IN THE VENDING MACHINE BUSINESS

Automatic postage stamp machine sales started in 1911, but were not really efficient outlets until development of the Shermack machine in the 1920s. In 1927 the Sanitary Postage Stamp Corporation was formed to market Shermack machines for the automatic dispensing of postage stamps, previously sold in stores in loose form that exposed the user, according to the firm's sales literature, to transmission of disease. The firm's board of directors consisted of the inventor Joseph J. Shermack, Edward S. Steinam, J.A. de Camp (120 Broadway), banker George W. Naumburg, A.J. Sach, Nathan S. Smyth, and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

By April 1927 the company was selling about 450 machine installations a week. According to a letter written by FDR to A.J. Sach, vice president of the company, there were major problems with collections; in fact, ten stamp locations had not been heard from in over six months, and cash was short. FDR made the eminently sensible suggestion that salesmen should stop selling for a week and spend the released time on cash collections. Apart from such occasional suggestions, FDR's role in Sanitary Postage Stamp was nominal. Henry Morgenthau, Jr. got him into it originally and even

paid the original subscription of \$812.50 for FDR's initial 100 shares: "You can send me a check for the same at your leisure." FDR mailed his check the same day. The sponsors issued FDR 3000 shares of common stock "in consideration of the services you have rendered," obviously for use of his name as a bait for investors.

FDR resigned in late 1928 upon his election as Governor of New York.

FDR also was director of CAMCO (Consolidated Automatic Merchandising Corporation), but never took an active part in its flotation. CAMCO was a holding company designed to take over 70 per cent of the outstanding capital stock of a number of companies, including Sanitary Postage Stamp Corporation, and is notable because the board of directors included, not only FDR, but Saunders Norwell, who from 1926 to 1933 was president of the Remington Arms Company. In 1933 Remington Arms was sold to the Du Pont Company. In Chapter 10 we will probe the Butler Affair, an abortive attempt to install a dictatorship in the White House. Both Remington Arms and Du Pont are named in the suppressed testimony of the Congressional investigation committee. Yet in 1928 we find FDR and Saunders Norvell as co directors in CAMCO.

GEORGIA WARM SPRINGS FOUNDATION

FDR's personal and highly commendable struggle to regain use of his legs after a 1921 polio attack led him to the mineral waters of Georgia Warm Springs. Regaining some strength, FDR decided to convert the springs, derelict and almost unused, into a business proposition to aid other polio victims.

Unfortunately, the precise source of the major funds used to develop Georgia Warm Springs cannot be determined from the FDR files as they exist today. The FDR folder on Georgia Warm Springs is relatively skimpy, and it is exceedingly unlikely that it contains all the papers relating to development of the project. The folder gives the appearance of having been screened before release to the Hyde Park archives. There is no public record of the funding for Georgia Warm Springs. Given FDR's tight personal finances during the 1920s, it is unlikely that the funds came from his personal resources. We do have some evidence for three sources of funds. First, it is more than likely that his mother, Mrs. James Roosevelt, was one. In fact, Eleanor Roosevelt wrote FDR, "Don't let yourself in for too much money and don't make Mama put in much, for if she lost she'd never get over it!"³ Second, Edsel B. Ford is reported to have contributed funds to build the enclosure of the swimming pool, but was not a trustee of the foundation. Third, and most important, the original property was owned by corporate socialist, George Foster Peabody. According to FDR's son, Elliott Roosevelt, there was a sizeable personal note on the property itself, and this note was probably held by Peabody:

On April 29, 1926, he acquired the derelict property, where Loyless was

running ever deeper into debt. At the peak of his obligations as the new proprietor, Father had precisely \$201,667.83 invested in the place in the form of a demand note, which was not completely paid off until after his death, and then only from a life insurance policy he had taken out in Warm Springs' favor. The \$200,000-plus represented more than two thirds of everything he owned. It was the only time he took such a monumental risk. Mother was terrified that if this went the way of so many of his business ventures, none of us boys could go to college, a fate which I, for one, was more than ready to face.⁴

It is significant that Elliott Roosevelt reports the existence of a \$200,000 demand note that was not paid off until FDR's death. It is a reasonable supposition, moreover, that the funds were put up by some or all of the trustees. This places FDR in the same position as Woodrow Wilson, beholden to his Wall Street creditors. As these trustees were among the most powerful men in Wall Street, the charge that FDR was "in the grip of the bankers" is at least plausible.

It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the funds for Georgia Warm Springs were put up, or were under the control of, the trustees of the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation and the associated Meriweather Reserve. The trustees of the foundation in 1934 and their main business affiliations are listed below:

Georgia Warm Springs Foundation: Trustees in 1934⁵

Name of Trustee ⁶	Chief Affiliations
Franklin D. Roosevelt	President of the United States of America
Basil O'Connor	Attorney, 120 Broadway, former law partner of FDR
Jeremiah Milbank	Director, Chase National Bank of N.Y.
James A. Moffett	Vice President & director, Standard Oil of New Jersey
George Foster Peabody	Original owner of the property and holder of the note on Georgia Warm Springs
Leighton McCarthy	Director of Aluminum, Ltd (Canadian subsidiary of ALCOA)
Eugene S. Wilson	President, American Telephone & Telegraph (195 Broadway)
William H. Woodin	Secretary of the Treasury under FDR
Henry Pope	Director of Link-Belt Company
Cason J. Callaway	President of Callaway Mills, Inc. of New York

The trustees of Georgia Warm Springs obviously tie FDR to Wall Street. The most prominent of these were Eugene Smith Wilson (1879-1973), a vice president of American Telephone and Telegraph of 195 Broadway, New York City. Wilson also held directorships in numerous other telephone companies, including Northwestern and Southwestern Bell and the Wisconsin Telephone Company. In 1919 he was attorney for Western Electric, then became counsel for A. T. & T. before appointment as vice president in 1920. Wilson had a long association with the campaign against polio, became associated with Franklin D. Roosevelt, and in the mid-1930s was a member of the investment committee of the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation. His fellow directors on A. T. & T. included John W. Davis, who turns up in the Butler Affair (see Chapter 10).

Another of the Georgia Warm Springs trustees was James A. Moffett, a vice president of Standard Oil of New Jersey. Walter Teagle of the same company was one of the key administrators of NRA.

Trustee Jeremiah Milbank was director of the Rockefeller-controlled Chase National Bank and the Equitable Trust Company.

Trustee William H. Woodin was a director of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York from 1926 to 1931 and was appointed Secretary of the Treasury by Franklin D. Roosevelt after strongly supporting FDR's 1932 election bid. Woodin resigned within six months, but because of ill health, not for any lack of interest in holding the Treasury position.

Trustee George Peabody has been identified in the previous volume⁷ and was prominently associated with the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

7. Sutton, *Bolshevik Revolution*, op. cit.

Footnotes

1. List dated Feb. 18, 1922 in FDR files.

2. Samuel McRoberts figures prominently in Sutton, *Bolshevik Revolution*, op. cit.

3. Elliott Roosevelt, *The Untold Story*, op. cit., p. 232.

4. Ibid.

5. Taken from letter dated March 5, 1932 from Fred Botts, Business Manager at Warm Springs, to FDR at The White House.
6. Trustees also included Frank C. Root, of Greenwich, Conn., Keith Morgan of New York City, and resident trustee Arthur Carpenter.
7. Sutton, *Bolshevik Revolution*, op. cit.

Chapter 5 Part II —The Genesis of Corporate Socialism

Making Society Work for the Few

While society is struggling toward liberty, these famous men who put themselves at its head are filled with the spirit of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They think only of subjecting mankind to the philanthropic tyranny of their own social inventions.

Frederic Bastiat, *The Law*, (New York: Foundation for Economic Education, 1972), p. 52

We have described Franklin D. Roosevelt's seven-year career on "the Street" that ended with his election as Governor of New York in 1928. This description was taken from FDR's own letter files. To avoid possible misinterpretation, portions of these letters were reproduced verbatim and at length. On the basis of these letters, there is no question that FDR used political influence almost exclusively to gain bonding business while vice president of Fidelity & Deposit Co.; that significant and questionable international financial and political links surface in the case of United European Investors and International Germanic Trust; and that his intimate associates ranged from Owen D. Young, president of General Electric, a member of the élitist financial establishment, to men described by an agent of the Proudfoot Agency as a "band of crooks."

There is one persistent theme running through FDR's method of doing business: he used the political route to an extraordinary degree. In other words, FDR employed for personal gain the police power of the state as implemented by regulatory agencies, by government regulation, and by government officials through his intercession, for example, with the Alien Property Custodian, the U.S. Navy, the Federal Reserve System, and the Insurance Superintendent of the State of New York. All these political contacts made while in public service gave FDR his competitive edge in business. These are political devices, not devices born of the market place. They are devices reflecting political coercion, not voluntary exchange in the free market.

The next four chapters comprising Part Two of this book expand upon this theme of politicization of business enterprise. First, we cast a wider net to formulate the thesis of corporate socialism and identify some prominent corporate socialists, mostly associated with FDR. Then we move back in time to the 1840's to one of FDR's ancestors, Assemblyman Clinton Roosevelt of New York and his early version of NRA. This scheme is compared to Baruch's War Industries Board in 1917, the operation of the Federal Reserve System, and the Roosevelt-Hoover American Construction Council of the 1920s. Finally, in the last chapter of this part we detail the financial investment of Wall Street in the New Deal.

THE ORIGINS OF CORPORATE SOCIALISM

Old John D. Rockefeller and his 19th century fellow-capitalists were convinced of one absolute truth: that no great monetary wealth could be accumulated under the impartial rules of a competitive laissez faire society. The only sure road to the acquisition of massive wealth was monopoly: drive out your competitors, reduce competition, eliminate laissez-faire, and above all get state protection for your industry through compliant politicians and government regulation. This last avenue yields a legal monopoly, and a legal monopoly always leads to wealth.

This robber baron schema is also, under different labels, the socialist plan. The difference between a corporate state monopoly and a socialist state monopoly is essentially only the identity of the group controlling the power structure. The essence of socialism is monopoly control by the state using hired planners and academic sponges. On the other hand, Rockefeller, Morgan, and their corporate friends aimed to acquire and control their monopoly and to maximize its profits through influence in the state political apparatus; this, while it still needs hired planners and academic sponges, is a discreet and far more subtle process than outright state ownership under socialism. Success for the Rockefeller gambit has depended particularly upon focusing public attention upon largely irrelevant and superficial historical creations, such as the myth of a struggle between capitalists and communists, and careful cultivation of political forces by big business. We call this phenomenon of corporate legal monopoly—market control acquired by using political influence—by the name of corporate socialism.

The most lucid and frank description of corporate socialism and its mores and objectives is to be found in a 1906 booklet by Frederick Clemson Howe, *Confessions of a Monopolist*.¹

Frederick Howe's role in the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and its aftermath was described in *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution*.² Howe also emerges in Roosevelt's New Deal as consumer counsel in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. So Howe's interest in society and its problems spans the early 20th century, from his association with Newton D. Baker, later Secretary of War, to communist Lincoln Steffens. As a special U.S. Commissioner, Howe made studies of municipal ownership of public utilities in England and in 1914 was appointed by President Wilson as U.S. Commissioner of Immigration.

What is the secret of making great wealth? Howe answers the question as follows: "Mr. Rockefeller may think he made his hundreds of millions by economy, by saving on his gas bills, but he didn't. He managed to get the people of the globe to work for him...."³

In brief, corporate socialism is intimately related to making society work for the few.

MAKING SOCIETY WORK FOR THE FEW

This is the significant theme in Howe's book, expressed time and time again, with detailed examples of the "let others work for you" system at work. How did Mr. Rockefeller and his fellow monopolists get the globe to work for them? It went like this, according to Howe:

This is the story of something for nothing—of making the other fellow pay. This making the other fellow pay, of getting something for nothing, explains the lust for franchises, mining rights, tariff privileges, railway control, tax evasions. All these things mean monopoly, and all monopoly is bottomed on legislation.

And monopoly laws are born in corruption. The commercialism of the press, or education, even of sweet charity, is part of the price we pay for the special privileges created by law. The desire of something for nothing, of making the other fellow pay, of monopoly in some form or other, is the cause of corruption. Monopoly and corruption are cause and effect.

Together, they work in Congress, in our Commonwealths, in our municipalities. It is always so. It always has been so. Privilege gives birth to corruption, just as the poisonous sewer breeds disease. Equal chance, a fair field and no favors, the "square deal" are never corrupt. They do not appear in legislative halls nor in Council Chambers. For these things mean labor for labor, value for value, something for something. This is why the little business man, the retail and wholesale dealer, the jobber, and the manufacturer are not the business men whose business corrupts politics.⁴

Howe's opposite to this system of corrupt monopoly is described as "labor for labor, value for value, something for something." But these values are also the essential hall marks of a market system, that is, a purely competitive system, where market clearing prices are established by impartial interaction of supply and demand in the market place. Such an impartial system cannot, of course, be influenced or corrupted by politics. The monopoly economic system based on corruption and privilege described by Howe is a politically run economy. It is at the same time also a system of disguised forced labor, called by Ludwig von Mises the *Zwangswirtschaft* system, a system of compulsion. It is this element of compulsion that is common to all politically run economies: Hitler's New Order, Mussolini's corporate state, Kennedy's New Frontier, Johnson's Great Society, and Nixon's Creative Federalism. Compulsion was also an element in Herbert Hoover's reaction to the depression and much more obviously in Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal and the National Recovery Administration.

It is this element of compulsion that enables a few—those who hold and gain from the legal monopoly—to live in society at the expense of the many. Those who control or

benefit from the legislative franchises and regulation and who influence the government bureaucracies at the same time are determining the rules and regulations to protect their present wealth, prey on the wealth of others, and keep out new entrants from their business. For example, to make the point clear, the Interstate Commerce Commission, created in 1880, exists to restrict competition in the transportation industry, not to get the best deal possible for shippers. Similarly, the Civil Aeronautics Board exists to protect the domestic aviation industry, not the airline traveler. For a current example, among hundreds, witness the CAB seizure in July 1974 of a Philippines Air Lines (PAL) DC-10 at San Francisco airport. What sin had PAL committed? The airline merely substituted a DC-10 plane, for which equipment CAB had not granted permission, for a DC-8. Who gained? The domestic U.S. airlines, because of less competition. Who lost? The traveler denied seats and a choice of equipment. Any doubts about whose side the CAB might be on were dispelled by an article a few weeks later in *The Wall Street Journal* (August 13, 1974) entitled "CAB Is an Enthusiastic Backer of Moves to Trim Airline Service, Increase Fares." This piece contained a gem by CAB vice chairman Whitney Gilliland: "We've had too much emphasis on passenger convenience in the past." Gilliland added that the CAB must be more tolerant of capacity-packed planes, "even if it may mean somebody has to wait a day to get a flight."

In brief, regulatory agencies are devices to use the police power of the state to shield favored industries from competition, to protect their inefficiencies, and to guarantee their profits. And, of course, these devices are vehemently defended by their wards: the regulated businessmen or, as we term them, "the corporate socialists."

This system of legal compulsion is the modern expression of Frederic Bastiat's dictum that socialism is a system where everyone attempts to live at the expense of everyone else. Consequently, corporate socialism is a system where those few who hold the legal monopolies of financial and industrial control profit at the expense of all others in society.

In modern America the most significant illustration of society as a whole working for the few is the 1913 Federal Reserve Act. The Federal Reserve System is, in effect, a private banking monopoly, not answerable to Congress or the public, but with legal monopoly control over money supply without let or hindrance or even audit by the General Accounting Office.⁵ It was irresponsible manipulation of money supply by this Federal Reserve System that brought about the inflation of the 1920s, the 1929 Depression, and so the presumed requirement for a Roosevelt New Deal. In the next chapter we shall examine more closely the Federal Reserve System and its originators. For the moment, let's look more closely at the arguments made by the Wall Street financier-philosophers to justify their "making society work for the few" credo.

THE CORPORATE SOCIALISTS ARGUE THEIR CASE

One can trace a literary path by which prominent financiers have pushed for national planning and control for their own benefit and that ultimately evolved into the Roosevelt New Deal.

In the years following the 1906 publication of Howe's *Confessions of a Monopolist*, Wall Street financiers made book-length literary contributions, none quite as specific as Howe, but all pushing for the legal institutions that would grant the desired monopoly and the control that flows from this monopoly. From these books, we can trace New Deal ideas and the theoretical base upon which corporate socialism later came to be justified. Two themes are common in these Wall Street literary efforts. First, that individualism, individual effort, and individual initiative are out of date and that "destructive" competition, usually termed "blind competition" or "dog-eat-dog competition" is outmoded, unwanted, and destructive of human ideals. Second, we can identify a theme that follows from this attack on individualism and competition to the effect that great advantages accrue from cooperation, that cooperation advances technology, and that cooperation prevents the "wastes of competition." It is then concluded by these financier philosophers that trade associations and ultimately economic planning—in other words, enforced "cooperation"—are a prime objective for responsible and enlightened modern businessmen.

Such themes of cooperation and rejection of competition are expressed in different ways and with varying degrees of lucidity. Businessmen are not persuasive writers. Their books tend to be turgid, superficially self-seeking, and somewhat weightily pedantic. A few such examples will, however, demonstrate how Wall Street corporate socialists made their case.

Bernard Baruch was the outstanding corporate socialist whose ideas we shall examine in the next chapter. After Baruch and the Warburgs, also discussed in the next chapter, the next most prolific writer was influential banker Otto Kahn of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.

Kahn is notable for his support of both the Bolshevik Revolution and Benito Mussolini, support which he concretized in such totalitarian expressions as, "The deadliest foe of democracy is not autocracy but liberty frenzied."⁶ On socialism, Otto Kahn stated his sympathy toward its objectives on many occasions. For instance, his address to the socialist League of Industrial Democracy in 1924 included the following:

Let me point out that such measures as, for instance, the progressive income tax, collective bargaining by employees, the eight-hour day, the governmental supervision and regulation of railroads and of similar natural monopolies or semi-monopolies, are approved by the sense of justice of the business community, provided the application of such measures is kept within the limits of reason, and that they would not be repealed by business if it had the power to repeal them.

What you Radicals and we who hold opposing views differ about, is not so much the end as the means, not so much what should be brought about as how it should and can be brought about, believing as we do, that rushing after the Utopian not only is fruitless and ineffectual, but gets into the way of, and retards, progress toward realizing attainable improvement.

With all due respect, I venture to suggest that Radicalism too often tends to address itself more to theoretical perfection than to concrete amelioration; to phantom grievances, or grievances of the past, which have lost their reality, rather than to actual matters of the day; to slogans, dogmas, professions, rather than to facts.⁷

A number of these financier-philosophers from Wall Street were trustees of the Brookings Institution in Washington D.C., responsible for many of the policy guides to achieve this desired system. Robert S. Brookings, founder of the Brookings Institution, is generally termed an economist, but Brookings himself wrote: "I certainly have no claim to that professional title. I write only as one who, through a long business experience of more than sixty years, has had much to do with manufacturing and distribution. . . ."⁸ In his self-described role of businessman, Brookings published three books: *Industrial Ownership*, *Economic Democracy*, and *The Way Forward*. In these three books, Brookings argues that classical political economy, as reflected in the work of Adam Smith and his school,

while logically convincing, was actually incomplete in that it made no allowance for the moral and intellectual development of man and his dependence on nationalism for its expression, so ably presented later by Adam Müller and Frederick List, or for the economic influence of mechanical production upon the relation of capital to labor.⁹

Consequently, but without presenting his evidence, Brookings rejects the free enterprise ideas of Adam Smith and accepts the statist ideas of List—also, by the way, reflected in the Hitlerian corporate state. From rejection of free enterprise Brookings finds it quite easy to deduce a "moral" system rejecting the market place and substituting an approximation to the Marxist labor theory of value. For example, Brookings writes:

A sound system of economic morality demands therefore that instead of our paying labor merely a market wage, the minimum necessary to secure its services, capital should receive the market wage necessary to secure its services, and the balance should go to labor and the consuming public.¹⁰

From this quasi-Marxist argument Brookings constructs, rather vaguely and without detailed support, the outlines of proposals needed to combat the "evils" of the prevailing market system. Of these proposals, "The first is the revision of the anti-trust laws in such a way as to permit extensive cooperation."¹¹ This, argues Brookings, would have two

effects: advance research and development and flatten out the business cycle. Just how these objectives follow from "cooperation" is not stated by Brookings, but he cites Herbert Hoover at length to support his argument, and particularly Hoover's article, "If Business Doesn't, Government Will."¹²

Then, like any good socialist, Brookings concludes: "Efficiently managed corporations have nothing to fear from intelligent public supervision designed to protect the public and the trade alike from grasping and intractable minorities."¹³ This is necessary because, Brookings argues elsewhere, statistics indicate that most businesses operate inefficiently, "So we know from sad experience that blind or ignorant competition has failed to make its reasonable contribution through earnings to our national economic needs."¹⁴

In 1932 Brookings emerged from his shell in *The Way Forward* to become even more outspoken about developments in Soviet Communism:

The verbal damning of communism now prevalently popular in the United States will get us nowhere. The decision between capitalism and communism hinges on one point. Can capitalism adjust itself to this new age? Can it move out from its old individualism, dominated by the selfish profit motive, and so create a new co-operative epoch with social planning and social control, that it can serve, better than it has, the welfare of all the people? If it can, it can survive. If it cannot, some form of communism will be forced upon our children. Be sure of that!¹⁵

And in the same book Brookings has good words to say about another forced labor system, Italian fascism:

Although Italy is an autocracy under the dictatorship of the Duce, every economic interest of the country is afforded opportunity for discussion and negotiation so that they may, by mutual agreement, arrive at a fair compromise of their differences. The government will not permit, however, either through lockouts or strikes, any interference with the productivity of the nation, and if, in the last analysis, the groups fail to agree among themselves, the government through its minister or the labor court determines the solution of all problems. In Italy as elsewhere, however, the autocracy of capital seems to exist, and the general feeling among the working classes is that government favors the employers.¹⁶

What then is preeminent in Brookings' writing is his predilection for any social system, communism, fascism, call it what you will, that reduces individual initiative and effort and substitutes collective experience and operation. What is left unsaid by Brookings and his fellow financier philosophers is the identity of the few running the forced labor collective.

It is implicit in their arguments that the operators of the system will be the corporate socialists themselves.

From the purely theoretical proposals of Brookings we can move to those of George W. Perkins, who combined parallel proposals with some effective, but hardly moral ways of putting them into practice.

George W. Perkins was the forceful, energetic builder of the great New York Life Insurance Company. Perkins was also, along with Kahn and Brookings, an articulate expounder of the evils of competition and the great advantages to be gained from ordered cooperation in business. Perkins preached this collectivist theme as one of a series of lectures by businessmen at Columbia University in December 1907. His speech was hardly a roaring success; biographer John Garraty claims that when it was over:

...The President of Columbia, Nicholas Murray Butler, hurried off without a word of congratulations, evidently believing, according to Perkins, that he had unwittingly invited a dangerous radical to Morningside Heights. For Perkins had attacked some of the basic concepts of competition and free enterprise.¹⁷

Garraty summarizes Perkins' business philosophy:

The fundamental principle of life is co-operation rather than competition — such was the idea that Perkins developed in his talk. Competition is cruel, wasteful, destructive, outmoded; co-operation, inherent in any theory of a well-ordered Universe, is humane, efficient, inevitable and modern.¹⁸

Again, as with Brookings, we find proposals for "elimination of waste" and more "planning" for material and human resources and the concept that big business has "responsibilities to society" and is more likely to act fairly toward labor than small business. These high-sounding phrases are, of course, impressive—particularly if New York Life Insurance had lived up to its social do-good sermons. Unfortunately, when we probe further, we find evidence of wrongdoing by New York Life Insurance and investigation of this wrongdoing by the State of New York, which found a decidedly antisocial ring about New York Life's corporate behavior. In 1905-06 the Armstrong Committee (the New York State Legislature Joint Committee on Investigation of Life Insurance) found that New York Life Insurance Company had been a liberal contributor to the Republican National Committee in 1896, 1900, and 1904. Without question, these financial contributions were to advance the interests of the company in political

circles. In 1905 John A. McCall, president of New York Life Insurance, was called before the New York investigating committee and proceeded to advance the idea that the defeat of Byran and free silver coinage was for him a *moral* issue. According to McCall, "....I consented to a payment to defeat Free Silver, not to defeat the Democratic party, but to defeat the Free Silver heresy, and thank God that I did it."¹⁹

At the same hearing the vice president of Mutual Life Insurance also advanced the interesting concept that business had a "duty" to "scotch" unwelcome ideas and policies. The history of corporate financing of politics has hardly maintained the principles of the Constitution and a free society. More specifically, there is a gross inconsistency between the social do-good principles of cooperation advanced by Perkins and his fellow businessmen and the contemporary antisocial behavior of his own New York Life Insurance Company.

In brief, the principles of corporate socialism are but a thin veneer for the acquisition of wealth by a few at the expense of the many.

We can now look profitably at the preaching of those financiers more intimately associated with Roosevelt and the New Deal. One such financier-philosopher who expressed his collectivist ideas in writing was Edward Filene (1860-1937) The Filenes were a family of highly innovative businessmen, owners of the large department store William Filene's Sons Co. in Boston. A vice president of Filene's became one of the three musketeers running the National Recovery Administration in 1933; the other two of the triumvirate were Walter Teagle, president of Standard Oil and John Raskob, vice president of Du Pont and General Motors.

From the turn of the century Edward Filene concerned himself with public affairs. He served as chairman of the Metropolitan Planning Commission of Boston, promoter of people's banks, and provided assistance to various cooperative movements. Filene was active in the Red Cross and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce; a founder of the League to Enforce Peace; a founder and later president of the Cooperative League, subsequently renamed the Twentieth Century Fund; and a member of the Foreign Policy Association and the Council on Foreign Relations. In Roosevelt's era Filene was chairman of the Massachusetts State Recovery Board and active in the 1936 campaign for FDR's reelection. Filene wrote several books, of which two, *The Way Out* (1924)²⁰ and *Successful Living in this Machine Age*, (1932),²¹ express his philosophical leanings. In *The Way Out*, Filene emphasizes the theme of reducing waste, and the shortsightedness of competition and stresses the value of cooperation between business and government. Filene summarizes his argument as follows:

Two things are clear. The first is that the business in order to be good

business must itself be conducted as a public service. The second is that the finest possible public service of business men is that rendered in and through the private businesses of the world.²²

This "public service is private business" theme is expanded in another of his books:

My own attitude is that business must undertake social planning, but neither for the purpose of snuffing out new theories nor of preserving old ones, but because there has been a social revolution. The old order has gone and by no possibility can we bring it back. We are living in a new world. It is a world in which mass production has related everybody to everybody; and our plans, therefore, must take everybody into consideration.²³

We also find in Filene "the road to peace is the balance of power" argument—a repeat of a 19th-century formula resurrected by Henry Kissinger in the 1970s and one that has always ultimately led to war rather than peace. Filene phrases his version as follows:

No wonder there was war. Peace, it was soon discovered, could be maintained only by a balance of power between the larger competitors, and that balance of power was frequently upset. Eventually the whole impossible situation exploded in the greatest war of human history. The World War did not cause the world change which we have lately been noting. It was, rather, one of the phenomena of that change, just as the French Revolution was a phenomenon of the First Industrial Revolution.²⁴

This theme of promotion of the public interest as a matter of primary benefit to business itself is also found in Myron C. Taylor, chairman of United States Steel Company. The public interest, Taylor argues, needs cooperation by business for rational production. The blindness of big business is clear when Taylor denies this would also be restraint of trade. Taylor omits to explain how we can adjust production to consumption without compulsion of those who may not want to cooperate. Taylor summarizes his proposals as follows:

The point, then, is to discover what we as a nation possess and to learn to use it rather than go out in search of the new only because it is new. The primary responsibility is on industry to find ways to promote the public interest and the interests of its own producers, employees, distributors, and customers, by making and carrying out whatever constructive plans may be permissible under the present laws, acting openly and, so far as possible, in cooperation with the Government. I confess I find it extremely hard to believe that constructive, cooperative plans sincerely undertaken by a basic industry for rationally adjusting production to demand in that industry, and

which avoid any attempt artificially to fix or control prices, can be fairly regarded as in restraint of trade and commerce. For the sole effect would be to remove vital impairments of production, trade, and commerce, and to promote the public interests.²⁵

The Standard Oil contribution to this liturgy is expressed by Walter C. Teagle, president of Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and appointed by President Roosevelt to a top position in his NRA. Teagle phrases his version of corporate socialism as follows:

The ills of the oil industry are peculiar to that industry and require peculiar remedies. These are modification of anti-trust laws, cooperation among producers, and the exercise of the policing power of the States.²⁶

More bluntly than the others, Teagle wants the police power of the State to enforce voluntary cooperation:

Voluntary cooperation within the industry is not sufficient to remedy its ills. It would not be sufficient even if legal restrictions on cooperation were removed, although tremendous progress would result from the removal of such restrictions.

To protect the correlative rights of producers and to enforce adequate conservation laws the police power of the State must be employed. This is a matter for State, rather than Federal action, but cooperation among various States and among the operating units of the industry will also be needed if production in the country at large is to be limited to the nation's markets. The solution of the problem therefore depends upon voluntary cooperation within the industry, upon exercise of the police power of the State, and upon cooperation among the various States concerned and among unites(sic) of the industry in the different States. To permit this both State and Federal anti-trust laws will need to be revised.²⁷

These extracts reflect the basic outlook of our Wall Street financier philosophers. These were not minor figures on the Street. On the contrary, they were the powerful and influential elements and in significant cases associated with Roosevelt and the New Deal. Otto Kahn was a prime mover in the Federal Reserve System. Lamont and Perkins were key figures in the banking and insurance fields. Businessman Brookings gave his name and money to the influential research institute that produced the reports upon which much policy came to be based. Louis Kirstein, a vice president of Filene's firm, and Walter Teagle of Standard Oil became two of the three dominant men who ran the National Recovery Administration under Bernard Baruch's protégé Hugh Johnson. Bernard Baruch was probably the most prestigious Wall Streeter of all time, perhaps even exceeding in influence both Morgan and Rockefeller. We will examine Baruch and

the Warburgs next.

What was the philosophy of the financiers so far described? Certainly anything but laissez-faire competition, which was the last system they envisaged. Socialism, communism, fascism or their variants were acceptable. The ideal for these financiers was "cooperation," forced if necessary. Individualism was out, and competition was immoral. On the other hand, cooperation was consistently advocated as moral and worthy, and nowhere is compulsion rejected as immoral. Why? Because, when the verbiage is stripped away from the high-sounding phrases, compulsory cooperation was their golden road to a legal monopoly. Under the guise of public service, social objectives, and assorted do-goodism it is fundamentally "Let society go to work for Wall Street."

Footnotes

1. Frederic C. Howe, *Confessions of a Monopolist* (Chicago: Public Publishing Co. 1906). The sponsor of Howe's book was the same publisher who in 1973 put out a collectivist dirge by John D. Rockefeller III entitled *The Second American Revolution*.
2. Sutton, *Bolshevik Revolution*, op. cit.
3. Howe, op. cit., p. 145.
4. Howe, op. cit., pp. V-VI.
5. A very limited audit of the Federal Reserve System was voted by Congress in 1974.
6. Otto H. Kahn, *Frenzied Liberty: The Myth of a Rich Man's War*, Address at University of Wisconsin, Jan. 14, 1918, p. 8.
7. Otto H. Kahn, *Of Many Things*, (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1925), p. 175.
8. R. S. Brookings, *Economic Democracy*, (New York: Macmillan, 1929), p. xvi.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. xxi-xxii.
10. R. S. Brookings, *Industrial Ownership* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), p. 28.

11. Ibid., p. 44.
12. The Nation's Business, June 5, 1924, pp. 7-8.
13. Brookings, Industrial Ownership, op. cit., p. 56.
14. Brookings, Economic Democracy, op. cit., p. 4
15. R. S. Brookings, The Way Forward (New York: Macmillan, 1932), p. 6.
16. Ibid., p. 8.
17. John A. Garraty, Right Hand Man: The Life of George W. Perkins, (New York: Harper & Row, n.d.), p. 216.
18. Ibid.
19. Quoted in Louise Overacker, Money in Elections, (New York: Macmillan, 1932), p. 18.
20. Edward A. Filene, The Way Out, (A Forecast of Coming Changes in American Business and Industry) (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1924).
21. Edward A. Filene, Successful Living in this Machine Age (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1932).
22. Filene, The Way Out, op. cit., p. 281.
23. Filene, Successful Living in This Machine Age, op. cit., p. 269.
24. Ibid., p. 79.
25. From Samuel Crowther, A Basis for Stability, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1932), p. 59.
26. Ibid., p. 111
27. Ibid., p. 113

CHAPTER 6

Prelude to the New Deal

Whichever party gains the day, tyrants or demagogues are most sure to take the offices.

Assemblyman Clinton Roosevelt of New York, 1841.

The full story of the construction of corporate socialism in the United States, as envisaged by the financier-philosophers identified in the previous chapter, is beyond the scope of this book, but we can gain greater perspectives through a brief look at a few facets of the historical process: for example, Clinton Roosevelt's system a century before FDR, Bernard Baruch's War Industries Board, and Paul Warburg's Federal Reserve System.

In 1841 FDR's distant cousin, Assemblyman Clinton Roosevelt of New York, proposed a scheme resembling the New Deal for economic planning and control of society by the few. Under President Woodrow Wilson in 1918 Bernard Baruch, corporate socialist *par excellence*, followed the broad outline of the Roosevelt scheme, almost certainly unknowingly and probably attributable to some unconscious parallelism of action, when he established the War Industries Board, the organizational forerunner of the 1933 National Recovery Administration. Some of the 1918 WIB corporate elite appointed by Baruch—Hugh Johnson, for example—found administrative niches in Roosevelt's NRA. In 1922 then-Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover an up and coming Wall Streeter Franklin D. Roosevelt joined forces to promote trade associations, implementing Bernard Baruch's postwar economic planning proposals. Shortly thereafter, former socialist editor Benito Mussolini marched on Rome and established—with liberal help from the J.P. Morgan Company—the Italian corporate state whose organizational structure is distinctly reminiscent of Roosevelt's NRA. In the United States glorification of Mussolini and his Italian achievements was promoted by the ever-present financiers Thomas Lamont, Otto Kahn, and others. We will mention only briefly Wall Street involvement with both Bolshevik Russia and Hitler's Germany—both totalitarian states governed by a self-appointed elite—as full treatment of these aspects is covered in other volumes.¹ In brief, construction of FDR's National Recovery Administration was but one facet of a wider historical process—construction of economic systems where the few could profit at the expense of the many, the citizen-taxpayer-in-the-street—and all of course promoted under the guise of the public good, whether it was Stalin's Russia, Mussolini's Italy, Hitler's Germany, or Roosevelt's New Deal.

ASSEMBLYMAN CLINTON ROOSEVELT'S NRA—1841

New York Assemblyman Clinton Roosevelt was a 19th-century cousin of Franklin Delano

Roosevelt and incidentally also related to President Theodore Roosevelt, John Quincy Adams, and President Martin Van Buren. Clinton Roosevelt's only literary effort is contained in a rare booklet dated 1841.² In essence this is a Socratic discussion between author Roosevelt and a "Producer" presumably representing the rest of us (i.e., the many). Roosevelt proposes a totalitarian government along the lines of George Orwell's 1984 society, where all individuality is submerged to a collective run by an elitist aristocratic group (i.e., the few) who enact all legislation. Roosevelt demanded ultimate, but not immediate, abandonment of the Constitution

P. [Producer] But I ask again: Would you at once abandon the old doctrines of the Constitution?

A. [Author] Not by any means. Not any more than if one were in a leaky vessel he should spring overboard to save himself from drowning. It is a ship put hastily together when we left the British flag, and it was then thought an experiment of very doubtful issue.³

This early expression of Rooseveltian family skepticism toward the Constitution brings to mind the Supreme Court rejection in October 1934 (*Schechter Poultry Corp. v. U.S.*) of another Rooseveltian departure, an "unfettered" departure according to the court, from the rules of a constitutional society: the National Recovery Act, itself an uncanny replica of Clinton Roosevelt's 1841 program for a collective economy.

The earlier Rooseveltian system depended "First, on the art and science of cooperation. This is to bring the whole to bear for our mutual advantage."⁴ It is this cooperation, i.e., the ability to bring the whole to bear for the interest of the few, that is, as we have seen, the encompassing theme of the writings and preachings of Otto Kahn, Robert Brookings, Edward Filene, Myron Taylor, and the other financier-philosophers discussed in Chapter 5. In the Roosevelt schema each man rises through specified grades in the social system and is appointed to that class of work to which he is best suited, choice of occupation being strictly circumscribed. In the words of Clinton Roosevelt:

P. Whose duty will it be to make appointments to each class?

A. The Grand Marshal's.

P. Who will be accountable that the men appointed are the best qualified?

A. A Court of physiologists, Moral Philosophers, and Farmers and Mechanics, to be chosen by the Grand Marshal and accountable to him.

P. Would you constrain a citizen to submit to their decisions in the selection of a calling?

A. No. If any one of good character insisted, he might try until he found the occupation most congenial to his tastes and feelings.⁵

Production in the system had to be equated with consumption, and the handling of

"excesses and deficiencies" reflected the ideas pursued in the Swope Plan,⁶ the literary base of Roosevelt's NRA. The system is certainly akin to that used in Bernard Baruch's War Industries Board during World War I. This is how Clinton Roosevelt describes the duties of the Marshal of Creation, whose job it is to balance production and consumption:

P. What is the duty of the Marshal of the Creating or Producing order?

A. It is to estimate the amount of produce and manufactures necessary to produce a sufficiency in each department below him. When in operation, he shall report excesses and deficiencies to the Grand Marshal.

P. How shall he discover such excesses and deficiencies?

A. The various merchants will report to him the demand and supplies in every line of business, as will be seen hereafter.

P. Under this order are agriculture, manufactures and commerce, as I perceive. What then is the duty of the Marshal of Agriculture?

A. He should have under him four regions, or if not, foreign commerce must make good the deficiency.

P. What four regions?

A. The temperate, the warm, the hot region and the water region.

P. Why divide them thus?

A. Because the products of these different regions require different systems of cultivation, and are properly subject to different minds.⁷

Then there is a Marshal of Manufacturers overseeing the whole system—similar to Baruch's position as economic dictator in 1918 and Hugh Johnson's position as Administrator of the National Recovery Administration in 1933. The Marshal's functions are described by Clinton Roosevelt as follows:

P. What are the duties of the Marshal of Manufacturers?

A. He shall divide men into five general classes, according to the printed diagram.

1st. The manufacturers of all the means of defence against the weather.

2d. All kinds of viands.

3d. Metals and minerals.

4th. Chemicals.

5th. Machinery.

All these have on the printed diagrams, banners, with a glory on one side and an appropriate motto on the reverse, showing the advantage each class is to all others: and by the way, we would remark, this should be universally adopted, to give a just direction to man's love of glory.

By a reference to the chart, and what has been before observed, the duties of the officers under this department will all be obvious.

The industrial categories of 1841 are not of course precisely the categories of 1930, but a generalized similarity can be traced. The 1st division is clothing and fabrics, limited in 1841 to cotton, wool, and linen, but extended today to synthetic materials, including plastics and fibers. The 2nd division is that devoted to foodstuffs. The 3rd division is devoted to raw materials, and the 4th division includes medicines. The 5th is machinery. Today the 5th division comprises the many subdivisions of electronics, mechanical and civil engineering, but the five categories could be utilized to divide a modern economy. Clinton Roosevelt's society can be summed in his phrase, "The system should rule, and the system should look chiefly to the general good."

BERNARD BARUCH'S WARTIME DICTATORSHIP

While the Federal Reserve System and its private legal monopoly of the money supply has been a fount of wealth for its operators, the ultimate goal of making society work for the few as outlined by Frederick Howe and Clinton Roosevelt can be brought about only by planned control of the whole economy, and this requires compulsory adherence of the many smaller entrepreneurs to the dictates of the few deciding the plans to be followed.

The genesis of Roosevelt's NRA, a system that included compulsory adherence by small entrepreneurs to a plan devised by big business, can be traced from Bernard Baruch's U. S. War Industries Board, established and elaborated as an emergency wartime measure. In 1915, before the U.S. entered World War I, Howard E. Coffin, then chairman of General Electric, headed the U.S. Committee on Industrial Preparedness. In company with Bernard Baruch and Daniel Willard of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Coffin was also a member of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense. In 1915 Bernard Baruch was invited by President Woodrow Wilson to design a plan for a defense mobilization committee. This Baruch plan subsequently became the War Industries Board, which absorbed and replaced the old General Munitions Board. Margaret L. Coit, Baruch's biographer, describes the War Industries Board as a concept similar to cooperative trade associations, a device long desired by Wall Street to control the unwanted rigors of competition in the market place:

Committees of industry, big business and small business, both represented in Washington, and both with Washington representation back home—this could be the backbone of the whole structure.⁸

By March 1918 President Wilson acting without Congressional authority, had endowed Baruch with more power than any other individual had been granted in the history of the United States. The War Industries Board, with Baruch as its chairman, became responsible for building all factories and for the supply of all raw material, all products, and all transportation, and all its final decisions rested with chairman Bernard Baruch. In brief, Baruch became economic dictator of the United States, or "Marshal of

Manufacturers" in Clinton Roosevelt's scheme. Yet, as Margaret Coit points out, "... the creation of this office was never specifically authorized by an Act of Congress."⁹

So by the summer of 1918 Baruch, with extraordinary and unconstitutional powers, had, in his own words, "finally developed a scheme of positive 'control' over the major portion of the industrial fabric... Success bred courage for more success, and trade after trade was taken under control with an increasing willingness on the part of the interests affected."¹⁰

At the time of the Armistice the W.I.B. comprised Baruch (chairman), Alexander Legge of International Harvester (vice chairman), with E.B. Parker and R.S. Brookings (whose ideas we have already examined) in charge of price fixing. Assistants to the chairman were: Herbert Bayard Swope, brother of Gerard Swope of General Electric; Clarence Dillon of the Wall Street firm Dillon, Read & Co.; Harrison Williams; and Harold T. Clark.¹¹

Baruch's final report on W.I.B. activity was much more than a history of its operations; it was also a specific plan and recommendation for economic planning in peacetime. Baruch was not content merely to summarize the lessons to be learned for planning in war or for industrial preparedness in time of uneasy peace. On the contrary, Baruch's conclusions were directed, in his own words, to the "industrial practices of peace" and to make recommendations "relating to the business practices of normal times." The bulk of the conclusions relate to change-over of a planned wartime economic system to a planned peacetime economic system, and even the suggestions for wartime practice are related to peacetime functions. Baruch suggested that the most important "direct war lessons to be derived" from the operation of the War Industries Board were:

1. The establishment of a peacetime skeleton organization with 50 commodity divisions, meeting to keep abreast of the development of industry and develop information. The thrust of this proposal was that the information needed for peacetime planning should be collected and that the direction of the organization should stem from large-scale or major industry.
2. That the government "should devise some system for protecting and stimulating internal production of certain raw materials used in war," and
3. That war-related industries should be encouraged by the government to maintain skeleton organizations for wartime use.

Apart from these quite elementary suggestions, Baruch is exclusively concerned in the report with peacetime "planning." First we are presented with the canard that, in some unstated way, "the processes of trade" have changed and are now forced to give way before "certain new principles of supervision." This non sequitur is followed by the statement:

We have been gradually compelled to drift away from the old doctrine of Anglo-American law, that the sphere of Government should be limited to preventing breach of contract, fraud, physical injury and injury to property, and that the Government should exercise protection only over non competent persons.

It is necessary, writes Baruch, for government "to reach out its arm" to protect "competent individuals against the discriminating practices of mass industrial power." While Baruch points to Federal control of the railroads and the merchant fleet, he does not state why the representatives of big business would be the best fitted to exercise this control. In other words, *why* the fox is proposed as the most competent being to run the chicken coop is left unstated. Baruch then slashes at the Sherman and Clayton anti-trust laws on the grounds that these statutes are merely efforts to force industry into the mold of "simpler principles sufficient for the conditions of a bygone day," and lauds the achievement of the War Industries Board because it had constructed hundreds of trade associations controlling prices and methods of distribution and production:

Many businessmen have experienced during the war, for the first time in their careers, the tremendous advantages, both to themselves and to the general public, of combination, of cooperation and common action with their natural competitors.

If these cooperative attributes are not continued, argues Baruch, then businessmen will be tempted "and many of them will be unable to resist" to conduct "their business for private gain with little reference to general public welfare." On the other hand, trade associations can be of the greatest public benefit to achieve the desired end of cooperation. Baruch concludes:

The question, then is what kind of Government organization can be devised to safeguard the public interest while these associations are preserved to carry on the good work of which they are capable.

Baruch, like any good socialist, proposes government organizations to develop these principles of cooperation and coordination.

If the reader will shed for a moment the idea of a mutual antagonism between communism and capitalism, he will readily see in the writing of Bernard Baruch the basic objectives of Karl Marx writing in *The Communist Manifesto*. What is different between the two systems are the names of the elitist few running the operation known as state planning; the vanguard of the proletariat in Karl Marx is replaced by the vanguard of big business in Bernard Baruch.

Who would gain from Baruch's proposal? The consumer? Not at all, because consumer interests are *always* protected by free competition in the market place, where goods and services are produced at the least cost, in the most efficient manner, and the consumer is given maximum choice among competing producers. The gainers from Baruch's proposals would be the few who control major industrial sectors—particularly iron and steel, raw materials, electrical goods, that is, those industries already well established and fearful of competition from more enterprising newcomers. In other words, the gainers from his proposal would be Bernard Baruch and the Wall Street coterie that effectively controls big business through its interlocking directorships. The gut issue then is: who benefits from these proposals for trade associations and government coordination of industry? The principal, indeed the only major benefactors—apart from the swarms of academic advisers, bureaucrats, and planners—would be the financial elite in Wall Street.

So here we have, in Baruch's own words and ideas, an implementation of Frederic Howe's injunction to "make society work for you," the monopolist. This is also in the form of a proposal comparable to Clinton Roosevelt's system. There is no evidence that Baruch had heard of Clinton Roosevelt. There was no need for him to have done so; the advantages of restraint of trade and opportunity have always been obvious to the already established enterprise. It will therefore come as no surprise to find Bernard Baruch at the very core of the Roosevelt NRA, which itself parallels many of Baruch's post-war proposals, and who had a \$200,000 investment in the election of FDR. It explains why Baruch's World War I personnel turn up in the New Deal. General Hugh Johnson, for example, spent the 1920s studying industrial organization at Baruch's expense and emerged in 1933 as boss of the National Recovery Administration. It also explains why Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a Wall Streeter himself for much of the 1920s, was cofounder with Herbert Hoover—another Wall Streeter in the 1920s—of the first of the trade associations proposed by Baruch, the American Steel Construction Association, discussed in the next chapter.

Parallel to Bernard Baruch's ideas, which came to fruition in the NRA, there is a much more successful contemporary example of corporate socialism in practice: the Federal Reserve System.

PAUL WARBURG AND CREATION OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

Although many had a hand, or thought they had, in fashioning the Federal Reserve legislation, essentially the system was the brain child of one man: Paul Warburg, brother of Max Warburg, whom we met in Chapter 3. Paul Moritz Warburg (1868-1932) descended from the German banking family of Oppenheim. After early training in the offices of Samuel Montagu & Co. in London and the Banque Russe Pour le Commerce Etranger in Paris, Warburg entered the family banking house of M.M. Warburg & Co. in Hamburg. In 1902 Warburg became a partner in the New York banking house of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. while continuing as a partner in Warburg's of Hamburg. Five years later, in

the wake of the financial panic of 1907, Warburg wrote two pamphlets on the U.S. banking system: *Defects and Needs of our Banking System* and *A Plan for a Modified Central Bank*.¹²

In the years after 1907, Warburg lost no opportunity to speak and write publicly about the need for banking and currency reform in the United States, and in 1910 he formally proposed a United Reserve Bank of the United States. This plan developed into the Federal Reserve System, and Warburg was appointed by President Woodrow Wilson a member of the first Federal Reserve Board. Major criticism of Warburg erupted during World War I because of brother Max's role in Germany, and he was not reappointed to the Board in 1918. However, from 1921 to 1926, after criticism had abated, Warburg became a member of the Advisory Council of the Federal Reserve Board and served as its president from 1924 to 1926.

After passage of the 1913 Federal Reserve Act, Warburg and his banking associates promptly set about using the legal banking monopoly for their own ends and purposes, as suggested by Frederic Howe. In 1919 Warburg organized the American Acceptance Council and served as chairman of its executive committee in 1919-20 and as its president in 1921-22. Then in 1921 Warburg organized and became chairman of the private International Acceptance Bank, Inc. while still serving on the Advisory Council of the Federal Reserve Board. In 1925 Warburg added two more private acceptance banks: the American and Continental Corp. and the International Acceptance Trust Co. These banks were affiliated with the Warburg-controlled Bank of the Manhattan Company. As an aside it may be noted that Paul Warburg was also a director of the American IG Chemical Corp., the American subsidiary of IG Farben in Germany. I.G. Farben was prominent in bringing Hitler to power in 1933 and manufactured the Zyklon-B gas used in Nazi concentration camps. Warburg was a founding member of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, a propaganda organization established in 1930, a director of the prestigious Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., and a trustee of the Brookings Institution.

But it was through a virtual monopoly of U.S. acceptance banking, achieved by the International Acceptance Bank Inc. and its affiliated units, that Warburg was able to get society to go to work for the Warburgs and their banking friends. Revisionist historian Murray Rothbard has examined the origins of the 1920s inflation that led to the collapse of 1929 and makes this pertinent observation:

While purchase of U.S. securities has received more publicity, bills bought were at least as important and indeed more important than discounts. Bills bought led the inflationary parade of Reserve credit in 1921 and 1922, were considerably more important than securities in the 1924 inflationary spurt, and equally important in the 1927 spurt. Furthermore, bills bought alone continued the inflationary stimulus in the fatal last half of 1928.¹³

What were these "bills bought" pinpointed by Rothbard as the key culprit of the 1929 depression? Bills bought were acceptances, and almost all were bankers acceptances.

Who created the acceptance market in the United States, largely unknown before 1920? Paul Warburg.

Who gained the lions' share of this acceptance business at artificially low subsidized rates? The International Acceptance Bank, Inc.

Who was the International Acceptance Bank, Inc? Its chairman was Paul Warburg, with Felix Warburg and James Paul Warburg as co-directors. However, a closer look at the make-up of the banks (see below page 95) suggests that it was a vehicle representing the financial élite of Wall Street.

Did the Warburgs and their Wall Street friends know where their financial policy would lead? In other words, did their financial policies of the 1920s have elements of deliberation? There exists a memorandum by Paul Warburg that clearly notes that banks had the capability to prevent inflation:

If the Government and the banks of the United States were helpless automatons, inflation, no doubt, would have to ensue. But it is insulting our banks to have the impression go out that they should not be capable of cooperating in some common plan of protection such, for instance, as keeping all cash reserves higher than required by the law, if indeed such a step should become advisable for the greater safety of the country.¹⁴

Consequently, Rothbard quite rightly concludes:

Surely, Warburg's leading role in the Federal Reserve System was not unconnected with his reaping the lion's share of benefits from its acceptance policy.¹⁵

In brief, the policy of creating acceptances at subsidized artificial rates was not only inflationary, but was the most important factor, apparently a deliberate banking policy, leading to the inflation of the 1920s and the ultimate collapse in 1929, thus making FDR's New Deal or national economic planning appear necessary. Further, this was, as Rothbard states, "...the grant of special privilege to a small group at the expense of the general public." In other words, Wall Street made American society go to work for a financial oligopoly.

Warburg's revolutionary plan to get American society to go to work for Wall Street was astonishingly simple. Even today, in 1975, academic theoreticians cover their

blackboards with meaningless equations, and the general public struggles in bewildered confusion with inflation and the coming credit collapse, while the quite simple explanation of the problem goes un discussed and almost entirely un comprehended. The Federal Reserve System is a legal private monopoly of the money supply operated for the benefit of a few under the guise of protecting and promoting the public interest.

Revolutionary? Yes indeed! But as one of Warburg's admiring biographers commented:

Paul M. Warburg is probably the mildest-mannered man that ever personally conducted a revolution. It was a bloodless revolution: he did not attempt to rouse the populace to arms. He stepped forth armed simply with an idea. And he conquered. That is the amazing thing. A shy, sensitive man, he imposed his idea on a nation of a hundred million people.¹⁶

How did this revolution of Warburg's differ from socialist revolution? Only in the fact that under socialism, once the revolution is achieved and the power of the state gathered into the right ideological hands, the accrued personal rewards are not usually as substantial — although the fiefdoms carved out by national socialist Hitler and the modern Soviets may challenge this observation—nor are the results so veiled. The monetary dictatorship of the Soviets is obvious. The monetary dictatorship of the Federal Reserve System is muted and evaded.

We should then take a closer look at the International Acceptance Bank, the vehicle used for this revolutionary exploitive maneuver because it provides valid signals that Wall Street would also have a real interest in national economic planning and an FDR type of New Deal.

THE INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE BANK, INC.

The bank was founded in 1921 in New York and affiliated with Warburg's Bank of the Manhattan Company. However, the board of directors suggests that the most important elements in Wall Street also had a significant interest and control in and profited from the International Acceptance Bank. Further, we find a striking link-up between its affiliated financial institutions and a general scheme to establish corporate socialism in the United States.

As we have noted, Paul M. Warburg was chairman of the board: his brother Felix, also a partner in Kuhn Loeb & Co., and his son James P. Warburg were co directors. The vice chairman of the board was John Stewart Baker, also president and director of the Bank of Manhattan Trust Co. and International Manhattan Co., as well as chairman of the executive committee and director of the Manhattan Trust Co. Baker was also director of the American Trust Co. and the New York Title and Mortgage Co.

F. Abbot Goodhue was president and director of International Acceptance Bank, on the board of the other Warburg banks, and a director of the First National Bank of Boston. Other directors of the International Acceptance Bank were Newcomb Carlton, director of the Rockefeller-controlled Chase National Bank, the Morgan-controlled Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., and other such major companies as the American Express Co., the American Sugar Refining Co., and the American Telegraph and Cable Co. Newcomb Carlton was also a director of American Telegraph and Cable and a director of American International Corporation, a company intimately involved with the Bolshevik Revolution.¹⁷ Another director of International Acceptance Bank who was also a director of American International Corp. was Charles A. Stone, located at 120 Broadway and a director of the Federal Reserve Bank from 1919 to 1932. Bronson Winthrop was also a director of both American International Corp. and International Acceptance Corp. Thus, three directors of International Acceptance Bank had interlocking directorships with American International Corp., the key vehicle in U.S. involvement in the Bolshevik revolution.

Another director of International Acceptance Bank was David Franklin Houston, who was also a director of the Carnegie Corp., the Morgan-controlled Guaranty Trust Co., U.S. Steel, and A.T. & T., as well as president of the Mutual Life Insurance Co. Other directors of I.A.B. included Philip Stockton, president of the First National Bank of Boston, and a director of A.T. & T., General Electric, International Power Securities, and many other companies; William Skinner, director of Irving Trust Co., Equitable Life Assurance, and the Union Square Savings Bank; Charles Bronson Seger, director of Aviation Corp., Guaranty Trust Co., and W.A. Harriman; Otto V. Schrenk, director of Agfa Ansco Corp., Krupp Nirosta, and Mercedes Benz Co.; and Henry Tatnall, director of the Girard Trust Co. Paul Warburg was also a director of Agfa Ansco, Inc., a firm 60 per cent owned by I. G. Farben and a "front" for I.G. in the United States.

In sum, the directors of International Acceptance Bank reflected the most powerful sectors of Wall Street: the Morgans, the Rockefellers, and Harriman, as well as the Boston bankers.

Further, there was a lifelong and intimate Warburg association with the Roosevelts from childhood to the New Deal. This Warburg–Roosevelt association is illustrated by an extract from James P. Warburg's memoirs: "It so happened that I had known the President elect's eldest son, James Roosevelt, for some years, because he had been living in one of the cottages on my Uncle Felix's estate in White Plains."¹⁸

Later the same James P. Warburg became adviser to President Franklin D. Roosevelt on domestic and international monetary affairs. The Warburg's deep interest in the NRA program is reflected in a 1933 Warburg memorandum to FDR:

Memorandum for the President: Domestic Currency Problem. The Administration has, in my judgment, never faced a more serious situation than it does today. The entire recovery program, which is the heart of its policy, is jeopardized by uncertainty and doubt in the monetary field. The National Recovery Act cannot possibly function to any useful end if there is fear of currency depreciation of an unknown amount and fear as to monetary experimentation. There has already been a tremendous flight of capital, and this flight will continue at an increasing pace so long as uncertainty prevails.¹⁹

Then, following the Warburg proclivity for monopoly, James Warburg recommended to FDR that *all* monetary ideas, actions, and decisions be centralized in the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve Board.

Obviously, this proposal would ensure that all monetary decisions were made by the elitist group associated with the International Acceptance Bank and the Federal Reserve System. The Secretary of the Treasury in July 1933, when James Warburg wrote his memorandum to FDR, was William H. Woodin, who had been director of FRB of New York from 1925 to 1931. We can also cite FDR's own associations with the Federal Reserve System. His "favorite uncle" Frederic Delano was appointed vice chairman of the Federal Reserve Board by President Woodrow Wilson in 1914, and from 1931 to 1936 Delano served as chairman of the board of the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond, Virginia. FDR appointed Delano chairman of the National Resources Planning Board in 1934.

In 1933-34 the United States faced the greatest financial crisis in its history. And what did FDR do? He called in as the financial doctors the very operators responsible for the crisis—as sensible a policy as allowing the lunatics to run the asylum.

So we find associations between Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Warburg family, and the Warburg-inspired central banking system ranging from childhood to Warburg's appointment as a key monetary adviser to FDR. We shall see later that it was Warburg who determined the final shape of the National Industrial Recovery Administration. On the other hand, the Warburg family and their Wall Street friends controlled the private monopoly money supply known as the Federal Reserve System and through the International Acceptance Bank exploited that monopoly for their own purposes.

The Founding Fathers demonstrated a profound wisdom and insight into the dangers of a monopoly of paper money issue that is reflected in Article I, Section 9 of the U.S. Constitution: "No State shall...make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts...."

A constitutional challenge to the issue of Federal Reserve notes by a private banking monopoly, the Federal Reserve System, is overdue. Hopefully, the value of the dollar will not have to be reduced to zero, as the mark was in post-World War I Germany, before such a challenge is initiated and sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Footnotes

1. For Wall Street and the early Bolsheviks see Sutton, *Bolshevik Revolution*, op. cit. Wall Street involvement with the rise of Hitler and German Nazism is the topic of a forthcoming book.
2. Clinton Roosevelt, *The Science of Government Founded on Natural Law* (New York: Dean & Trevett, 1841). There are two known copies of this book: one in the Library of Congress, Washington D.C. and another in the Harvard University Library. The existence of the book is not recorded in the latest edition of the Library of Congress catalog, but was recorded in the earlier 1959 edition (page 75). A facsimile edition was published by Emanuel J. Josephson, as part of his *Roosevelt's Communist Manifesto* (New York: Chedney Press, 1955).
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. See Appendix A.
7. Clinton Roosevelt, *The Science of Government Founded on Natural Law*, op. cit.
8. Margaret L. Coit, *Mr. Baruch* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1957), p. 147.
9. Ibid., p. 172.
10. Bernard M. Baruch, *American Industry in the War: A Report of the War Industries Board* (March 1921), with an introduction by Hugh S. Johnson (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1941) (including "a reprint of the report of the War Industries Board of World War I, Mr. Baruch's own program for total mobilization of the nation as presented to the War Policies Commission in 1931, and current material on priorities and price fixing").

11. For a complete list of W.I.B. personnel see Grosvenor B. Clarkson, *Industrial America in the World War* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1923), Appendix III. In the light of Chapter 11, below, it is intriguing to note numerous W.I.B. committee members with offices at 120 Broadway including Murry W. Guggenheim, Stephen Birch (Kennecott Copper), Edward W. Brush (American Smelting and Refining), F. Y. Robertson (United States Metals Refining Co.), Harry F. Sinclair (Sinclair Refining Co.), Charles W. Baker, (American Zinc), and Sidney J. Jennings (United States Smelting, Refining and Mining Co.)
12. See also Paul Warburg, *The Federal Reserve System, Its Origin & Growth; Reflections & Recollections* (New York: Macmillan, 1930)
13. Murray N. Rothbard, *America's Great Depression* (Los Angeles: Nash Publishing Corp. 1972), p. 117.
14. United States Senate, *Hearings, Munitions Industry*, Part 25, op. cit., p. 8103.
15. Murray Rothbard, *America's Great Depression*, op. cit., p. 119.
16. Harold Kellock, "Warburg, the Revolutionist," in *The Century Magazine*, May 1915, p. 79.
17. See Sutton, *Bolshevik Revolution*, op. cit., Chapter 8.
18. James P. Warburg, *The Long Road Home: The Autobiography of a Maverick* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), p. 106.
19. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Foreign Affairs, Vol. I, p. 325. Memorandum of James P. Warburg to Roosevelt, July 24, 1933

CHAPTER 7

Roosevelt, Hoover, and the Trade Councils

People of the same trade seldom meet together even for merriment and diversion, but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public, or on some contrivance to raise prices.

Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (London: George Routledge, 1942), p. 102.

The idea of getting society to work for a privileged group within that society originated neither among the corporate socialists in Wall Street, nor in the financial community at large, nor even among the Marxian socialists. In fact, the notion predates our own industrial society, and there is an interesting parallel between the codes of New Deal America (which we shall examine later) and 13th-century trade legislation in England.¹

A MEDIEVAL NEW DEAL

In 1291 the tanners of Norwich, England were brought before the local court charged with organizing and coding their tanning activities to the detriment of local citizens. Two years later in 1293, the cobblers and saddle makers of Norwich were faced with similar charges. By "greasing" the legislators, the political power structure of medieval Norwich was brought around to the view that perhaps the tanners needed protection, after all. This protection came to incorporate the same basic principles of economic planning that almost 700 years later were put forward in the Roosevelt New Deal. So in 1307 the tanning industry of Norwich was legally coded and wages and conditions of work prescribed, all done under the guise of protecting the consumer, but in practice granting a legal monopoly to the tanners.

In the decade before the New Deal, during the 1920s Wall Streeter Roosevelt was active on behalf of business to promote these same basic ideas of using the police power of the state to restrain trade, to advance cooperation, and to utilize government regulation to inhibit unwelcome competition from more efficient outsiders. The trade associations of the 1920s were more demure in their proposals than the 13th-century Norwich tanners, but the underlying principle was the same.

Unfortunately, Franklin D. Roosevelt's role in the Wall Street of the 1920s has been ignored by historians. Daniel Fusfield does correctly observe that FDR "took an active part in the trade association movement that was to develop into the N.R.A. of the early New Deal;"² on the other hand Fusfield, who offers the only extensive description of FDR's business activities, concludes that his attitude toward business was "a curious

mixture." FDR, says Fusfield, was "insistent that mere profits were not a full justification for business activity," that a businessman must also "have the motive of public service." This to Fusfield was inconsistent with participation "in a number of outright speculative and promotional ventures that had little to do with serving the public."³

Fusfield and his fellow historians of the Roosevelt era have failed to note that "public service" for a businessman is absolutely consistent with "profit maximization;" in fact, public service is the easiest and certainly the most lucrative road to profit maximization. Further, the riskier and more speculative the business, presumably the greater is the advantage to be gained from public service.

When we take this more realistic view of social do-goodism, then Wall Streeter Roosevelt's attitude toward business is not at all "curious." It is in fact a consistent program of profit maximization.

THE AMERICAN CONSTRUCTION COUNCIL

The American Construction Council (A.C.C.), formed in May 1922, was the first of numerous trade associations created in the 1920s, devices used to raise prices and reduce output. The original proposal and the drive for the council came from Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, and the council operated under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt, then just beginning his Wall Street career following his service as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. The stated public objectives of the A.C.C. were a "code of ethics" (a euphemism for restraint of trade), efficiency, and standardization of production. Most importantly, but less publicized, the A.C.C. was to provide the industry with an opportunity to fix its own price and production levels without fear of antitrust prosecutions by the government. The New York Times reported:

It is these tremendous possibilities, in dedication to the public service and the elimination of waste, that have fired the imaginations of Mr. Hoover and Mr. Roosevelt and invited them to accept positions of leadership in the movement.⁴

Like the price-fixing committees of Baruch's War Industries Board, the A.C.C. was in effect a primitive industry association, although the high-sounding stated object of the council was:

. . .to place the construction industry on a high plane of integrity and efficiency and to correlate the efforts toward betterment made by existing agencies through an association dedicated to the improvement of the service within the construction industry. . . ."⁵

and so to stabilize conditions for the benefit of the industry, labor, and the general public. This objective was also Baruch's objective for peacetime trade associations: to regulate industry under government control, while citing the public good. In the American Construction Council the public good was announced as the elimination of the scandals found by the Lockwood Commission investigating the New York building industry. However, as that scandal dealt in great part with exclusive dealing and similar coercive conditions forced upon contractors and erectors by the United States Steel Corporation and Bethlehem Steel, the announced public good makes little sense. These industry giants were controlled by the Morgan interests on Wall Street who were, as we shall see, also at the root of the A.C.C. proposal. In brief, the alleged antisocial conditions to be solved by a trade association could have been halted much more simply and effectively by a memorandum from J.P. Morgan and his associates; there was no necessity to promote a trade association to halt such abuses. So we must look elsewhere for the reason for trade associations. The real reason, of course, is to protect industry from unwelcome competition and to establish monopoly conditions for those already in the business. As Howe told us, a legal monopoly is the sure road to profit. It was formation of this legal monopoly that induced Roosevelt and Herbert Hoover to join hands against the public interest, although, according to Freidel:

FDR's friend Elliott Brown, warned him against the "socialistic" tendencies of these associations and of Hoover specifically. Socialistic, because the moment a combination is formed, the Government will assert an interest and will express that interest through the medium of some clerk in the Department of Commerce, who will approve or disapprove many matters affecting the initiative and welfare of all peepul (sic).⁶

FDR's role is not really surprising. He was then attempting to get a business career underway. He had political contacts and was more than willing, indeed eager, to use these. On the other hand, there is an odd dichotomy in the ideas and practices of Herbert Hoover in this area of the relationship between government and business. Herbert Hoover declared his adherence to the principles of free enterprise and individual initiative and his suspicion of government intervention. These assertions were mixed with other contrary statements encouraging, indeed authorizing, government intervention on almost trivial grounds. Unfortunately, Herbert Hoover's Memoirs, the only finally authoritative source, do not resolve these conflicts. The American Construction Council is not mentioned in Hoover's Memoirs, although Volume II, "The Cabinet and the Presidency," underlines the evils of government intervention in the economy, pointing to communism, socialism, and fascism to comment, "This left wing cure for all business evil" now appears as "national planning." Hoover added that business "abuses" were only "marginal" and rather than have government intervention" . . . beyond and better than even that was cooperation in the business community to cure its own abuses."⁷ On the other hand, Hoover's private correspondence with Roosevelt on the American Construction Council suggests that Hoover, while in favor of government intervention,

was careful to disguise this continuing interest for fear of bringing public opposition down upon his own head and ruining the proposal. A letter from Hoover to Roosevelt dated June 12, 1923 makes this point:

June 12, 1923

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Vice Pres.

Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland

120 Broadway

New York City

My Dear Roosevelt:

I am in somewhat of a quandary about your telegram of June 7th. I had hoped that the Construction Council would be solely originated from the industries without pressure from the Administration. Otherwise it will soon take on the same opposition that all Governmental touches to this problem immediately accrue.

The vast sentiment of the business community against Government interference tends to destroy even a voluntary effort if it is thought to be carried on at Government inspiration.

Yours faithfully

Herbert Hoover

In any event, the American Construction Council was a cooperative association of business, labor, and government

formed at Washington on June 19 at the suggestion and under the guidance of Secretary Hoover of the Department of Commerce (who) has taken the first steps toward putting into operation a program of construction effort which, it is hoped, will eliminate many of the evils which have developed in the industry during the past decade.⁸

Thus, it was free enterpriser Herbert Hoover who became the sponsor of the first of the trade associations, the American Construction Council, which was designed to include

architects, engineers, construction labor, general contractors, sub-contractors, materials and equipment manufacturers, material and equipment dealers, bond, insurance and real estate interests and the construction departments of Federal, State and municipal governments.⁹

The organization meeting of the American Construction Council was held at FDR's house in New York and attended by about 20 persons. This group discussed the concept of the council and particularly whether it

should be a clearing house for the different national associations, a clerical clearing house, or whether it should be an active, aggressive (sic) militant organization in this service of the public good of the construction industry.¹⁰

It was unanimously decided that the council should be a militant aggressive organization and not just a clearing house for information. This concept was discussed with Dwight Morrow of the J.P. Morgan firm; with Mr. Dick, secretary to Judge Gary of the U.S. Steel Corporation; with Gano Dunn, president of J.G. White Engineering Corporation; and with Stone & Webster. It is interesting to note that most of these persons and firms are prominent in my previous volume, *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution*.

After the financial establishment had expressed support of A.C.C., the construction industry at large was approached for its reaction. This preliminary work culminated in an organizational meeting at the Hotel Washington, Washington D.C., on Tuesday, June 20, 1922. Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected president of the council, and John B. Larnier, vice president of the American Bankers Association, was elected treasurer. The chairman of the finance committee was Willis H. Booth of Guaranty Trust Company. The committee then established its committees and laid down priorities for its problems.

Roosevelt's interpretation of the causes for the problems of the construction industry were reported by The New York Times: "Muddling through has been the characteristic method employed by the construction industry for the last few years. There has been no system, no cooperation, no intensive national planning."

After pointing out that a railroad man is not laid off because of bad weather, Roosevelt commented:

In construction work, however, we have that great bugbear in our economic life, the seasonal job. All the work is crowded into the summer months, none of the work is carried on during the winter. The results of this piling on are plain. In the summer we have scarcity of labor and skyrocketing of prices, in the winter unemployment and cutting of incomes. The only thing that lasts throughout the year is the bitterness of men engaged in the work.¹¹

How did FDR propose to change all this?

A large part of the work can be spread over the year. There is no reason in the world why a skilled mechanic living in New York, for instance, should be called down in June to help put up a public building in Georgia. Georgia can build in seasons of the year in which it is impossible for New York to build; so can Louisiana, so can all the Southern States.

Roosevelt's suggestion, an aimless non sequitur, was that the construction industry must "get together on this situation: move construction materials during off season and spread labor around." At an early board of governors' meeting, held at FDR's home in New York on May 16, 1923, FDR called attention to the road the council had followed: "The American Construction Council was organized, but frankly, it has not done one darned thing from that time to this except collect dues from some 115 different organizations, I think."

FDR put the basic choice to the assembled governors: did they want to continue the old way, "Build all we can, paying any old price as long as we get the orders?" Because if that was the case, said FDR, "We might just as well adjourn." On the other hand, he continued, that did not appear to be the view of the majority, and "We want to go back to the real basic purpose of the Council, which was to prevent this sort of thing." Then followed a series of proposed resolutions, adopted unanimously, that would have the effect of slowing down construction. The council continued to have its problems, summarized in a letter of April 29, 1924 from executive vice president D. Knickerbocker Boyd to Franklin D. Roosevelt, "to call attention to the very serious condition of affairs existing at this time." Boyd reminded FDR that the executive secretary, Dwight L. Hoopingarner, had served "practically" without pay, and that \$7000 in back salary was owed to him. Boyd added, "This is not just or right and it should not be allowed to continue. He should not only be paid all back fees promptly but assured of prompt pay in the future—or the work should be stopped." Then Boyd commented that he, too, expected recompense for the time expended on council work, noting that time expended to date amounted to \$3168.41, in addition to traveling expenses. Boyd suggested that the council face up squarely to its responsibilities, place itself on an adequate financial footing, or dissolve. The final paragraph of Boyd's letter demonstrates the fundamental objective of those promoting the American Construction Council:

If the Council should go out of existence it would, in my opinion, be a country-wide calamity—as I doubt whether after this second effort to nationalize the great building industry on human lines, enough people with the enthusiasm, faith and patience could be found to make a third attempt.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, president of American Construction Council, had argued for "economic planning;" now the executive vice president acknowledges an "effort to nationalize" the construction industry. This effort to organize the construction industry under the somnolent eye of the government, statedly for the public good, failed.

Footnotes

1. See Erwin F. Meyer, "English Medieval Industrial Codes" in *The American Federationist*, January 1934. Meyer draws some fascinating parallels between the medieval guilds and NRA practice under Roosevelt. In medieval times the result, as in the 1930s was to create "an oligarchy of capitalists" in the English economy.
2. Daniel R. Fusfield, *The Economic Thought of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Origins of the New Deal*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *The New York Times*, May 15, 1922, p. 19.
5. Cited in Fusfield, *Economic Thought*, op. cit., p. 102.
6. Freidel, *The Ordeal*, op. cit., p. 152.
7. *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover. The Cabinet and the Presidency 1920-1933*, (London: Hollis and Carter 1952), p. 67.
8. *The New York Times*, July 9, 1922, VIII 1:3.
9. *The New York Times*, May 15, 1922, p. 19, col. 8.
10. Minutes of the Executive Board of the American Construction Council, June 20, 1922. FDR Files, Group 14: American Construction Council.
11. *The New York Times*, June 4, 1922. One searches in vain for a practicable, workable proposal to solve the alleged problems of the construction industry. The most valid suggestions put forward by Roosevelt and his fellow planners required changing the weather to allow year-round construction or movement of men and materials by "planning." Of course, a market system moves men and materials automatically, a point presumably unknown to FDR.

CHAPTER 8

Wall Street Buys The New Deal

B.M. [Bernard Baruch] played a more effective role. Headquarters just didn't have any money. Sometimes they couldn't even pay the radio bill for the candidate's speeches. They had practically nothing to carry on the campaign in the critical state of Maine. Every time a crisis came, B.M. either gave the necessary money, or went out and got it.

Hugh S. Johnson, *The Blue Eagle from Egg to Earth* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1935), p. 141. On FDR's campaign in 1932.

The 1928 Presidential campaign matched Governor Alfred E. Smith, a Catholic with backing from Tammany Hall and a collectivist coloring to his politicking, against Herbert Hoover, a Quaker with a professed leaning to traditional American individualism and self-help. Herbert Hoover won by 21,392,000 votes to Smith's 15,016,000.

Where did the Wall Street banker-philosophers place their support and influence in the Smith-Hoover election? On the basis of the accepted interpretation of the philosophy of financiers, their support should have gone to Herbert Hoover. Hoover promoted the dearly beloved trade associations, dearly loved, that is, by the financial and business community. Further, in *American Individualism*¹ Herbert Hoover made it clear that the ideal system for America was, in his own words, "no system of laissez faire" but, on the contrary, a regulated economy. On the other hand, the most vocally political member of the Wall Street financial establishment in 1928 was John J. Raskob, vice president of Du Pont and of General Motors and a director of Bankers Trust Co. and the County Trust Co. At the personal insistence of Governor Al Smith, Raskob became chairman of the Finance Committee of the Democratic Party. Raskob was also the largest single contributor, giving more than \$350,000 to the campaign. What were the policy objectives sought by Raskob and his allies that made Al Smith so attractive a candidate?

In 1928 the key elements of what became the National Recovery program were given a public airing by John J. Raskob, Bernard Baruch, and other Wall Streeters. The promotion of Roosevelt's NRA actually dates from the 1928 Raskob speeches made in the Al Smith Presidential campaign. Although both Al Smith and Herbert Hoover depended heavily on Wall Street's "golden circle" for election funds, as we shall detail later in this chapter, the Du Pont-Raskob-Baruch money was heavily on Al Smith. Smith, of course, lost the 1928 election for the Democrats, and Herbert Hoover became the Republican President. In spite of luke-warm Wall Street treatment, Hoover appointed many Wall Streeters to his committees and boards. Then in mid-1932, given the blunt choice between a National Recovery program in the form of the Swope Plan or less fascist policies, Hoover declined to institute corporate socialism, identified the Swope

Plan for what it was, and brought the wrath of Wall Street down upon his head.

Consequently, we can trace and will trace in this chapter the Baruch proposals for NRA and the financial backing of the two Presidential candidates in each election by Raskob, Baruch, Du Pont, Rockefeller, and others of the financial élite. The main backing in each case went to the Democratic candidate willing to promote corporate socialism. In 1928 this was Al Smith, who was also a director of the Morgan-controlled Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; in 1930 it went to Roosevelt with the early bird pre convention contributions for the 1932 Hoover-Roosevelt contest. This was followed in mid-1932 by withdrawal of a great deal of Wall Street support from Herbert Hoover and the wholesale transfer of influence and money toward the election of Roosevelt.

Subsequently, FDR did not abandon his backers. The National Recovery Act with its built-in ability to coerce small business was promised and in June 1933 became law. Let's look then more closely at these events and the related evidence.

BERNARD BARUCH'S INFLUENCE ON FDR

According to his own statements Hugh Johnson, the Administrator of Roosevelt's NRA, went through a training program in the 1920s under Bernard Baruch's tutelage. Johnson records this experience as follows:

I doubt if anybody had any more direct or complete access to sources of information than B.M. and he always gave me a free hand in the consultation and use of such scientists and experts as I might need. I was for several years the only Research Staff which he permanently maintained. That and what went before was a great training for service in NRA because these studies covered a considerable segment of the whole of American industry and the experience with government linked the two together.²

Johnson himself views the Raskob speeches of September and October 1928 in the Al Smith campaign as the start of Roosevelt's NRA: "There was nothing particularly new in the essence or principles developed. We had worked out and expressed precisely the same philosophy in Al Smith's campaign in 1928. . . ."³

Al Smith, the 1928 Democratic Presidential candidate was, as we have noted, a director of Metropolitan Life Insurance, the largest life insurance company in the U.S. and controlled by J.P. Morgan, and the greater part of his campaign funds came from the golden circle in Wall Street. Bernard Baruch outlined the NRA plan itself on May 1, 1930 — an auspicious day for a socialist measure—in a speech at Boston. The content of NRA was all there, the regulation, codes, enforcement, and the carrot of welfare for the

workers. It was repeated in Baruch's platform of June 1932—the one that Herbert Hoover refused to adopt. The NRA was presented again by Baruch in testimony before the Senate and in speeches before the Brookings Institution and at Johns Hopkins University. In all, Hugh Johnson counts ten documents and speeches, all presented before the election of Roosevelt in 1932, in which "will be found the development of the economic philosophy of the 1928 campaign and of almost all that happened since. Of a part of this philosophy NRA was a concrete expression."⁴

The following extracts from Baruch's May 1, 1930 speech contain the core of his proposals:

What business needs is a common forum where problems requiring cooperation can be considered and acted upon with the constructive, non political sanction of government. It may have been sound public policy to forbid by law anything that looked to regulation of production when the world was in fear of famine but it is public lunacy to decree unlimited operation of a system which periodically disgorges indigestible masses of unconsumable products. No repressive, inquisitorial, mediocre bureau will answer—we must have a new concept for this purpose—a tribunal invested like the Supreme Court, with so much prestige and dignity that our greatest business leaders will be glad to divest themselves of all personal interest in business and there serve. Like the Supreme Court also it must be absolutely non-political.

It should have no power to repress or coerce but it should have power to convoke conference, to suggest and to sanction or license such commonsense cooperation among industrial units as will prevent our economic blessings from becoming unbearable burdens. Its sole punitive power should be to prescribe conditions of its licenses and then to revoke those licenses for infringement of such conditions.

Its deliberations should be in the open and should be wholly scientific, briefed like an engineer's report, and published to the world. Such a system would safeguard the public interest and should be substituted for the blind inhibitory blankets of the Sherman and Clayton Acts. . . .

It is not government in business in the sense which is here condemned. It is only a relaxation of the grip government has already taken on business by the Anti-Trust Acts. There is no fallacy in restricting ruinous excess production—a policy which the Federal Government is now vigorously urging on Agriculture. Yet if there is nothing in the change of concept from bureaucratic precedent to that of an open forum where business can practice group self-government, acting on its own motion under sanction of non-political, constructive and helpful tribunal —then the idea is not practicable. But that there is a possibility of such industrial self-government under governmental sanction was clearly demonstrated in 1918. Many

difficulties suggest themselves. In the first place anything done in the elation and fervor of war must be accepted as a criterion only with caution.

In the regulation of production price is one consideration. That is a subject which is loaded with dynamite.

There are other obvious reservations. The thought is revived at this critical moment because it seems worthy of consideration as an aid in a threatening economic development 'of unusual extent' and as an alternative to governmental interference and vast extension of political powers in the economic field—an eventuality which, in the absence of constructive action by business itself, is almost as certain as death and taxes.⁵

Baruch wanted by his own words a resurrection of the trade associations, relaxation of anti-trust laws, and control of business leaders and casts the reader back to the War Industries Board of 1918. To be sure, Baruch suggests "no power to coerce" and "open" deliberations, but such protestations of good faith carry small weight in the light of economic history and past furious efforts to establish cartels and combinations in restraint of trade by this same group. It was to further this end that financial support for both Democrats and Republican candidates was forthcoming; the greater part of the financing originated in a relatively small geographical area of New York.

WALL STREET FINANCES THE 1928 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

The direction of political support can be measured and identified by related financial support. The origins of the financial contributions to the Smith and Hoover campaigns of 1928 can be identified, and we find, contrary to prevailing beliefs, that it was the Democrats who received the lion's share of funds from Wall Street; as we have seen, it was in the Democratic campaign that the outlines of the National Recovery Act were first promulgated by Baruch and Raskob.

After the 1928 Presidential election the Steiwer Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives investigated the sources of campaign funds funneled into the election⁶ The detailed information was published, but the Steiwer Committee did not probe into the corporate origins and affiliations of the contributors: it merely listed names and amounts contributed. Table XIII in the report is entitled "Persons contributing sums of \$5,000 and over in behalf of Republican presidential candidate." The Republican Presidential candidate was, of course, Herbert Hoover. This table lists full names and the amounts contributed, but without the affiliation of the contributors. Similarly, Table XIV of the report is entitled "Persons contributing sums of \$5,000 and over in behalf of Democratic presidential candidate." Again, full names and amounts are given, but the affiliations of the person are not stated.

These lists were taken and matched by the author to the *Directory of Directors in the City*

of New York 1929-1930.⁷ Where the contributor as listed by the Steiwer Committee was identified as having an address within a one-mile circle of 120 Broadway in New York, the name and amount contributed were noted. No notation was made of persons not in the directory and most probably resident outside of New York City, but a record was kept of the sums of money contributed by the non New York residents. In other words, two totals were constructed from the Steiwer Committee data: (1) contributions from persons listed as directors of companies headquartered in New York and (2) contributions from all other persons. In addition, a list of names of the New York contributors was compiled. In practice, the research procedure was biased against inclusion of the New York-based directors. For example, in the Democratic Party list Van-Lear Black was listed by the author as a non-New York resident, although Black was chairman of the Fidelity & Casualty Co; the company had offices at 120 Broadway, and Franklin D. Roosevelt was their New York vice president in the early 1920s. However, Black was based in Baltimore and therefore not counted as a New York director. Again Rudolph Spreckels, the sugar millionaire, was listed in the Steiwer Committee report for a \$15,000 contribution, but is not listed in the New York total, as he did not base himself in New York. Similarly, James Byrne contributed \$6500 to the Smith for President campaign, but is not listed as a New York director—he was a director of the Fulton Savings Bank in Brooklyn and outside the one-mile circle. Jesse Jones, the Texas banker, contributed \$20,000, but is not listed as a New York director because he was a Texas, not a New York, banker. In other words, the definition of a Wall Street contributor was very tightly and consistently drawn.

Major Wall Street Contributors to the Al Smith For President Campaign—1928

Name	Contributions			
	1924 deficit campaign	1928	1928 deficit contribution	Total
John J. Raskob (Du Pont and General Motors)	—	\$110,000	\$250,000	\$360,000
William F. Kenny (W.A. Harriman)	\$25,000	\$100,000	\$150,000	\$275,000
Herbert H. Lehman	\$10,000	\$100,00	\$150,000	\$260,000
M.J. Meehan (120 Broadway)	—	\$50,000	\$100,000	\$150,000

Total \$1,045,000

Source: Adapted from Louise Overacker, *Money in Elections* (New York: Macmillan, 1932), p. 155.

Under this restricted definition the total amount contributed by Wall Street directors, mostly connected with major banks, to the Al Smith 1928 Presidential campaign was \$1,864,339. The total amount contributed by persons not within this golden circle was \$500,531, which makes a grand total of \$2,364,870. In brief, the percentage of the Al Smith for President campaign funds coming from persons giving more than \$5000 and also identified as Wall Street directors was 78.83 per cent. The percentage from donors outside the golden circle was a mere 21.17 per cent. Looking at the total Al Smith contributors another way, the large contributors (over \$5000) to the Smith campaign, those in the best position to ask and receive political favors, put up almost four dollars out of five.

The identity of the larger contributors to both the Al Smith campaign and the Democratic National Committee fund is listed in the attached tables.

Contributors of \$25,000 or More to Democratic National Committee January to December 1928 (including contributions listed in previous table)

			NOTE
Herbert H. Lehman and Edith A. Lehman	Lehman Brothers, and Studebaker Corp. Vice president of Du Pont and General Motors	\$135,000	FDR's chief political adviser
John J. Raskob	President, Bankers Mortgage Co., Houston	\$110,000	NRA administrator
Thomas F. Ryan	Guaranty Trust	\$75,000	Chairman, Reconstruction Finance Corp.
Harry Payne Whitney	Du Pont Company, General Motors	\$50,000	See Chap. 10: "The Butler Affair"
Pierre S. Du Pont	Financier, 120 Broadway	\$50,000	See Chap. 10: "The Butler Affair"
Bernard M. Baruch	Singer Sewing Machine Co.	\$37,590	NRA planner
Robert Sterling Clark	National City Bank, Anaconda Copper	\$35,000	See Chap. 10: "The Butler Affair"
John D. Ryan	General Motors	\$27,000	—
William H. Woodin		\$25,000	Secretary of Treasury, 1932

Source: Steiwer Committee Report, op. cit.

Contributions to the Democratic Presidential Primary

1928 by Directors* of the County Trust Company.

Name of Director	Contribution to Campaign and Deficit	Other Affiliations
Vincent Astor	\$ 10,000	Great Northern Railway, U.S. Trust Co. Trustee, N.Y. Public Library Metropolitan Opera
Howard S. Cullman	\$ 6,500	Vice President, Cullman Brothers, Inc.
William J. Fitzgerald	\$ 6,000	—
Edward J. Kelly	\$ 6,000	—
William F. Kenny	\$275,000 **	President and Director, William F. Kenny Co. Director, The Aviation Corp., Chrysler Corp.
Arthur Lehman	\$ 14,000 ***	Partner, Lehman Brothers. Director, American International Corp., RKO Corp., Underwood-Elliott-Fisher Co.
M.J. Meehan	\$150,000**	61 Broadway
Daniel J. Mooney	Daniel J. Mooney	120 Broadway
John J. Raskob	\$360,000 **	Director, American International Corp., Bankers Trust Co., Christiania Securities Co. Vice President, E.I. Du Pont de Nemours & Co. and General Motors Corp.
James J. Riordan	\$10,000	—
Alfred E. Smith	—	Presidential Candidate Director: Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.
Total	\$842,000	

Notes: *The following directors of County Trust Company did not contribute (according to the records): John J. Broderick, Peter J. Carey, John J. Cavanagh, William H. English,

James P. Geagan, G. Le Boutillier, Ralph W. Long, John J. Pulleyn, and Parry D. Saylor.

**Includes contributions to the campaign deficit.

***Excludes contributions by other members of the Lehman family to the Democratic Presidential campaign that totalled \$168,000.

Looking at the names in these tables, it would be neither unkind nor unfair to say that the Democratic candidate was bought by Wall Street before the election. Moreover, Al Smith was a director of the County Trust Company, and the County Trust Company was the source of an extraordinarily large percentage of Democratic campaign funds.

HERBERT HOOVER'S ELECTION FUNDS

When we turn to Herbert Hoover's 1928 campaign, we also find a dependence on Wall Street financing, originating in the golden mile, but not nearly to the same extent as in Al Smith's campaign. Of a large donations total for Herbert Hoover of \$3,521,141, about 51.4 per cent came from within this golden mile in New York and 48.6 per cent from outside the financial district.

Contributions of \$25,000 or More to Republican National Committee, January to December 1928

Mellon family	Mellon National Bank	\$50,000
Rockefeller family	Standard Oil	\$50,000
Guggenheim family	Copper smelting	\$75,000
Eugene Meyer	Federal Reserve Bank	\$25,000
William Nelson Cromwell	Wall Street attorney	\$25,000
Otto Kahn	Equitable Trust Company	\$25,000
Mortimer Schiff	Banker	\$25,000
Total		\$275,000

Source: Steiwer Committee Report, op. cit.

Herbert Hoover was, of course, elected President; his relationship to the rise of corporate socialism has been misinterpreted in most academic and media sources. The bulk of liberal-oriented literature holds that Herbert Hoover was some kind of unreconstructed laissez faire Neanderthal. But this view is rejected by Hoover's own statements: for example:

Those who contended that during the period of my administration our economic system was one of laissez faire have little knowledge of the extent of government regulation. The economic philosophy of laissez faire, or "dog eat dog," had died in the United States forty years before, when Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Sherman Anti-Trust Acts.⁸

Murray Rothbard points out ⁹ that Herbert Hoover was a prominent supporter of Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party and, according to Rothbard, Hoover "challenged in a neo-Marxist manner, the orthodox laissez-faire view that labor is a commodity and that wages are to be governed by laws of supply and demand."¹⁰ As Secretary of Commerce Hoover pushed for government cartelization of business and for trade associations, and his "outstanding" contribution, according to Rothbard, "was to impose socialism on the radio industry," while the courts were working on a reasonable system of private property rights in radio frequencies. Rothbard explains these ventures into socialism on the grounds that Hoover "was . . . the victim of a terribly inadequate grasp of economics."¹¹ Indeed, Rothbard argues that Herbert Hoover was the real creator of the Roosevelt New Deal.

Although the evidence presented here suggests that Baruch and Raskob had more to do with FDR's

New Deal, there is some validity to Rothbard's argument. Hoover's practical policies were not consistent. There are some pro-free market actions; there are many anti-free market actions. It seems plausible that Hoover was willing to accept a part, possibly a substantial part, of a socialist program, but had a definite limit beyond which he was not willing to go.

During the course of the 1920s, in the years after the formation of the American Construction Council, more than 40 codes of practice compiled by trade associations were adopted. When he became President, and in spite of his early association with the A.C.C., Herbert Hoover promptly ended these industrial codes. He did this on the grounds that they were probably illegal associations to police prices and production and that no government could regulate these in the interest of the public. Then in February 1931 the U.S. Chamber of Commerce formed a group entitled the Committee on Continuity of Business and Employment under Henry I. Harriman. This committee came up with proposals very much like those of the New Deal: that production should be balanced to equal consumption, that the Sherman anti-trust laws should be modified to allow agreements in restraint of trade, that a national economic council should be set up under the auspices of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and that provision should be made for shorter hours in industry, for pensions, and for unemployment insurance. This was followed by yet another Hoover committee known as the Committee on Work Periods in Industry under P.W. Litchfield, president of Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company. Then still another committee under Standard Oil Company of New Jersey

president Walter Teagle recommended sharing work, a proposal endorsed by the Litchfield Committee. Then came the Swope Plan in 1931 (see Appendix A). The plans were forthcoming, but Herbert Hoover did very little about them.

So, under Herbert Hoover, while big business was prolific in publicizing plans designed to modify the Sherman anti-trust act, allow self regulation by industry, and establish codes in restraint of trade. President Herbert Hoover did nothing to encourage these ventures.

In fact, Hoover recognized the Swope Plan as a fascist measure and recorded this in his memoirs, along with the melancholy information that Wall Street gave him a choice of buying the Swope plan—fascist or not—and having their money and influence support the Roosevelt candidacy. This is how Herbert Hoover described the ultimatum from Wall Street under the heading of "Fascism comes to business—with dire consequences":

Among the early Roosevelt fascist measures was the National Industry Recovery Act (NRA) of June 16, 1933. The origins of this scheme are worth repeating. These ideas were first suggested by Gerard Swope (of the General Electric Company) at a meeting of the electrical industry in the winter of 1932. Following this, they were adopted by the United States Chamber of Commerce. During the campaign of 1932, Henry I. Harriman, president of that body, urged that I agree to support these proposals, informing me that Mr. Roosevelt had agreed to do so. I tried to show him that this stuff was pure fascism; that it was merely a remaking of Mussolini's "corporate state" and refused to agree to any of it. He informed me that in view of my attitude, the business world would support Roosevelt with money and influence. That for the most part, proved true.¹²

WALL STREET BACKS FDR FOR GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

The chief fund raiser in FDR's 1930 reelection campaign was Howard Cullman, Commissioner of the Port of New York and a director of the County Trust Company. Freidel¹³ lists the campaign contributors in 1930 without their corporate affiliations. When we identify the corporate affiliations of these contributors, we find once again that County Trust Company of 97 Eighth Avenue, New York had an extraordinarily large interest in FDR's reelection. Apart from Howard Cullman, the following major contributors to FDR's campaign were also directors of the County Trust Company: Alfred Lehman, Alfred (Al) E. Smith, Vincent Astor, and John Raskob. Another director was FDR's old friend Dan Riordan, a customer from Fidelity & Deposit days at 120 Broadway, and William F. Kenny, yet another FDR supporter and director of County Trust. To place this list in focus, we must remember that Freidel lists 16 persons as major contributors to this campaign, and of this 16 we can identify no less than five as directors of County Trust and two other unlisted directors as known FDR supporters. Other prominent Wall

Streeters financing FDR's 1930 campaign were the Morgenthau family (with the Lehmans, the heaviest contributors); Gordon Rentschler, president of the National City Bank and director of the International Banking Corporation; Cleveland Dodge, director of the National City Bank and the Bank of New York; Caspar Whitney; August Heckscher of the Empire Trust Company (120 Broadway); Nathan S. Jones of Manufacturers Trust Company; William Woodin of Remington Arms Company; Ralph Pulitzer; and the Warburg family. In brief, in the 1930 campaign the bulk of FDR's financial backing came from Wall Street bankers.

Contributors to the Pre Convention Expenses of FDR (\$3,500 and Over)

Edward Flynn	\$21,500	Director of Bronx County Safe Deposit Co.
W.H. Woodin	\$20,000	Federal Reserve Bank of New York, Remington Arms Co.
Frank C. Walker	\$15,000	Boston financier
Joseph Kennedy	\$10,000	
Lawrence A. Steinhardt	\$ 8,500	Member of Guggenheim, Untermeyer & Marshall, 120 Broadway
Henry Morgenthau	\$ 8,000	Underwood-Elliott-Fisher
F.J. Matchette	\$ 6,000	
Lehman family	\$ 6,000	Lehman Brothers, 16 William Street
Dave H. Morris	\$ 5,000	Director of several Wall Street firms
Sara Roosevelt	\$ 5,000	
Guy P. Helvering	\$ 4,500	
H.M. Warner	\$ 4,500	Director, Motion Picture Producers & Distributors of America
James W. Gerard	\$ 3,500	Financier, 57 William Street
Total	\$117,500	

Shortly after FDR's reelection in 1930, these backers started to raise funds for the 1932 Presidential campaign. These "early bird" pre convention contributions have been described by Flynn: "These contributors, who helped early when the need was great, so thoroughly won Roosevelt's devotion that in most instances they ultimately received substantial returns in public offices and honors."¹⁴

WALL STREET ELECTS FDR IN 1932

In 1932 Bernard Baruch was the key operator working behind the scenes—and sometimes not so much behind the scenes—to elect FDR, with the money and influence

of big business (see epigraph to this chapter). Further, Bernard Baruch and Hugh Johnson collected numerous statistics and materials over the 1920s decade supporting their concept of national economic planning through trade associations. Johnson recounts how this information became available to FDR's speech writers. During the Roosevelt campaign of 1932:

Ray Moley and Rex Tugwell came up to B.M.'s house and we went over all the material that B.M. and I had collected and summarized in our years of work. They, with Adolph Berle, had long before worked out the subjects of what they thought would be an ideal scheme of economic speeches for a Presidential candidate, but they had few facts. From that moment we joined Ray Moley's forces and we all went to work to find for Franklin Roosevelt the data which he welded into the very remarkable series of simply expressed speeches on homely economics which convinced this country that here was the leader upon whom it could rely.¹⁵

In rereading the FDR campaign speeches, it becomes obvious that they lack concreteness and specific facts. Presumably the Moley-Tugwell team set out the general theme and Baruch and Johnson introduced supporting statements in such areas as credit expansion, the consequences of speculation, the role of the Federal Reserve system, and so on. It is remarkable, but perhaps not surprising, that these Baruch-influenced speeches took the reader back to World War I, cited the contemporary emergency as greater than that of the war, and then subtly suggested similar Baruchian solutions. For example, at the Jefferson Day Dinner speech of April 18, 1932 Roosevelt said, or was prompted to say:

Compare this panic stricken policy of delay and improvisation with that devised to meet the emergency of war fifteen years ago. We met specific situations with considered, relevant measures of constructive value. There were the War Industries Board, the Food and Fuel Administration, the War Trade Board, the Shipping Board and many others.¹⁶

Then in May 22, 1932 Roosevelt addressed himself to the theme "The Country Needs, the Country Demands, Persistent Experimentation" and called for national economic planning. This speech was followed on July 2, 1932 by the first hint of the New Deal. Finally, in accepting the nomination for the Presidency at Chicago, FDR said "I pledge you—I pledge myself to a New Deal for the American People."

Note

Freidel's list of pre-convention contributors to Franklin Delano Roosevelt's 1932 Presidential campaign.

1932 Reconvention Contributors¹⁷ (over \$2,000)

Affiliations

James W. Gerard	Gerard, Bowen & Halpin (see Julian A. Gerard)
Guy Helvering Col. E.M. House, New York	
Joseph P. Kennedy, 1560 Broadway	Ambassador to Court of St. James New England Fuel & Transportation Co.
Henry Morgenthau, Sr. Underwood- Elliott-Fisher 1133 Fifth Avenue	Bank of N.Y. & Trust Co. (Asst. Comptroller); American Savings Bank (Trustee)
Dave Hennen Morris	
Mrs. Sara Delano Roosevelt, Hyde Park, N.Y.	FDR's mother
Laurence A. Steinhardt 120 Broadway	Guggenheim, Untermeyer & Marshall
Harry M. Warner 321 W. 44th St.	Motion Picture Producers & Distributors of America, Inc.
William H. Woodin Secretary of the Treasury	American Car & Foundry; Remington Arms Co.
Edward J. Flynn 529 Courtlandt Ave.	Bronx County Safe Deposit Co.
James A. Farley adds to this list:	
James A. Farley adds to this list:	
William A. Julian	Director, Central Trust Co.
Jesse I. Straus 1317 Broadway	President, R.H. Macy & Co. N.Y. Life Insurance
Robert W. Bingham	Publisher, Louisville <i>Courier-Journal</i>
Basil O'Connor 120 Broadway	FDR's law partner

Footnotes

1. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1922.
2. Hugh S. Johnson, *The Blue Eagle from Egg to Earth* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1935), p. 116.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

4. Ibid., p. 157

5. Ibid., pp. 156–7. Italics in original.

6. United States Congress, Senate Special Committee investigating Presidential campaign expenditures, Presidential Campaign Expenditures. Report Pursuant to S. Res. 234, February 25 (Calendar Day, February 28), 1929. 70th Congress, 2nd session. Senate Rept. 2024 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929). Cited hereafter as Steiwer Committee Report.

7. New York: Directory of Directors Co., 1929.

8. The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover: The Cabinet and the Presidency 1920-1923 (London: Hollis and Carter, 1952), p. 300.

9. New Individualist Review, Winter, 1966.

10. Ibid., p. 5.

11. Ibid., p.10.

12. Herbert Hoover, The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover: The Great Depression 1929-1941 (New York: Macmillan, 1952), p. 420.

13. Freidel, The Ordeal, op. cit, p. 159.

14. John T. Flynn, "Whose Child is the NRA?" Harper's Magazine Sept. 1932, pp. 84-5.

15. Hugh S. Johnson, The Blue Eagle from Egg to Earth, op. cit., pp. 140-1.

16. The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt; Vol. 1, The Genesis of the New Deal, 1928-1932 (New York: Random House, 1938), p. 632.

17. Freidel, The Ordeal, op. cit., p. 172.

CHAPTER 9

FDR AND THE CORPORATE SOCIALISTS

The Swope Plan

I think this is as revolutionary as anything that happened in this country in 1776, or in France in 1789, or in Italy under Mussolini or in Russia under Stalin.

Senator Thomas P. Gore in the National Recovery Administration Hearings, U.S. Senate Finance Committee, May 22, 1933.

Although the New Deal and its most significant component, the National Recovery Administration (NRA), are generally presented as the progeny of FDR's brain trust, as we have seen the essential principles had been worked out in detail long before FDR and his associates came to power. The FDR group did little more than put the stamp of academic approval to an already prepared plan.

The roots of the Roosevelt NRA are of peculiar importance. As we have seen in Chapter 6, allowing for vast changes in the industrial structure, NRA approximated a schema worked out in 1841 by FDR's ancestor, Assemblyman Clinton Roosevelt of New York. Then we noted that wartime dictator Bernard Baruch was preparing an NRA-like program in the 1920s and that he and his assistant Hugh Johnson were very much an integral part of the preliminary planning. Further, the Roosevelt NRA was in its details a plan presented by Gerard Swope (1872-1957) long-time president of General Electric Company. This Swope Plan¹ was in turn comparable to a German plan worked out in World War I by his opposite number Walter Rathenau, head of German General Electric (Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft) in Germany, where it was known as the Rathenau Plan. So let's take a closer look at the Swope Plan.

THE SWOPE FAMILY

The Swope family was of German origin. In 1857 Isaac Swope, a German immigrant, settled in St. Louis as a manufacturer of watch cases. Two of Swope's sons, Herbert Bayard Swope and Gerard Swope, subsequently rose to the peak of American enterprise. Herbert Bayard Swope was long-time editor of the *New York World*, a racetrack devotee, a close friend of Bernard Baruch, and used by FDR as an unofficial envoy during the New Deal period. Herbert's brother Gerard made his career with General Electric Company. Swope started as a helper on the factory floor in 1893, became a sales representative in 1899, manager of the St. Louis office in 1901, and director of the Western Electric Company in 1913. During World War I Swope was assistant director of purchase, storage, and traffic in the Federal government under General George W. Goethals and planned the U.S. Army procurement program. In 1919

Swope became the first president of the International General Electric Company. Successful promotion of G.E.'s foreign business brought him to the presidency of G.E. in 1922 to succeed Edwin Rice, Jr. Swope remained as G.E.'s president from 1922 until 1939.

General Electric was a Morgan-controlled company and always had one or two Morgan partners on its board, while Swope was also a director of other Wall Street enterprises, including International Power Securities Co. and the National City Bank.

Gerard Swope's political development began in the 1890s. Biographer David Loth reports that, soon after coming to Chicago, Swope was introduced to socialists Jane Addams, Ellen Gates Starr, and their Hull House Settlement. This interest in social affairs developed to culminate in the 1931 Swope plan for stabilization of industry, 90 per cent of which consisted of a scheme for workmen's compensation, life and disability insurance, old-age pensions, and unemployment protection. The Swope plan is an extraordinary document. One short paragraph removes all industry from the anti-trust laws—a long-time industrial goal—while numerous lengthy paragraphs detail proposed social plans. In sum, the Swope Plan was a transparent device to lay the groundwork for the corporate state by defusing potential labor opposition with a massive welfare carrot.

The Swope Plan and Bernard Baruch's earlier and similar proposal became the Roosevelt National Recovery Act. The Wall Street origins of NRA did not go unnoticed when the act was debated by Congress. Witness for example, the indignant, but not altogether accurate, outburst of Senator Huey P. Long:

I come here now and I complain. I complain in the name of the people of my country, of the sovereign State I represent. I complain in the name of the people wherever else it may be known. I complain if it be true, as I am informed by Senators on this floor, that under this act Mr. Johnson, a former employee of Mr. Baruch, has been put in charge of the administration of the act, and has already called as his aides the head of the Standard Oil Co., the head of General Motors, and the head of the General Electric Co.

I complain if Mr. Peek, who is an employee of Mr. Baruch, or has been, as I have been informed on the floor of the Senate, has been placed in charge of administering the Farm Act, however good a man he may be and whatever his ideas may be.

I complain if Mr. Brown, who, I am informed on the floor of the Senate, has been made an influential manipulator of the office of the Bureau of the Director of the Budget, has been an employee of Mr. Baruch, and is now given this authority. I complain because, on the 12th day of May 1932, before we went to Chicago to nominate a President of the United States, I stood in this very place on this floor and told the people of this country that we were not going to have the Baruch influence, at that time so potent with

Hoover, manipulating the Democratic Party before nomination, after nomination, or after election.²

Huey Long was correct to point up the Wall Street dominance of NRA, but his identifications are a little haphazard. Hugh Johnson, long-time associate of Bernard Baruch, was indeed appointed head of NRA. Further, Johnson's principal assistants in NRA were three corporate heads: Walter C. Teagle, president of Standard Oil of New Jersey; Gerard Swope, president of General Electric and author of the Swope Plan; and Louis Kirstein, vice president of William Filene's Sons of Boston. As we have seen (p. 80) Filene was a long-time proponent of corporate socialism. The "head of General Motors" cited by Senator Long was Alfred P. Sloan, not related to NRA, but G.M. vice president John Raskob, who was the big fund raiser in 1928 and 1932 and behind-the-scenes operator promoting the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932. In other words, key positions in NRA and in the Roosevelt Administration itself were manned by men from Wall Street. The Public relations explanation for business men turned bureaucrats is that businessmen have the experience and should become involved in public service. The intent in practice has been to control industry. It should not, however, surprise us if the corporate socialists go to Washington D.C. after election of their favorite sons to take over the reins of monopoly administration. One would have to be naive to think it would be otherwise after the massive election investments recorded in Chapter 8.

Before President Roosevelt was inaugurated in March 1933, a so-called brain trust was more or less informally put to work on economic plans for the Roosevelt era. This group comprised General Hugh Johnson, Bernard Baruch (see p. 106 for his political contributions), Alexander Sachs of Lehman Brothers (see p. 117 for political contributions), Rexford G. Tugwell, and Raymond Moley. This small group, three from Wall Street and two academics, generated Roosevelt's economic planning. This link between Bernard Baruch and NRA planning has been recorded by Charles Roos in his definitive volume on NRA:

Early in March 1933 Johnson and Baruch started on a hunting trip and en route stopped in Washington. Moley had dinner with them and proposed that Johnson remain in Washington to draft a plan for industrial recovery. . . . The idea appealed to Baruch, and he promptly granted Johnson leave of absence from his regular duties. Then Johnson and Moley, after some study of the various proposals believed by the latter to have merit, proceeded to draw up a bill which would organize industry in an attack on the depression.³

According to Roos, Johnson's first NRA draft was on two sheets of foolscap paper and provided simply for suspension of the anti-trust laws, together with almost unlimited authority for President Roosevelt to do almost anything he wished with the economy,

including licensing and control of industry. According to Roos, "It was, of course, rejected by the Administration, since it would have made the President a dictator, and such power was not desired."

This seemingly incidental rejection of unwanted dictatorial power by the Roosevelt administration may be of some significance. In Chapter 10 we will describe the Butler affair, an attempt by the same Wall Street interests to install Roosevelt as a dictator or replace him with a more pliant figurehead in case of his objection. Johnson's first draft attempts were to set up NRA in a form consistent with Roosevelt as an economic dictator, and its rejection by Roosevelt is consistent with serious charges laid at the feet of Wall Street (p. 141). At this point in the planning, according to Roos, Johnson and Moley were joined by Tugwell and later by Donald R. Richberg, a Chicago labor attorney. The three proceeded to draft a more "comprehensive" bill, whatever that meant.

General Hugh Johnson, was appointed head of the National Recovery Administration created under the title of the N.I.R.A. and believed for a while that he was also to head the Public Works Administration. The plans and diagrams drawn up by General Johnson and Alexander Sachs of Lehman Brothers assumed that the NRA head would also direct the public works program.

Consequently, we can find the roots of the NRA bill and the Public Works Administration in this small Wall Street group. Their effort reflects both the Swope and the Baruch plans for corporate socialism, with an initial attempt to provide for a corporate dictatorship in the United States.

SOCIALIST PLANNERS OF THE 1930s

There were, of course, many other plans in the early 1930s; indeed, economic planning was endemic among the academics, politicians, and businessmen of this era. The weight of informed opinion considered economic planning essential to raise America from the depression. Those who doubted the efficacy and wisdom of economic planning were few and far between. Unfortunately, in the early 1930s no empiric experience existed to demonstrate that economic planning is inefficient, creates more problems than it solves, and leads to loss of individual freedom. To be sure, Ludwig von Mises had written *Socialism* and made his accurate predictions on the chaos of planning, but von Mises was even then an unknown economic theoretician. There is a mystical lure to economic planning. Its proponents always implicitly visualize themselves as the planners, and the anti capitalist psychology, so well described by von Mises, is the psychological pressure behind the scenes to make the plan come about. Even today in 1975, long after economic planning has been totally discredited, we still have the siren song of prosperity by planning. J. Kenneth Galbraith is one prominently vocal example, no doubt because Galbraith's personal estimate of his abilities and wisdom is greater than that of America at large. Galbraith recognizes that planning offers a means to exercise his assumed abilities to the full. The rest of us are to be coerced into the plan by the police power of

the state: a negation of liberal principles perhaps, but logic was never a strong point among the economic engineers.

In any case, in the 1930s economic planning had many more enthusiastic proponents and far fewer critics than today. Almost everyone was a Galbraith, and the basic content of the plans proposed was notably similar to his. The table below lists the more prominent plans and their outstanding attributes. Industry, always anxious to find shelter from competition in the police power of the state, itself proposed three plans. The most important of these industry plans, the Swope plan, had compulsory features for all companies with more than 50 employees, combining continuous regulation with, as we have noted, extraordinarily costly welfare proposals. The Swope plan is reproduced in full as Appendix A; the full text reflects the lack of well thought-out administrative proposals and the preponderance of irresponsible give-away welfare features. The first few paragraphs of the plan give the core of Swope's proposals: trade associations, enforced by the state and with power of enforcement concentrated in the hands of major corporations through a system of industrial votes. While 90 per cent of the proposal text is devoted to give-away pensions for workers, unemployment insurance, life insurance and so on, the core is in the first few paragraphs. In brief, the Swope Plan was a carrot to get what Wall Street so earnestly desired: monopoly trade associations with the ability to use state power to enforce monopoly—Frederic Howe's maxim of "get society to work for you" in practice.

Economic Stabilization Plans: 1933

Name of Plan	Proposal for Industry	Government Regulation	Welfare Proposals
Industry Plans			
Swope Plan (General Electric)	Trade Associations, membership compulsory after three years for companies with 50 or more employees. Rulings mandatory	Continuous regulation by Federal Trade Commission	Life and disability insurance, pensions, and unemployment insurance
U.S. Chamber of Commerce Plan	National Economic Council; power not mandatory	No regulation	Individual corporation plans; public works planning

Associated General Contractors of America Plan	Grant by Congress of greater power to Federal Reserve Board. Bond issues to be authorized for revolving fund for construction; bond for increasing public and semi-public construction. Federal Reserve to guarantee solvency of banks	Financial regulation. Licensing of contractors. Establishment of construction credit bureaus	Stimulation of employment through greater building and construction activity. State bonds for public buildings; development of home loan bank
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Labor Plans

American Federation of Labor Plan	National Economic Council; power not mandatory	No regulation	Spread jobs; maintenance of wages; guarantees of jobs; long range stabilization plans. Five day week and shorter day immediately. Program of public building
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Academic and General

Stuart Chase Plan	Revival of War Industries Board using coercive, mandatory power, confined to 20 or 30 basic industries	Continuous regulation	National employment bureaus; reduction of hours; unemployment insurance; raising of wages; allocation of labor
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National Civic Federation Plan	"Business Congress" of industrial organizations. No limitations or restrictions; full and complete power to fix prices or combine	Continuous regulation	Unemployment insurance plan. Raise wages
Beard Plan	National Economic Council," authorized by Congress, to coordinate finance, operation, distribution, and public service enterprises. Each industry governed by subsidiary syndicates	Continuous regulation	Use of unemployed on housing and public project programs

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce plan was similar to the Swope plan, but required only voluntary compliance with the code and did not embody the extensive welfare clauses of the Swope plan. The Chamber of Commerce plan was also based on voluntary compliance, not the coercive government regulation inherent in the Swope proposal.

The third industry plan was put forward by the Associated General Contractors of America. The AGC plan proposed that greater powers be granted the Federal Reserve System to guarantee banks bonds for public construction and, not surprisingly, establishment of special construction credit bureaus financed by the state, coupled with licensing of contractors. In brief, the AGC wanted to keep out competition and tap Federal (taxpayers') funds for promotion of the construction industry.

The American Federation of Labor plan proposed a National Economic Council to spread and guarantee jobs and embark on economic planning for stabilization. The unions did not push for government regulation.

The academic plans were notable in the sense that they supported industry objectives. Stuart Chase, a well-known socialist, came up with something very close to the Wall Street plans: in effect, a revival of Bernard Baruch's 1918 War Industries Board, with

coercive power granted to industry, but confined to 20 or 30 basic industries, with continuous regulation. The Chase plan was an approximation of Italian fascism. The Beard plan also proposed syndicates along Italian lines, with continuous regulation and use of the unemployed in public programs á la Marx and The Communist Manifesto. The National Civic Federation advocated the total planning concept: full and complete power to fix prices and combinations, with state regulation and welfare features to appease labor.

Almost no one, except of course Ludwig von Mises, pointed to the roots of the problem to draw the logical conclusion from economic history that the best economic planning is no economic planning.⁴

SOCIALISTS GREET THE SWOPE PLAN

Orthodox socialists greeted Swope's plan with a curious, if perhaps understandable, restraint. On the one hand, said the socialists, Swope had recognized the evils of unrestrained capitalism. On the other hand the Swope system, complained the socialists, would leave control of industry in the hands of industry itself rather than to the state. As Norman Thomas explained:

Mr. Swope's scheme of regulation is a probably unconstitutional plan for putting the power of government behind the formation of strong capitalist syndicates which will seek to control the government which regulates them and, failing that, will fight it.⁵

Socialist criticism of General Electric's Swope did not consider whether the Swope system would work or had operational efficiency or how it proposed to work; orthodox socialist criticism was limited to the observation that control would be in the wrong hands if industry took over and not in the right hands of the government planners, that is, the socialists themselves. In sum, the dispute was over who was going to control the economy: Mr. Gerard Swope or Mr. Norman Thomas.

Consequently, the Thomas criticism of Swope has a curious duality, sometimes praiseful:

Certainly it is significant that at least one of our authentic captains of industry, one of the real rulers of America, has overcome the profound and bewildered reluctance of the high and mighty to go beyond the sorriest platitudes in telling us how to break the depression they did so much to cause and so little to avert. Obviously Mr. Swope's speech had its good points . . .⁶

At other times Thomas is skeptical and points out that Swope, " . . . no longer trusts

individual initiative, competition and the automatic working of markets," but proposes to gear the system to the benefit of "the stockholding class."

There is no evidence that Gerard Swope and his associates ever trusted individual initiative, competition, and free markets any more than did Norman Thomas. This is an important observation because, once we abandon the myths of all capitalists as entrepreneurs and all liberal planners as saviors of the little man, we see them both for what they are: totalitarians and the opponents of individual liberty. The only difference between them is who is to be the director.

THE THREE MUSKETEERS OF NRA

The National Recovery Administration, most important segment of the New Deal, was then designed, constructed, and promoted by Wall Street. In essence, the NRA originated with Bernard Baruch and his long-time assistant General Johnson. In detail, NRA was the Swope Plan, and its general principles were promoted over the years by numerous prominent Wall Streeters.

There were, of course, planning variants from the socialists and Marxist-influenced planners, but these variants were not the versions that finally became NRA. NRA was essentially fascist in that industry, not central state planners, had the authority to plan, and these industrial planners came from the New York financial establishment. Bernard Baruch's office was at 120 Broadway; the offices of Franklin D. Roosevelt (the New York offices of Fidelity & Deposit and the law offices of Roosevelt & O'Connor) were also at 120 Broadway. Gerard Swope's office and the executive offices of General Electric Company were at the same address. We can therefore say in a limited sense that the Roosevelt NRA was born at 120 Broadway, New York City.

General Hugh Johnson had three principal assistants in NRA, and "these three musketeers were on the job longer and they walked in and out of my office whenever they discovered anything that needed attention."⁷ The three assistants were Wall Streeters from major industries who themselves held prominent positions in major firms in these industries: Gerard Swope, president of General Electric, Walter C. Teagle, of Standard Oil of New Jersey, and Louis Kirstein of William Filene's Sons, the retail merchants. Through this trio, a dominant element of big business was in control at the very peak of NRA. This concentration of control explains the thousands of complaints of NRA oppression that came from medium and small businessmen.

Who were these men? As we have noted, Gerard Swope of General Electric had been assistant to General Johnson in the War Industries Board of World War I. While NRA was under discussion, Johnson "suggested his name to Secretary Roper at once." General Electric was in 1930 the largest of the electrical equipment manufacturers, with Westinghouse holding many of the basic patents in the field, as well as a large interest in

RCA and many international subsidiaries and affiliates. In the late 1920s G.E. and Westinghouse produced about three quarters of the basic equipment for distributing and generating electric power in the U.S. General Electric, however was the dominant firm in the electrical equipment industry.⁸ Under NRA the National Electrical Manufacturers Association (NEMA) was designated as the agency for supervising and administering the electrical industry code. NEMA moved promptly and by July 1933 presented the second code of "fair competition" for the President's signature.

Johnson's second musketeer was Walter Teagle, chairman of the board of the Standard Oil of New Jersey. Standard of New Jersey was the biggest integrated oil company in the U.S., and only Royal Dutch challenged it in international sales. Jersey Standard was controlled by the Rockefeller family, whose holdings in the early 1930s have been estimated at between 20 and 25 per cent.⁹ One might therefore say that Teagle represented the Rockefeller interests in NRA, whereas Swope represented the Morgan interests. It is interesting to note in passing that the largest Standard competitor was Gulf Oil, controlled by the Mellon interests, and there were persistent efforts early in the Roosevelt administration to prosecute Mellon for tax evasion.

The third of Johnson's three musketeers at NRA was Louis Kirstein, vice president of Filene's of Boston. Edward Filene is notable for his books on the advantages of trade associations, fair competition, and cooperation (see page 81 below).

The peak of the Roosevelt National Recovery Administration consisted of the president of the largest electrical corporation, the chairman of the largest oil company, and the representative of the most prominent financial speculator in the United States.

In brief, the administration of NRA was a reflection of the New York financial establishment and its pecuniary interests. Further, as we have seen, since the plan itself originated in Wall Street, the presence of businessmen in the administration of NRA cannot be explained on the basis of their experience and administrative ability. NRA was a creature of Wall Street implemented by Wall Streeters.

THE OPPRESSION OF SMALL BUSINESS

The proponents of the National Industrial Recovery Act made a great show that NRA would protect the small businessman who, it was alleged, had suffered in the past from unfair application of the anti-trust laws; the suspension of the anti-trust laws would remove their more unwelcome features, while NRA would preserve their welcome antimonopoly provisions. Senator Wagner stated that all industry would formulate the proposed industrial codes, not just big business. Senator Borah, on the contrary, contended that "monopoly" was about to receive a service it had coveted for over 25

years, that is, "the death of the antitrust laws" and that the NRA industrial codes "are going to be combinations or contracts in restraint of trade, or it would not be necessary to suspend the antitrust laws." Senator Borah also pointedly accused Senator Wagner of betraying the legitimate businessman for the sake of Wall Street:

The elder Rockefeller did not need any criminal law to aid him when he was building up his wealth. He destroyed the independents everywhere; he scattered them to the four winds; he concentrated his great power. But the Senator would not only give to the combines all the power to write their code, but would give them the power to indict and prosecute the man who violated the code, although he might be pursuing a perfectly legitimate business.

Mr. President, I do not care how much we strengthen, how much we build up, how much we buttress the antitrust law; I object to a suspension in any respect whatever, because I know that when those laws are suspended, we give these 200 non banking corporations, which control the wealth of the United States, a stupendous power, which can never be controlled except through the criminal laws enforced by the courts.¹⁰

Senator Borah then cited Adam Smith (see p. 99) to effect, pointing out that no definition of fair competition was in the bill and that codes of fair competition would degenerate into the dictates of the major corporations. Similarly, Senator Gore pointed to the possibility that the President could require all members of an industry to be licensed and that this meant that the President could revoke a license at his pleasure, an obvious infringement on due process of law and basic property rights:

SENATOR GORE. Could the President revoke that license at this pleasure?

SENATOR WAGNER. Yes, for a violation of the code imposed by the Federal Government.

SENATOR GORE. On what sort of hearing?

SENATOR WAGNER. After a hearing. It is provided that a hearing may be had, before a license can be revoked.

SENATOR GORE. That is something that really affects the life and death of a particular industry or enterprise, if he has the power to revoke the license.

SENATOR WAGNER. Yes; it is a sanction.

SENATOR GORE. What I wanted to ask you. Senator, is this: Do you think you could place that power in the hands of an executive officer?

SENATOR WAGNER. I do, in the case of an emergency.

SENATOR GORE. To exterminate an industry?

SENATOR WAGNER. All of these powers, of course, are lodged in one individual, and we have just got to rely upon him to administer it fairly and justly. We had the same sort of power during the war.

SENATOR GORE. I know that, and Mr. Hoover, if I may use these words,

put free-born American citizens out of business without trial by jury.

SENATOR WAGNER. The philosophy of this bill is to encourage voluntary action and initiative on the part of industry, and I doubt whether or not these compulsory methods will be used at all except on very rare occasions; but if you are going to lift the standard, you have got to have some sanctions in order to enforce the code that may be adopted.

SENATOR GORE. I understand, but if you are going to carry out this system you have to have power to carry it out. My point is why in a free country a free man ought to be required to take out a license to engage in legitimate industry, and why somebody under our constitutional system should be given the power to destroy the value of his property, which you do when you bring about a situation where he cannot operate. That seems to me approaching the point of taking property without due process of law.¹¹

When we examine the results of the N.I.R.A., even a few short months after passage of the bill, we find that these Senatorial fears were fully justified and that President Roosevelt had abandoned the small businessman of the United States to the control of Wall Street. Many industries were dominated by a few major firms, in turn under control of Wall Street investment houses. These major firms were dominant, through the three musketeers, in establishing the NRA codes. They had the most votes and could and did set prices and conditions ruinous to smaller firms.

The iron and steel industry is a good example of the manner in which large firms dominated the NRA code. In the 1930s two leading companies, United States Steel, with 39 per cent, and Bethlehem Steel, with 13.6 per cent, controlled over half of the country's steel ingot capacity. The board of U.S. Steel included J.P. Morgan and Thomas W. Lamont, as well as chairman Myron C. Taylor. The board of Bethlehem included Percy A. Rockefeller and Grayson M-P. Murphy of Guaranty Trust, whom we shall meet again in Chapter 10.

In 1930 the largest stockholders of U.S. Steel were George F. Baker and George F. Baker, Jr., with combined shares of 2000 preferred and 107,000 common; Myron C. Taylor head of the Finance Committee of U.S. Steel owned 27,800 shares of common; J. P. Morgan held 1261 shares; and James A. Farrell had title to 4850 shares of preferred stock. These men were also substantial Presidential campaign contributors. For example, in Hoover's 1928 campaign they contributed

J.P. Morgan.....	\$5,000
J.P. Morgan Company.....	\$42,500
George F. Baker.....	\$27,000
George F. Baker Jr.....	\$20,000

Myron C. Taylor.....\$25,00

In the NRA, we find that U.S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel effectively controlled the whole industry by virtue of their votes in the industrial codes; of a total of 1428 votes, these two companies alone were allowed a total of 671 votes, or 47.2 per cent, perilously close to outright control and with undoubted ability to find an ally among the smaller but still significant companies.

NRA-Voting Strength in the Iron and Steel Industry Code

Company ¹²	Votes in Code Authority	Percentage of Total
U.S. Steel	511	36.0
Bethlehem Steel	160	11.2
Republic Steel	86	6.0
National Steel	81	5.7
Jones and Laughlin	79	5.5
Youngstown Sheet & Tube	74	5.1
Wheeling Steel	73	5.1
American Rolling Mill	69	4.8
Inland Steel	51	3.6
Crucible Steel	38	2.7
McKeesport Tin Plate	27	1.9
Allegheny Steel	21	1.5
Spang-Chalfant	17	1.2
Sharon Steel Hoop	16	1.1
Continental Steel	16	1.1

Source: NRA Report Operation of the Basing Point System in the Iron and Steel Industry.

Although U.S. Steel and Bethlehem were the major units in the iron and steel industry before passage of the NRA, they were unable to control competition from numerous smaller firms. After the passage of NIRA, these two firms were able, through their dominance of the code system, also to dominate the iron and steel industry. John D. Rockefeller organized the Standard Oil trust in 1882 but, as a result of court orders under the Sherman Act, the cartel was dissolved into 33 independent companies. In 1933 these companies were still controlled by the Rockefeller family interests; the

Sherman Act was more shadow than substance:

Company	Net income (1930) in Million \$\$
Standard Oil of New Jersey	57
Standard Oil of Indiana	46
Standard Oil of California	46
Standard Oil of New York	16

Offices of the "independent" Standard companies continued to be located at Rockefeller headquarters, at this time at 25 and 26 Broadway. During the 1920s new capital entered, and there was a relative shift in the importance of the various Standard Oil companies. By the time of the New Deal the largest single unit was Standard Oil of New Jersey, in which the Rockefeller interests held a 20 to 25 per cent interest. The president of New Jersey Standard, Walter S. Teagle, became one of the three musketeers of NRA. When we look at the auto industry in 1930 we find that two companies, Ford and General Motors, sold about three quarters of the cars produced in the United States. If we include Chrysler, the three companies sold about five sixths of all U.S. automobiles produced:

Ford Motor Co.....	40 per cent
General Motors.....	35 per cent
Chrysler Corp.....	8 per cent

Under its founder, Henry Ford, the Ford Motor Company had little use for politics, although James Couzens, one of the original Ford stockholders, later became Senator from Michigan. Ford maintained its executive offices in Dearborn, Michigan and only a sales office in New York. Ford was also vehemently anti-NRA and anti-Wall Street, and Henry Ford is notable by reason of his absence from the lists of contributors to Presidential campaigns.

On the other hand, General Motors was a creature of Wall Street. The firm was controlled by the J.P. Morgan firm; the chairman of the board was Pierre S. Du Pont, of the Du Pont Company, which in 1933 had about a 25 per cent interest in General Motors. In 1930 the General Motors board comprised Junius S. Morgan, Jr. and George Whitney of the Morgan firm; directors from the First National Bank and Bankers Trust; seven directors from Du Pont; and Owen D. Young of General Electric.

Another example is the International Harvester Company, in 1930 under its president Alexander Legge the giant of the agricultural equipment industry. Legge was part of the NRA. The agricultural equipment combination was formed in 1920 by the J.P. Morgan Company and controlled about 85 per cent of the total production of harvesting machines in the United States. In 1930, the firm was still dominant in the industry:

Company	Assets	Percentage of Market
International Harvester (11 Broadway)	\$384 million (1929)	60
Deere & Co.	\$107	17
J.I. Case	\$55	8
Others	\$100	15
Total	\$646 million	100

In 1930 at least 80 large companies were mining bituminous coal in the United States; of these, two—Pittsburgh Coal and Consolidation Coal—were dominant. Pittsburgh Coal was under control of the Pittsburgh banking family, the Mellons. Consolidation Coal was largely owned by J.D. Rockefeller, who owned 72 per cent of the preferred and 28 per cent of the common stock. Both the Mellons and the Rockefellers were heavy political contributors. Similarly, anthracite production was concentrated in the hands of the Reading Railroad, which mined 44 per cent of U.S. hard coal. Reading was controlled by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which held 66 per cent of its stock, and the chairman of B & O was E.T. Stotesbury, a partner in the Morgan firm.

When we look at machine-building firms in the United States in 1930, we find that the largest by far was General Electric—and president Swope of G.E. was intimately connected with NRA.

Major Machine Building Firms (1929)

Firm	Assets in Millions	Profits (1929) in Millions	Sales (1929) in Millions
General Electric, 120 Broadway	\$500	\$71	\$415.3
American Radiator & Standard Sanitary, 40 W. 40th St.	226	20	
Westinghouse Electric, 150 Broadway	225	27	216.3

Baldwin Locomotive, 120 Broadway	100	3	40
American Locomotive, 30 Church St.	106	7	
American Car & Foundry, 30 Church St.	120	2.7	
International Business Machines, 50 Broadway	40	6.7	
Otis Elevator, 260 11th Avenue	57	8	
Crane Company	116	11.5	

As we glance down the list we note that American Car & Foundry (whose president, Woodin, became Secretary of the Treasury under Roosevelt), American Radiator & Standard, and Crane Company were all prominent contributors to FDR.

Given this dominant influence of large firms in the NRA and the Roosevelt administration, it is not surprising that NRA was administered in a manner oppressive to small business. Even in the brief life of NRA, until it was declared unconstitutional, we find evidence of oppression: witness the complaints by small business in the industries we have discussed compared to other industries in small business with many more units:

Industry	Numbers of Complaints of Oppression (January-April 1934)
Major Industry	
Iron and Steel	66
Investment Banking	47
Petroleum	60
Electrical Manufacturing	9
Small Business	
Cleaning and Dyeing	31
Ice	12
Printing	22
Boot and Shoes	10
Laundry	9

Source: Roos, NRA Economic Planning, p. 411, from unpublished NRA data.

Footnotes

1. See Appendix A for the full text.
2. Senator Huey P. Long, Congressional Record, June 8, 1933, p. 5250.3. Charles F. Ross, NRA Economic Planning (Indianapolis: The Principia Press 1937), p. 37.
4. Should the reader wish to pursue the explanation for this pervasive inability to see the obvious, he could start in no better place than Ludwig von Mises, *The Anti-Capitalistic Mentality* (New York; Van Nostrand, 1956).
5. "A Socialist Looks at the Swope Plan," *The Nation*, Oct. 7, 1931, p. 358.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 357.
7. Hugh S. Johnson, *The Blue Eagle from Egg to Earth*, op. cit., p. 217.
8. For more information see Harry W. Laidler, *Concentration of Control in American Industry* (New York: Crowell, 1931), Chapter XV.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
10. Congressional Record, 1933, p. 5165.
11. United States Senate, National Industrial Recovery, Hearings before Committee on Finance, 73rd Congress, 1st Session, S.17 and H.R. 5755 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), p. 5.
12. In addition, the following smaller firms had votes: Acme Steel (9), Granite City Steel (8), Babcock and Wilcox (8), Alan Wood (7), Washburn Wire (7), Interlake Iron (7), Follansbee Bros. (6), Ludlum Steel (6), Superior Steel (6), Bliss and Laughlin (6), Laclede Steel (5), Apollo Steel (5), Atlantic Steel (4), Central Iron and Steel (4), A.M. Byers Company (4), Sloss-Sheffield (4), Woodward Iron (3), Firth-Sterling (2), Davison Coke and Iron (2), Soullin Steel (1), Harrisburg Pipe (1), Eastern Rolling Mill (1), Michigan Steel Tube (1), Milton Manufacturing Company (1), and Cranberry Furnace (1).

CHAPTER 10

FDR; Man on the White Horse

In the last few weeks of the committee's official life it received evidence showing that certain persons had made an attempt to establish a fascist organization in this country. There is no question that these attempts were discussed, were planned, and might have been placed in execution when and if the financial backers deemed it expedient....

This committee received evidence from Maj. Gen. Smedley D. Butler (retired), twice decorated by the Congress of the United States . . . your committee was able to verify all the pertinent statements made by General Butler....

John W. McCormack, Chairman, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, February 15, 1935.

Just before Christmas 1934, news of a bizarre plot to install a dictator in the White House surfaced in Washington and New York, and the story—one of unparalleled significance—was promptly smothered by Congress and the establishment press.¹

On November 21, 1934 *The New York Times* printed the first portion of the Butler story as told to the House Un-American Activities Committee, giving it front-page treatment and an intriguing lead paragraph:

A plot of Wall Street interests to overthrow President Roosevelt and establish a fascist dictatorship, backed by a private army of 500,000 ex-soldiers and others, was charged by Major Gen. Smedley D. Butler, retired Marine Corps officer. . . .

The New York Times report added that General Butler, ". . . had told friends . . . that General Hugh S. Johnson, former NRA administrator, was scheduled for the role of dictator, and J.P. Morgan & Co. as well as Murphy & Co. were behind the plot."

After this promising opening, *The New York Times* reporting gradually faded away and finally disappeared. Fortunately, enough information has since surfaced to demonstrate that the Butler Affair or the Plot to Seize the White House is an integral part of our story of FDR and Wall Street.

GRAYSON M-P. MURPHY COMPANY, 52 BROADWAY

The central figure in the plot was Major General Smedley Darlington Butler, a colorful, popular, widely known Marine Corps officer, twice decorated with the Congressional Medal of Honor and a veteran of 33 years of military service. General Butler testified in 1934 to the McCormack-Dickstein Committee investigating Nazi and Communist activities in the United States that a plan for a White House dictatorship was outlined to him by two members of the American Legion: Gerald C. MacGuire, who worked for Grayson M-P. Murphy & Co., 52 Broadway, New York City, and Bill Doyle, whom Butler identified as an officer of the American Legion. General Butler testified that these men wanted to "unseat the Royal Family in control of the American Legion at the Convention to be held in Chicago, and [were] very anxious to have me take part in it." A scheme was outlined to General Butler: he was to come before the convention as a legion delegate from Honolulu; there would be two or three hundred American Legion members in the audience; and "these planted fellows were to begin to cheer and start a stampede and yell for a speech, then I was to go to the platform and make a speech."

The prepared speech was to be written by Morgan associate John W. Davis. To prove his Wall Street financial backing, MacGuire showed General Butler a bank book listing deposits of \$42,000 and \$64,000 and mentioned that their source was Grayson M-P. Murphy, director of Guaranty Trust Company and other Morgan-controlled companies. A millionaire banker, Robert S. Clark, with offices in the Stock Exchange Building at 11 Wall Street, was also involved.

Robert Clark was incidentally known to General Butler from his China campaign days. MacGuire and Doyle also offered Butler a substantial sum to make a similar speech before the convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars at Miami Beach. According to MacGuire, his group had investigated the background of Mussolini and Italian fascism, Hitler's organization in Germany, and the Croix de Feu in France and hinted that it was time to establish a similar organization in the United States. General Butler testified to the Congressional committee about MacGuire's statement in the following words:

He said, "The time has come now to get the soldiers together."

"Yes," I said, "I think so, too." He said, "I went abroad to study the part that the veteran plays in the various set-ups of the governments that they have abroad. I went to Italy for 2 or 3 months and studied the position that the veterans of Italy occupy in the Fascist set-up of Government, and I discovered that they are the background of Mussolini. They keep them on the pay rolls in various ways and keep them contented and happy; and they are his real backbone, the force on which he may depend, in case of trouble, to sustain him. But that set-up would not suit us at all. The soldiers of America would not like that. I then went to Germany to see what Hitler was doing, and his whole strength lies in organizations of soldiers, too. But that would not do. I looked into the Russian business. I found that the use of

the soldiers over there would never appeal to our men. Then I went to France, and I found just exactly the organization we are going to have. It is an organization of super soldiers." He gave me the French name for it, but I do not recall what it is. I never could have pronounced it, anyhow. But I do know that it is a super organization of members of all the other soldiers' organizations of France, composed of noncommissioned officers and officers. He told me that they had about 500,000 and that each one was a leader of 10 others, so that it gave them 5,000,000 votes. And he said, "Now, that is our idea here in America—to get up an organization of that kind."²

What would be the objective of this super organization? According to the previously cited *New York Times*,³ General Butler is reported to have testified that the affair was an attempted *coup d'etat* to overthrow President Roosevelt and replace him with a fascist dictator. This interpretation is repeated by Archer, Seldes, and other writers. However, this was not the accusation made by General Butler to the committee. Butler's precise statement concerning the projected organization, the use to which it was to be put when established, and the role of President Roosevelt is as follows; General Butler reported on his conversation with MacGuire:

I said, "What do you want to do with it when you get it up?"

"Well," he said, "we want to support the President."

I said, "The President does not need the support of that kind of an organization. Since when did you become a supporter of the President?"

The last time I talked to you you were against him."

He said, "Well, he is going to go along with us now."

"Is he?"

"Yes."

"Well, what are you going to do with these men, suppose you get these 500,000 men in America? What are you going to do with them?"

"Well," he said, "they will be the support of the President."

I said, "The President has got the whole American people. Why does he want them?"

He said, "Don't you understand the set-up has got to be changed a bit? Now, we have got him—we have got the President. He has got to have more money. There is not any more money to give him. Eighty percent of the money now is in Government bonds, and he cannot keep this racket up much longer. He has got to do something about it. He has either got to get more money out of us or he has got to change the method of financing the Government, and we are going to see to it that he does not change that method. He will not change it."

I said, "The idea of this great group of soldiers, then, is to sort of frighten him, is it?"

"No, no, no; not to frighten him. This is to sustain him when others assault him."

I said, "Well I do not know about that. How would the President explain it?"

He said: "He will not necessarily have to explain it, because we are going to help him out. Now, did it ever occur to you that the President is overworked? We might have an Assistant President, somebody to take the blame; and if things do not work out, he can drop him."

He went on to say that it did not take any constitutional change to authorize another Cabinet official, somebody to take over the details of the office—take them off the President's shoulders. He mentioned that the position would be a secretary of general affairs—a sort of super secretary.

CHAIRMAN [Congressman McCormack]. A secretary of general affairs?

BUTLER. That is the term used by him—or a secretary of general welfare—I cannot recall which. I came out of the interview with that name in my head. I got that idea from talking to both of them, you see. They had both talked about the same kind of relief that ought to be given the President, and he said: "You know, the American people will swallow that. We have got the newspapers. We will start a campaign that the President's health is failing. Everybody can tell that by looking at him, and the dumb American people will fall for it in a second." And I could see it. They had that sympathy racket, that they were going to have somebody take the patronage off of his shoulders and take all the worries and details off of his shoulders, and then he will be like the President of France. I said, "So that is where you got this idea?"

He said: "I have been traveling around looking around. Now, about this super organization—would you be interested in heading it?"

I said, "I am interested in it, but I do not know about heading it. I am very greatly interested in it, because you know. Jerry, my interest is, my one hobby is, maintaining a democracy. If you get these 500,000 soldiers advocating anything smelling of Fascism, I am going to get 500,000 more and lick the hell out of you, and we will have a real war right at home. You know that."

"Oh, no. We do not want that. We want to ease up on the President."

"Yes; and then you will put somebody in there you can run; is that the idea? The President will go around and christen babies and dedicate bridges, and kiss children. Mr. Roosevelt will never agree to that himself."

"Oh yes; he will. He will agree to that."⁴

In other words, the Wall Street plot was not to dispose of President Roosevelt at all, but to kick him upstairs and install an Assistant President with absolute powers. Just why it was necessary to go to the trouble of installing an Assistant President is unclear because the Vice President was in office. In any event, it was planned to run the United States with a Secretary of General Affairs, and the gullible American public would accept this

under the guise of necessary protection from a communist take-over.

At this point it is interesting to recall the role of many of these same financiers and financial firms in the Bolshevik Revolution—a role, incidentally, that could not have been known to General Butler⁵—and the use of similar Red scare tactics in the 1922 United Americans organization. Grayson M-P. Murphy was, in the early 1930s, a director of several companies controlled by the J.P. Morgan interests, including the Guaranty Trust Company, prominent in the Bolshevik Revolution, the New York Trust Company, and Bethlehem Steel, and was on the board of Inspiration Copper Company, National Aviation Corporation, Intercontinental Rubber Co., and U.S. & Foreign Securities. John W. Davis, the speech writer for General Butler, was a partner in Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Gardner & Reed of 15 Broad Street. Both Polk and Wardwell of this prestigious law firm, as well as Grayson Murphy, had roles in the Bolshevik Revolution. Further, Davis was also a co-director with Murphy in the Morgan-controlled Guaranty Trust Co. and a co director with Presidential hopeful Al Smith in the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., as well as director of the Mutual Life Insurance Co., the U.S. Rubber Co., and American Telephone and Telegraph, the controlling unit of the Bell System.

Fortunately for history. General Butler discussed the offer with an impartial newspaper source at a very early point in his talks with MacGuire and Doyle. The McCormack-Dickstein Committee heard testimony under oath from this confidant, Paul Comley French. French confirmed the facts that he was a reporter for *The Philadelphia Record* and the *The New York Evening Post* and that General Butler had told him about the plot in September 1934. Subsequently, on September 13, 1934 French went to New York and met with MacGuire. The following is part of French's statement to the Committee:

MR. FRENCH. [I saw] Gerald P. MacGuire in the offices of Grayson M.-P. Murphy & Co., the twelfth floor of 52 Broadway, shortly after 1 o'clock in the afternoon. He has a small private office there and I went into his office. I have here some direct quotes from him. As soon as I left his office I got to a typewriter and made a memorandum of everything that he told me. "We need a Fascist government in this country," he insisted, "to save the Nation from the communists who want to tear it down and wreck all that we have built in America. The only men who have the, patriotism to do it are the soldiers and Smedley Butler is the ideal leader. He could organize a million men over night." During the conversation he told me he had been in Italy and Germany during the summer of 1934 and the spring of 1934 and had made an intensive study of the background of the Nazi and Fascist movements and how the veterans had played a part in them. He said he had obtained enough information on the Fascist and Nazi movements and of the part played by the veterans, to properly set up one in this country. He emphasized throughout his conversation with me that the whole thing was tremendously patriotic, that it was saving the Nation from communists,

and that the men they deal with have that crackbrained idea that the Communists are going to take it apart. He said the only safeguard would be the soldiers. At first he suggested that the General organize this outfit himself and ask a dollar a year dues from everybody. We discussed that, and then he came around to the point of getting outside financial funds, and he said that it would not be any trouble to raise a million dollars.

During the course of the conversation he continually discussed the need of a man on a white horse, as he called it, a dictator who would come galloping in on his white horse. He said that was the only way; either through the threat of armed force or the delegation of power, and the use of a group of organized veterans, to save the capitalistic system.

He warmed up considerably after we got under way and he said, "We might go along with Roosevelt, and then do with him what Mussolini did with the King of Italy." It fits in with what he told the general [Butler], that we would have a Secretary of General Affairs, and if Roosevelt played ball, swell; and if he did not, they would push him out.⁶

JACKSON MARTINDELL, 14 WALL STREET

The sworn testimony of General Smedley Butler and Paul French in the committee hearings has a persistent thread. General Butler rambled from time to time, and some parts of his statement are vague, but there is obviously a lot more to the story than an innocent gathering of American Legion members into a super organization. Is there any independent evidence to confirm General Butler and Paul French? Unknown to both Butler and French, Guaranty Trust had been involved in Wall Street maneuverings in the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, so indicating at least a predisposition to mix financial business with dictatorial politics; two of the persons involved in the plot were directors of Guaranty Trust. Also, before the hearings were abruptly halted, the committee heard evidence from an independent source, which confirmed many details recounted by General Butler and Paul French. In December 1934 Captain Samuel Glazier, Commanding Officer of the CCC Camp at Elkridge, Maryland,⁷ was called before the committee.

On October 2, 1934, testified Captain Glazier, he had received a letter from A.P. Sullivan, Assistant Adjutant General of the U.S. Army, introducing a Mr. Jackson Martindell, "who will be shown every courtesy by you." This letter was sent to Glazier by command of Major General Malone of the U.S. Army. Who was Jackson Martindell? He was a financial counsel with offices at 14 Wall Street, previously associated with Stone & Webster & Blodget, Inc., investment bankers of 120 Broadway, and with Carter, Martindell & Co., investment bankers at 115 Broadway.⁸ Martindell was a man of substance, living according to The New York Times, ". . . in the centre of a beautiful sixty acre estate" that he had bought from Charles Pfizer,⁹ and was sufficiently influential for

General Malone to arrange a conducted tour of the Elkridge, Maryland Conservation Corps Camp.

Martindell's association with Stone & Webster (120 Broadway) is significant and by itself warrants a follow-up on his associates in the Wall Street area.

Captain Glazier provided Martindell with the requested camp tour and testified to the committee that Martindell posed numerous questions about a similar camp for men to work in industry rather than in forests. A week or so after the visit. Captain Glazier visited Martindell's New Jersey home, learned that he was a personal friend of General Malone, and was informed that Martindell wanted to organize camps similar to the CCC to train 500,000 young men. The overtones of this talk, as reported by Glazier, were anti-semitic and suggested an attempted coup d'etat in the United States; the organization sponsoring this overthrow was called American Vigilantes, whose emblem was a flag with a red eagle on a blue background in lieu of the German swastika. This was in part an independent verification of General Butler's testimony.

GERALD C. MACGUIRE'S TESTIMONY

Gerald MacGuire, one of the accused plotters, was called before the committee and testified at length under oath. He stated that he met General Butler in 1933 and that his reasons for visiting Butler were, (1) to discuss the Committee for a Sound Dollar and (2) that he thought Butler would be a "fine man to be commander of the Legion."

MacGuire admitted that he had told General Butler that he was a member of the distinguished guest committee of the American Legion; he had a "hazy recollection" that millionaire Robert S. Clark had talked to Butler, but "denied emphatically" making arrangements for Clark to meet Butler. MacGuire admitted sending Butler postcards from Europe, that he had had a conversation with the general at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, and that he had told Butler that he was going to the convention in Miami. However, when asked whether he had told Butler about the role veterans played in European governments, he replied that he had not, although he stated that he had told Butler that in his opinion "Hitler would not last another year in Germany and that Mussolini was on the skids."¹⁰

MacGuire's testimony on his meeting with French differed substantially from French's account:

QUESTION. Now, what did Mr. French call to see you about, Mr. MacGuire?

ANSWER. He called, according to Mr. French's story, to meet me, and to make my acquaintance, because I had known General Butler, and I was a friend of his, and he wanted to know me, and that was mainly the object of his visit.

QUESTION. Nothing else discussed?

ANSWER. A number of things discussed; yes. The position of the bond market, the stock market; what I thought was a good buy right now; what he could buy if he had seven or eight hundred dollars; the position of the country; the prospects for recovery, and various topics that any two men would discuss if they came together.

QUESTION. Nothing else?

ANSWER. Nothing else, excepting this, Mr. Chairman: As I said yesterday, I believe, when Mr. French came to me, he said. General Butler is, or has, again been approached by two or three organizations—and I think he mentioned one of them as some Vigilante committee of this country— and he said, "What do you think of it?" and I think I said to him, "Why, I don't think the General ought to get mixed up with any of those affairs in this country. I think these fellows are all trying to use him; to use his name for publicity purposes, and to get membership, and I think he ought to keep away from any of these organizations."

QUESTION. Nothing else?

ANSWER. Nothing else. That was the gist of the entire conversation.¹¹

MacGuire further testified that he worked for Grayson Murphy and that Robert S. Clark had put up \$300,000 to form the Committee for a Sound Dollar.

The McCormack-Dickstein Committee was able to confirm the fact that Robert Sterling Clark transmitted money to MacGuire for political purposes:

He [MacGuire] further testified that this money was given him by Mr. Clark long after the Chicago Convention of the Legion, and that he had also received from Walter E. Frew of the Corn Exchange Bank & Trust Co. the sum of \$1,000, which was also placed to the credit of the Sound Money Committee.

MacGuire then testified that he had received from Robert Sterling Clark approximately \$7200, for his traveling expenses to, in and from Europe, to which had been added the sum of \$2500 on another occasion and \$1000 at another time, and he stated under oath, that he had not received anything from anybody else and further testified that he had deposited it in his personal account at the Manufacturers Trust Co., 55 Broad Street.

MacGuire further testified that he had a drawing account of \$432 a month right now, to which were added some commissions. Later MacGuire testified that the \$2500 and the \$1000 were in connection with the organization of the Committee for a Sound Dollar.

Chairman McCormack then directed the following question: "Did Mr. Clark contribute any money in any other way, besides the \$30,000. and the other sums that you have enumerated he gave to you personally?" to which MacGuire replied, "No sir, he has been asked several times to contribute to

different funds, but he has refused."¹²

In its New York press release the committee noted several discrepancies in MacGuire's testimony on receipt of funds. The section reads as follows:

Neither could MacGuire remember what the purpose of his trip was to Washington or whether he had given the Central Hanover Bank thirteen one thousand dollar bills or that he had bought one of the letters of credit with a certified check drawn on the account of Mr. Christmas.

In the course of the questioning MacGuire could not remember whether he had ever handled thousand dollar bills, and certainly could not remember producing thirteen of them at one time in the bank. It must be remembered in this connection, that the \$13,000 purchase with one thousand dollar bills at the bank, came just six days after Butler claims MacGuire showed him eighteen one thousand dollars bills in Newark.

From the foregoing, it can readily be seen that in addition to the \$30,000 which Clark gave MacGuire for the Sound Money Committee that he produced approximately \$75,000 more which MacGuire reluctantly admitted on being confronted with the evidence.

This \$75,000 is shown in the \$26,000 that went into the Manufacturers Trust account, \$10,000 in currency at the luncheon, the purchase of letters of credit totaling \$30,300, of which Christmas' certified check was represented as \$15,000, expenses to Europe close to \$8,000. This still stands unexplained.

Whether there was more and how much, the Committee does not yet know.¹³

The committee then asked MacGuire an obvious question: whether he knew Jackson Martindell. Unfortunately, an equally obvious error in MacGuire's answer was allowed to pass by unchallenged. The committee transcript reads as follows:

By the Chairman:

QUESTION. Do you know Mr. Martindell, Mr. MacGuire?

ANSWER. Mr. Martin Dell? No, sir; I do not.

THE CHAIRMAN. Is that his name?

MR. DICKSTEIN. I think so.¹⁴

So, in brief, we have three reliable witnesses—General Butler, Paul French, and Captain Samuel Glazier—testifying under oath about plans of a plot to install a dictatorship in the United States. And we have contradictory testimony from Gerald MacGuire that clearly warrants further investigation. Such investigation was at first the committee's stated intention: "The Committee is awaiting the return to this country of both Mr. Clark and Mr.

Christmas. As the evidence stands, it calls for an explanation that the Committee has been unable to obtain from Mr. MacGuire."¹⁵

But the Committee did not call either Mr. Clark or Mr. Christmas to give evidence. It made no further effort—at least, no further effort appears on the public record—to find an explanation for the inconsistencies and inaccuracies in MacGuire's testimony, testimony that was given to the committee under oath.

SUPPRESSION OF WALL STREET INVOLVEMENT

The story of an attempted take-over of executive power in the United States was suppressed, not only by parties directly interested, but also by several institutions usually regarded as protectors of constitutional liberty and freedom of inquiry. Among the groups suppressing information were (1) the Congress of the United States, (2) the press, notably *Time* and *The New York Times*, and (3) the White House itself. It is also notable that no academic inquiry has been conducted into what is surely one of the more ominous events in recent American history. Suppression is even more regrettable in the light of the current trend toward collectivism in the United States and the likelihood of another attempt at a dictatorial takeover using supposed threats from either the left or the right as a pretext.

Suppression by the House Un-American Activities Committee took the form of deleting extensive excerpts relating to Wall Street financiers including Guaranty Trust director Grayson Murphy, J.P. Morgan, the Du Pont interests, Remington Arms, and others allegedly involved in the plot attempt. Even today, in 1975, a full transcript of the hearings cannot be traced.

Some of the deleted portions of the transcript were unearthed by reporter John Spivak.¹⁶ A reference to NRA Administrator Hugh Johnson will show the type of information suppressed; the Committee suppressed the words in italics from the printed testimony; Butler speaks to MacGuire:

I said, "Is there anything stirring about it yet?"

"Yes," he says; "you watch; in two or three weeks you will see it come out in the papers. There will be big fellows in it" . . . and in about two weeks the American Liberty League appeared, which was just about what he described it to be.

We might have an assistant President, somebody to take the blame; and if things do not work out, he can drop him. He said, "That is what he was building up Hugh Johnson for. Hugh Johnson talked too damn much and got him into a hole, and he is going to fire him in the next three or four weeks."

I said, "How do you know all this?" "Oh," he said, "we are in with him all the time. We know what is going to happen."¹⁷

The testimony of Paul French was also censored by the House Committee. Witness the following extract from French's testimony referring to John W. Davis, J.P. Morgan, the Du Pont Company, and others in Wall Street and which strongly corroborates General Butler's testimony:

At first he [MacGuire] suggested that the General [Butler] organize this outfit himself and ask a dollar a year dues from everybody. We discussed that, and then he came around to the point of getting outside financial funds, and he said it would not be any trouble to raise a million dollars. He said he could go to John W. Davis [attorney for J.P. Morgan & Co.] or Perkins of the National City Bank, and any number of persons to get it. Of course, that may or may not mean anything. That is, his reference to John W. Davis and Perkins of the National City Bank. During my conversation with him I did not of course commit the General to anything. I was just feeling him along. Later, we discussed the question of arms and equipment, and he suggested that they could be obtained from the Remington Arms Co., on credit through the Du Ponts.

I do not think at that time he mentioned the connections of Du Pont with the American Liberty League, but he skirted all around it. That is, I do not think he mentioned the Liberty League, but he skirted all around the idea that that was the back door; one of the Du Ponts is on the board of directors of the American Liberty League and they own a controlling interest in the Remington Arms Co ... He said the General would not have any trouble enlisting 500,000 men.¹⁸

John L. Spivak, the reporter who unearthed the suppression in the Congressional transcripts, challenged Committee Cochairman Samuel Dickstein of New York with his evidence. Dickstein admitted that:

the Committee had deleted certain parts of the testimony because they were hearsay."

"But your published reports are full of hearsay testimony."

"They are?" he said.

"Why wasn't Grayson Murphy called? Your Committee knew that Murphy's men are in the anti-Semitic espionage organization Order of '76?"

"We didn't have the time. We'd have taken care of the Wall Street groups if we had the time. I would have no hesitation in going after the Morgans."

"You had Belgrano, Commander of the American Legion, listed to testify. Why wasn't he examined?"

"I don't know. Maybe you can get Mr. McCormack to explain that. I had nothing to do with it."¹⁹

The fact remains that the committee did not call Grayson Murphy, Jackson Martindell, or John W. Davis, all directly accused in sworn testimony. Further, the committee deleted all portions of the testimony involving other prominent persons: J.P. Morgan, the Du Ponts, the Rockefeller interests, Hugh Johnson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. When Congressman Dickstein pleaded his innocence to John Spivak, it was inconsistent with his own letter to President Roosevelt, in which he claims to have placed restrictions even upon public distribution of the committee hearings, as printed, "in order that they might not get into other than responsible hands." The final report issued by the committee in February 15, 1935 buried the story even further. John L. Spivak sums up the burial succinctly: "I... studied the Committee's report. It gave six pages to the threat by Nazi agents operating in this country and eleven pages to the threat by communists. It gave one page to the plot to seize the Government and destroy our democratic system."²⁰

The role of leading newspapers and journals of opinion in reporting the Butler affair is equally suspect. In fact, their handling of the event has the appearance of outright distortion and censorship. The veracity of some major newspapers has been widely questioned in the last 50 years,²¹ and in some quarters the media have even been accused of a conspiracy to suppress "everything in opposition to the wishes of the interest served." For example, in 1917 Congressman Callaway inserted in The Congressional Record the following devastating critique of Morgan control of the press:

MR. CALLAWAY. Mr. Chairman, under unanimous consent, I insert in the Record at this point a statement showing the newspaper combination, which explains their activity in this war matter, just discussed by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Moore):

In March, 1915, the J.P. Morgan interests, the steel, shipbuilding, and powder interests, and their subsidiary organizations, got together 12 men high up in the newspaper world and employed them to select the most influential newspapers in the United States and a sufficient number of them to control generally the policy of the daily press of the United States.

These 12 men worked the problem out by selecting 179 newspapers, and then began by an elimination process, to retain only those necessary for the purpose of controlling the general policy of the daily press throughout the country. They found it was only necessary to purchase the control of 25 of the greatest papers. The 25 papers were agreed upon; emissaries were sent to purchase the policy, national and international, of these papers; an agreement was reached; the policy of the papers was bought, to be paid for by the month; an editor was furnished for each paper to properly supervise and edit information regarding the questions of preparedness, militarism, financial policies, and other things of national and international nature considered vital to the interests of the purchasers.

This contract is in existence at the present time, and it accounts for the news columns of the daily press of the country being filled with all sorts of

preparedness arguments and misrepresentations as to the present condition of the United States Army and Navy and the possibility and probability of the United States being attacked by foreign foes.

This policy also included the suppression of everything in opposition to the wishes of the interests served. The effectiveness of this scheme has been conclusively demonstrated by the character of stuff carried in the daily press throughout the country since March 1915. They have resorted to anything necessary to commercialize public sentiment and sandbag the National Congress into making extravagant and wasteful appropriations for the Army and Navy under the false pretense that it was necessary. Their stock argument is that it is "patriotism." They are playing on every prejudice and passion of the American people.²²

In the Butler affair the accused interests are also those identified by Congressman Callaway: the J.P. Morgan firm and the steel and powder industries. General Butler accused Grayson Murphy, a director of the Morgan-controlled Guaranty Trust Company; Jackson Martindell, associated with Stone & Webster, allied to the Morgans; the Du Pont Company (the powder industry); and Remington Arms Company, which was controlled by Du Pont and the Morgan-Harriman financial interests. Further, the firms that appear in the suppressed 1934 Congressional testimony are J.P. Morgan, Du Pont, and Remington Arms. In brief, we can verify 1934 Congressional suppression of information that supports the earlier 1917 charges of Congressman Callaway.

Does such suppression extend to major news journals? We can take two prime examples; *The New York Times* and *Time* magazine. If such a combination as Callaway charges did exist, then these two journals would certainly be among "25 of the greatest papers involved in the 1930s." *The New York Times* reporting of the "plot" opens up with a front-page headline article on November 21, 1934: "Gen. Butler Bares 'Fascist Plot' to Seize Government by Force," with the lead paragraph quoted above (p. 143). This *Times* article is a reasonably good job of reporting and includes a forthright statement by Congressman Dickstein: "From present indications Butler has the evidence. He's not going to make any serious charges unless he has something to back them up. We'll have men here with bigger names than his." Then the *Times* article records that "Mr. Dickstein said that about sixteen persons mentioned by General Butler to the Committee would be subpoenaed, and that a public hearing might be held next Monday." The *Times* also includes outright and sometimes enraged denials from Hugh Johnson, Thomas W. Lamont, and Grayson M-P. Murphy of Guaranty Trust.

The following morning, November 22, the *Times* made a major switch in reporting the plot. The disclosures were removed to an inside page, although the testimony now concerned Gerald MacGuire, one of the accused plotters. Further, a decided change in the attitude of the committee can be discerned. Congressman McCormack is now reported as saying that "the committee has not decided whether to call any additional

witnesses. He said that the most important witness, aside from Mr. MacGuire, was Robert Sterling Clark, a wealthy New Yorker with offices in the Stock Exchange Building."

While the *Times* reporting was consigned to an inside single column, the editorial page, its most influential section, carried a lead editorial that set the tone for subsequent reporting. Under the head "Credulity Unlimited," it contended that the Butler charge was a "bald and unconvincing narrative. ... The whole story sounds like a gigantic hoax ... it does not merit serious discussion," and so on. In brief, *before* the 16 important witnesses were called, *before* the evidence was on the record, *before* the charge was investigated. The New York Times decided that it wanted to hear nothing about this story because it was a hoax, not fit to print.

The next day, November 23, the Times changed its reporting still further. The headlines were now about Reds and Red Union Strife and concerned alleged activities by communists in American trade unions, while the Butler testimony and the developing evidence were secreted deep within the reporting of Red activities. The resulting story was, of course, vague and confused, but it effectively buried the Butler evidence.

On November 26, the hearings continued, but the committee itself now had cold feet and issued a statement: "This Committee has had no evidence before it that would in the slightest degree warrant calling before it such men as John W. Davis, General Hugh Johnson, General James G. Harbord, Thomas W. Lamont, Admiral William S. Sims, or Hanford MacNider."

It should be noted that these names had come up in sworn testimony, later to be deleted from the official record. The Times pursued its

reporting of this development in abbreviated form on an inside page under the head, "Committee Calm over Butler 'Plot', Has No Evidence to Warrant Calling Johnson and Others." On November 27 the *Times* reporting declined to five column inches on an inside page under the ominous head "Butler Plot Inquiry Not To Be Dropped." The December hearings were reported by the *Times* on a front page (December 28 1934), but the plot was now twisted to "Reds Plot to Kidnap the President, Witness Charges at House Inquiry."

Reviewing the story of the Butler Affair in the *Times* 40 years after the event and comparing its story to the printed official testimony, itself heavily censored, it is obvious that the newspaper, either under its own initiative or under outside pressure, decided that the story was not to be made public. Consistent with this interpretation, we find that The New York Times, the "newspaper of record," omits the Butler testimony from entries in its annual index, depended upon by researchers and scholars. The *Times* Index for 1934 has an entry "BUTLER (Maj Gen), Smedley D," but lists only a few of his speeches and a biographic portrait. The Butler testimony is not listed. There is an entry, "See also:

Fascism-U.S.," but under that cross-reference there is listed only: "Maj Gen S.D. Butler charges plot to overthrow present govt; Wall Street interests and G.P. MacGuire implicated at Cong com hearing." The only significant Wall Street name mentioned in the index is that of R.S. Clark, who is reported as "puzzled" by the charges. None of the key Morgan and Du Pont associates cited by General Butler is listed in the *Index*. In other words, there appears to have been a deliberate attempt by this newspaper to mislead historians.

Time magazine's reporting descended to fiction in its attempts to reduce General Butler's evidence to the status of absurdity. If ever a student wants to construct an example of biased reporting, there is a first-rate example in a comparison of the evidence presented to the McCormack-Dickstein Committee by General Butler with the subsequent *Time* reportage. The December 3rd 1934 issue of *Time* ran the story under the head "Plot Without Plotters," but the story bears no resemblance at all to the testimony, not even the censored testimony. The story portrays General Butler leading a half-million men along U. S. Highway 1 with the cry, "Men, Washington is but 30 miles away! Will you follow me?" Butler was then depicted as taking over the U.S. government by force from President Roosevelt. The remainder of the *Time* story is filled with dredges from Butler's past and an assortment of denials from the accused. Nowhere is there any attempt to report the statements made by General Butler, although the denials by J.P. Morgan, Hugh Johnson, Robert Sterling Clark, and Grayson Murphy are cited correctly. Two photographs are included: a genial grandfatherly J.P. Morgan and General Butler in a pose that universally symbolizes lunacy—a finger pointed to his ear. The reporting was trashy, dishonest, and disgraceful journalism at its very worst. Whatever our thoughts may be on Nazi propaganda or Soviet press distortion, neither Goebbels nor *Goslit* ever attained the hypnotic expertise of *Time's* journalists and editors. The fearful problem is that the opinions and mores of millions of Americans and of English speakers around the world have been molded by this school of distorted journalism.

To keep our criticism in perspective, it must be noted that *Time* was apparently impartial in its pursuit of lurid journalism. Even Hugh S. Johnson, administrator of NRA and one of the alleged plotters in the Butler Affair, was a target of *Time's* mischief. As Johnson reports it in his book:

I stood in the reviewing stand in that parade and there were hundreds of people I knew who waved as they went past. Down below were massed batteries of cameras, and I knew if I raised my hand higher than my shoulders, it would seem and be publicized as a "Fascist salute." So I never did raise it higher. I just stuck my arm out straight and wiggled my hand around. But that didn't help me—Time came out saying I had constantly saluted au Mussolini and even had a photograph to prove it, but it wasn't my arm on that photograph. It wore the taped cuff sleeve of a cut-away coat and a stiff round cuff with an old fashioned cuff button and I never wore

either in my whole life. I think it was the arm of Mayor O'Brien who stood beside me which had been faked onto my body.²³

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE BUTLER AFFAIR

The most important point to be assessed is the credibility of General Smedley Darlington Butler. Was General Butler lying? Was he telling the truth? Was he exaggerating for the sake of effect?

General Butler was an unusual man and a particularly unusual man to find in the armed forces: decorated twice with the Medal of Honor, an unquestioned leader of men, with undoubted personal bravery, deep loyalty to his fellow men, and a fierce sense of justice. All these are admirable qualities. Certainly, General Butler was hardly the type of man to tell lies or even exaggerate for a petty reason. His flair for the dramatic does leave open a possibility of exaggeration, but deliberate lying is most unlikely.

Does the evidence support or reject Butler? Reporter Paul French of *The Philadelphia Record* wholly supports Butler. Evidence by Captain Glazier, commander of the CCC camp, supports Butler. In these two cases there is no discrepancy in the evidence. The statements of MacGuire made under oath to Congress do not support Butler. We have therefore a conflict of sworn evidence. Further, MacGuire was found at fault on several points by the committee; he used the evasion of "do not recall" on a number of occasions and, in major areas such as the financing by Clark, MacGuire unwillingly supports Butler. There is a hard core of plausibility to the Butler story. There is some possibility of exaggeration, perhaps not untypical for a man of Butler's flamboyant personality, but this is neither proven nor disproven

Without question, the Congress of the United States did a grave disservice to the cause of freedom in suppressing the Butler story. Let us hope that some Congressmen or some Congressional committee, even at this late date, will pick up the threads and release the full uncensored testimony. We may also hope that the next time around, in some comparably important matter, The New York Times will live up to its claim to be the newspaper of record, a name it justified so admirably four decades later in the Watergate Investigation.

Footnotes

1. See Jules Archer, *The Plot to Seize the White House* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1973) Archer's book is "the first effort to tell the whole story of the plot in sequence and full detail."

Also see George Wolfskill, *The Revolt of the Conservatives* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin,

1962), which has extensive material on the plot. The interested reader should also take a look at George Seldes, *One Thousand Americans* (New York: Honi & Gaer, 1947). Unfortunately, while these books have kept the event alive—a valiant effort that should by no means be underrated—they do reflect an amateurish confusion of fascism with moderation. Supporters of the Constitution would, of course, absolutely reject the dictatorial efforts described. Some groups, such as the American Conservative Union for instance, have for a decade aimed their attacks at the targets identified by Archer and Seldes. The misinterpretation by the latter authors is accentuated because confusion over the meaning of conservatism also prevented these authors from exploring the possibility that Wall Street had none other than Franklin Delano Roosevelt in mind as "the man on the white horse."

2. House of Representatives, Investigation of Nazi Propaganda Activities and Investigation of Certain Other Propaganda Activities, Hearings No. 73-D.C.-6, op. cit., p. 17.

3. The New York Times, Nov. 21, 1934.

4. House of Representatives, Investigation of Nazi Propaganda Activities and Investigation of Certain Other Propaganda Activities, Hearings No. 73-D.C.-6, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

5. See Sutton, *Bolshevik Revolution*, op. cit.

6. House of Representatives, Investigation of Nazi Propaganda Activities and Investigation of Certain Other Propaganda Activities, Hearings No. 73-D.C.-6, op. cit., p. 26.

7. Ibid., Parts 1-2. Based on Testimony before the McCormack-Dickstein Committee.

8. 120 Broadway is the topic of a chapter in this book and a previous book, Sutton, *Bolshevik Revolution*, op. cit. Stone & Webster is also prominent in the earlier book.

9. The New York Times, Dec. 28, 1934.

10. House of Representatives, Investigation of Nazi Propaganda Activities and Investigation of Certain Other Propaganda Activities, Hearings No. 73-D.C.-6, op. cit., p. 45.

11. Ibid., p. 45.

12. Press release. New York City, p. 12.

13. Ibid., p. 13.

14. House of Representatives, Investigation of Nazi Propaganda Activities and Investigation of Certain Other Propaganda Activities, Hearings No. 73-D.C.-6, op. cit., p. 85.

15. Press release, New York City, p. 13.

16. See Jules Archer, The Plot to Seize the White House, op. cit.

17. George Seldes, One Thousand Americans, op. cit, p. 288.

18. Ibid., pp. 289-290.

19. John L. Spivak, A Man in his Time (New York: Horizon Press, 1967), pp. 311, 322-25.

20. Ibid., p. 331.

21. See Herman Dinsmore, All the News That Fits, (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1969).

22. Congressional Record, Vol. 55, pp. 2947-8 (1917).

23 Hugh S. Johnson, The Blue Eagle from Egg to Earth, op. cit., p.267

CHAPTER 11

The Corporate Socialists at 120 Broadway, New York City

Already he [FDR] had begun to reappear at the office of the Fidelity and Deposit Company at 120 Broadway. He did not yet visit his law office at 52 Wall Street, because of the high front steps—he could not bear the thought of being carried up them in public. At 120 Broadway he could manage, by himself, the one little step up from the sidewalk. Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal* (Boston; Little, Brown, 1954), p. 119.

As in *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution*, we find many of the leading characters (including FDR) and firms, even a few of the events, described in this book located at a single address, the Equitable Office Building at 120 Broadway, New York City. Franklin D. Roosevelt's office in the early 1920s when he was vice president of the Fidelity and Deposit Company was at 120 Broadway. Biographer Frank Freidel records above his reentry to the building after his crippling polio attack. At that time, Bernard Baruch's office was also at 120 Broadway and Hugh Johnson, later to be the administrator of NRA, was Bernard Baruch's research assistant at the same address. The executive offices of General Electric and the offices of Gerard Swope, author of the Swope Plan that became Roosevelt's NRA, were also there. The Bankers Club was on the top floor of this same Equitable Office Building and was the location of a 1926 meeting by the Butler Affair plotters. Obviously, there was a concentration of talent at this particular address deserving greater description.

THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION AND 120 BROADWAY

In *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution*, we noted that revolution related financiers were concentrated at a single address in New York City, the same Equitable Office Building. In 1917 the headquarters of the No. 2 District of the Federal Reserve System, the most important of the Federal Reserve districts, was located at 120 Broadway; of nine directors of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, four were physically located at 120 Broadway, and two of these directors were simultaneously on the board of American International Corporation. The American International Corporation had been founded in 1915 by the Morgan interests with enthusiastic participation by the Rockefeller and Stillman groups. The general offices of A.I.C. were at 120 Broadway. Its directors were heavily interlocked with other major Wall Street financial and industrial interests, and it was determined that American International Corporation had a significant role in the success and consolidation of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. A.I.C. executive secretary William Franklin Sands, asked for his opinion of the Bolshevik Revolution by the State

Department within a few weeks of the outbreak in November 1917 (long before even a fraction of Russia came under Soviet control), expressed strong support for the revolution. Sands' letter is reprinted in *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution*. A memorandum to David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England, from Morgan associate Dwight Morrow also urged support for the Bolshevik revolutionaries and backing for its armies. A director of the FRB of New York, William Boyce Thompson, donated \$1 million to the Bolshevik cause and intervened with Lloyd George on behalf of the emerging Soviets.

In brief, we found an identifiable pattern of pro-Bolshevik activity by influential members of Wall Street concentrated in the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and the American International Corporation, both at 120 Broadway. By 1933 the bank had moved to Liberty Street.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF NEW YORK AND 120 BROADWAY

The names of individual FRB directors changed between 1917 and the 1930s, but it was determined that, although the FRB had moved, four FRB directors still had offices at this address in the New Deal period, as shown in the following table:

Directors of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York in the New Deal Period

Name	Directorships Held for Companies Located at 120 Broadway
Charles E. Mitchell	Director of the FRB of New York, 1929-1931, and director of Corporation Trust Co. (120 Broadway)
Albert H. Wiggin	Succeeded Charles E. Mitchell as Director, FRB of New York, 1932-34, and Director of American International Corp, and Stone and Webster, Inc. (both 120 Broadway)
Clarence M. Woolley	Director FRB of New York, 1922-1936, and director, General Electric Co. (120 Broadway)
Owen D. Young	Director FRB of New York, 1927-1935, and chairman, General Electric Co. (120 Broadway)

Persons and firms located at:

120 BROADWAY

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

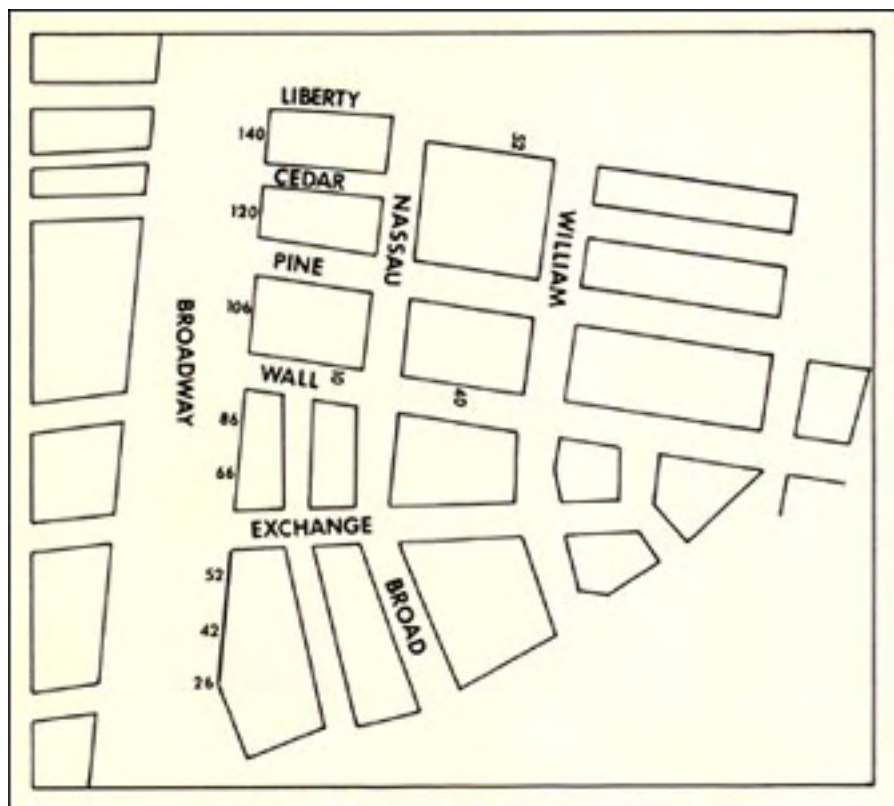
42 BROADWAY

Herbert Clark Hoover

Bernard Baruch
Gerard Swope
Owen D. Young

Others

American International Corp.	Grayson M-P Murphy (52 Broadway)
The Corporation Trust Co.	International Acceptance Bank,
Empire Trust Co. Inc.	(52 Cedar St.)
Fidelity Trust Co.	International Acceptance Trust
American Smelting & Refining Co.	(52 Cedar St.)
Armour & Co. (New York Office).	International Manhattan Co. Inc.
Baldwin Locomotive Works	(52 Cedar St.)
Federal Mining & Smelting Co.	Jackson Martindell (14 Wall St.)
General Electric Co.	John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (26 Broadway)
Kennecott Copper Corp.	Percy A. Rockefeller (25 Broadway)
Metal & Thermit Corp.	Robert S. Clark (11 Wall St.)
National Dairy Products Corp.	
Yukon Gold Co.	
Stone & Webster & Blodget, Inc.	



Map of Wall Street Area Showing Office Locations for persons and firms mentioned in this book.

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CORPORATION AND 120 BROADWAY

The American International Corporation (AIC) was formed in 1915 by a coalition of Morgan, Stillman and Rockefeller interests; its general offices were at 120 Broadway from 1915 through the 1920s. The great excitement in Wall Street about formation of AIC brought about a concentration of the most powerful financial elements on its board of directors—in effect a monopoly organization for overseas development and exploitation.¹ Of nine directors on the board in 1930, five were on the AIC board in 1917 at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution: Matthew C. Brush, president and chairman of the executive committee of American International Corporation and director of the Empire Trust Company; Pierre S. Du Pont, member of the Du Pont family and a director of the Bankers Trust Company; Percy A. Rockefeller, of the Rockefeller family and director of National City Bank; Albert H. Wiggin, director of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and the Rockefeller Chase National Bank; and Beekman Winthrop, of the Warburgs' International Banking Corporation and the National City Bank. Several prominent financiers joined the board of AIC during the 1920s, including Frank Altschul and Halstead G. Freeman of the Chase National Bank, Arthur Lehman of Lehman Brothers and the Manufacturers Trust Company, and John J. Raskob, vice president of Du Pont and director of General Motors and the Bankers Trust Company.

Mathew C. Brush, president, director, and chairman of the executive committee of

American International Corporation and president of Allied Machinery, a subsidiary company, was also director and member of the executive committee of International Acceptance Bank (see Chapter 6), director and member of the executive committee of Barnsdall Corporation,² director of Empire Trust Company (120 Broadway) and Equitable Office Corporation (which owned and operated the building at 120 Broadway), director of Georgian Manganese Company,³ and director and member of the Executive Committee of the Remington Arms Co., identified by General Butler in the last chapter. Matthew C. Brush was indeed in the vanguard of Wall Street.

Brush's political contributions, unlike those of other AIC directors, were apparently limited to \$5000 to the campaign of Herbert Hoover in 1928. Brush was director of International Acceptance Bank, which profited from the inflation of the 1920s, as well as a director of Remington Arms (a suppressed name in the Butler Affair) while serving as president of American International, but appears to have been on the fringes of the occurrences explored in this book. On the other hand, four directors of American International have been identified as substantial financial supporters of Franklin D. Roosevelt: Frank Altschul, Pierre S. Du Pont, Arthur Lehman, and John J. Raskob between 1928 and 1932. The Lehman family and John J. Raskob were, as we have seen, at the very heart of Roosevelt's support. It is significant that AIC, the key vehicle for American participation in the Bolshevik Revolution, should also be unearthed, even in an incidental form, in a study of the Roosevelt era.

THE BUTLER AFFAIR AND 120 BROADWAY

Testimony to the House Un-American Activities Committee on the attempt to convert the Roosevelt administration into a dictatorship with Major General Butler in a key role as Secretary of General Affairs had several links to 120 Broadway. There were at least half a dozen persons whom the committee should have subpoenaed to investigate the statements made under oath by General Butler, Captain Glazier, and Paul French; of these, four were located in, or had a significant connection with, 120 Broadway. According to accused plotter Gerald MacGuire, the original meeting of the alleged participants was held in 1926 at the Bankers Club, 120 Broadway. The following extract from the committee hearings, records MacGuire's statement; the questioner was Chairman McCormack:

QUESTION. How long have you known Clark?

ANSWER. Well, I believe I said that I have done business with him and known him since 1925 or 1926.

QUESTION. Did he ever give you that kind of money before to use, as you say—in the way that he wanted you to represent him in these transactions?

ANSWER. In what transactions?

QUESTION. In those money transactions, since that time?

ANSWER. In what money transactions?

QUESTION. What I mean is this, since 1926, at the time that you met him and after; this was really the first time that you got this money without any receipt or papers or anything at all?

ANSWER. Yes.

QUESTION. And this dinner was at the Bankers Club, at 120 Broadway, wasn't it?

ANSWER. Yes.

QUESTION. Who was that dinner given to; was it given to anybody specially?

ANSWER. It was a regular luncheon.

QUESTION. Who was present at your table?

ANSWER. Mr. Christmas.

QUESTION. And yourself?

ANSWER. Yes.

QUESTION. And Mr. Clark?

ANSWER. Yes.⁴

Thus, although the original meeting that brought together Robert S. Clark, his attorney Christmas, and bond salesman Gerald MacGuire was held at 120 Broadway, and Christmas and Clark were linked in numerous ways to MacGuire, neither Christmas nor Clark were called by the committee. Further, Captain Samuel Glazier of the CCC Camp at Elkridge, Maryland reported to the committee that Jackson Martindell had inquired about the training of 500,000 civilian soldiers for political purposes. Martindell was not called by the committee to challenge or confirm the testimony implicating him in the Butler Affair.

The Du Pont Company, cited in the suppressed portion of the testimony, was located at 120 Broadway. Hugh S. Johnson, named by General Butler as a probable participant, had been located at 120 Broadway when working as research assistant to Baruch; Baruch's office was at the same address.⁵ Clark, MacGuire, and Grayson M-P. Murphy had offices just down the street from No. 120; Clark at 11 Wall Street and MacGuire and Murphy at 52 Broadway.

It is also significant that names suppressed by the committee were located at 120 Broadway: the Du Pont Company executive office and Du Pont subsidiary Remington Arms. The other named participants, MacGuire, Clark, Christmas, Martindell, Grayson M-P. Murphy (at Rockefeller headquarters, 25 Broadway) were all located within a few blocks of 120 Broadway and within the previously described golden circle.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND 120 BROADWAY

We have noted that FDR's preferred office—he had two in the early 1920s—was the one at 120 Broadway. FDR's Georgia Warm Springs Foundation, Inc. was formed as a Delaware company in July 1926 with offices at 120 Broadway and remained at that address at least through 1936. The 1934 annual report for Georgia Warm Springs Foundation shows that its president was listed as Franklin D. Roosevelt, The White House, Washington D.C., with the head office of the foundation shown at 120 Broadway. The vice president and assistant secretary was Raymond H. Taylor, with secretary-treasurer Basil O'Connor, both shown at the 120 Broadway address.

Basil O'Connor was a close associate and business partner of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Born in 1892, O'Connor received his law degree from Harvard in 1915 and then joined the New York law firm of Cravath and Henderson for one year, leaving to work with Streeter & Holmes in Boston for three years. In 1919 Basil O'Connor established a law practice in New York under his own name. In 1925 the firm of Roosevelt and O'Connor was created, lasting until FDR's inauguration in 1933. After 1934, O'Connor was senior partner in O'Connor & Farber and in 1944 succeeded Norman H. Davis as chairman of the American Red Cross.

O'Connor was a director of several companies: in the 1920s, of New England Fuel Oil Corp., in the 1940s of the American Reserve Insurance Co. and the West Indies Sugar Corp. From 1928 until his death he was responsible for administration of the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation.

The Roosevelt New Deal was a gold mine to some of FDR's associates, including Basil O'Connor. Globe & Rutgers was an insurance company recapitalized with government funds, and the reorganization proved a rich source of fees for attorneys handling the liquidation and reorganization. Of these attorneys President Roosevelt's former firm of O'Connor & Farber demanded the largest single fee until Jesse Jones of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation cut it down. Here is a letter Jesse Jones wrote to Earle Bailie of J. & W. Seligman & Company about these fees:

October 6, 1933.

Dear Mr. Bailie:

Our board is unwilling to invest in or lend upon stock in an insurance company, if indeed we have the right to do so, that contemplates paying such lawyers' fees, reorganization or otherwise, as is proposed in the case of the Globe & Rutgers, which we understand from information to be

Basil O'Connor	\$200,000
Root, Clark, Buckner & Ballantine	165,000

Sullivan & Cromwell	95,000
Prentice & Townsend	50,000
Cravath, de Gersdorff, Swaine & Wood	37,500
Martin Conboy	35,000
Joseph V. McKee	25,000
Coudert Brothers	12,000

or a total of \$619,500. Even the suggested reduction to a total of \$426,000 would be very much more than what would appear to this Corporation to be proper fees to be paid by an insurance company that is being recapitalized with Government funds.

Yours very truly,
JESSE J. JONES

Under court orders Mr. O'Connor's firm was paid \$100,000 in 1934 and \$35,000 more the following year.⁶

CONCLUSIONS ABOUT 120 BROADWAY

It is virtually impossible to develop an unshakable conclusion about the significance of 120 Broadway; explanations can range from conspiracy to coincidence.

What can we prove with direct, rather than circumstantial, evidence?

First, we know that U.S. assistance to the Bolshevik Revolution originated in the Wall Street golden circle in 1917 and was heavily concentrated at this particular address. Second, when FDR entered the business world in 1921, one of the two FDR offices was at this address, as was his law partnership with Basil O'Connor, and the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation. Third, Bernard Baruch and his assistant Hugh Johnson, later part of the planning and administration of the National Industry Recovery Act, were in the same building. NRA was a logical sequel to the trade associations of the 1920s, and FDR had a prominent role, along with Herbert Hoover, in the implementation of trade association agreements in the 1920s. Fourth, there was an association between General Electric and the Bolshevik Revolution, at least in building up the early Soviet Union. Executive offices of G.E. were at this address, as were those of Gerard Swope, the president of G.E. who authored the Swope plan.

Finally, the bizarre Butler affair had a few links with 120 Broadway. For example, this was Du Pont's New York address, although Remington Arms was at Rockefeller headquarters, 25 Broadway. Most of the plotters had other addresses, but still all within the golden circle.

Nothing is proven by a common geographical location. While 120 Broadway was a massive building, it was by no means the largest in New York City. But how does one explain the concentration of so many links to so many important historical events at one address? One could argue that birds of a feather flock together. On the other hand, it is more than plausible that these Wall Streeters were following the maxim laid down by Frederick Howe and found it more convenient, or perhaps more efficient for their purposes, to be at a single address. The point to hold in mind is that no other such geographical concentration exists and, if we ignore the persons and firms at 120 Broadway, there is no case for any relationship between these historical events and Wall Street. Which, incidentally, is also an excellent reason for retaining one's perspective in accepting the fact that we are discussing a small fraction of the banking community, a fraction that has in effect betrayed the financial center of a free economy.

Footnotes

1. See Sutton, *Bolshevik Revolution*, op. cit.
2. Barnsdall Corporation was the company that in 1921 entered the Soviet Union to reopen theCaucasian oil fields for the Soviets and so enabled the Soviet Union to generate the foreign exchange required to develop a Sovietized Russia; see Sutton, *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development, 1917 to 1930* (Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1968), Vol. 1.
3. Ibid.
4. House of Representatives, *Investigation of Nazi Propaganda Activities and Investigation of Certain Other Propaganda Activities*, Hearings No. 73-D.C.-6, op. cit., p. 80. "Mr. Clark" was Robert Sterling Clark and "Mr. Christmas" was Clark's attorney.
5. United States Senate, *Digest of Data From the Files of a Special Committee to Investigate Lobbying Activities*, 74th Congress, Second Session, Part I: List of Contributions, (Washington, 1936), p. 3.
6. Jesse H. Jones, *Fifty Billion Dollars* pp. 209-210.

CHAPTER 12

FDR and the Corporate Socialists

At the first meeting of the Cabinet after the President took office in 1933, the financier and adviser to Roosevelt, Bernard Baruch, and Baruch's friend General Hugh Johnson, who was to become the head of the National Recovery Administration, came in with a copy of a book by Gentile, the Italian Fascist theoretician, for each member of the Cabinet, and we all read it with great care.

Mrs. Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor under FDR.

It is worth recalling at this point the epigraph to Chapter 1, that Franklin D. Roosevelt privately believed that the U.S. government was owned by a financial élite. There is, of course, nothing notably original about this observation: it was commonplace in the 19th century. In modern times, it has been averred by such dissimilar writers as Robert Welch and William Domhoff that America is controlled by a financial elite based in New York. The Soviets, who are not always altogether inaccurate, have used this theme in their propaganda for decades, and it was a Marxist theme before Lenin came along.¹

It was under Roosevelt that quaint Keynesian notions—the modern versions of John Laws' con game with paper money—were introduced to Washington, and so the seeds of our present economic chaos were laid in the early 1930s under Roosevelt. Contemporary double digit inflation, a bankrupt Social Security system, bumbling state bureaucracy, rising unemployment—all this and more can be traced to Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his legislative whirlwind.

But while we now pay the price for these unsound and irresponsible policies, so pervasive is prevailing misinformation that even the identity of the originators of Roosevelt's New Deal and their reasons have been forgotten. While our economists cover their blackboards with meaningless static equations, a dynamic looting operation of the economy has been in progress by the authentic formulators of the liberal New Deal. While the bleeding heart social engineers have screamed at capitalism as the cause of the world's misery, they have been blissfully unaware that their own social formulas in part emanated from—and have certainly been quietly subsidized by—these same so-called capitalists. The tunnel vision of our academic world is hard to beat and equalled only by their avarice for a piece of the action.

What we do find is that government intervention into the economy is the root of our present problems; that a Wall Street cotérie has substantive, if subtle, muscle within this government structure to obtain legislation beneficial to itself; and that a prime example of this self-seeking legislation to establish legal monopoly under big business control was

FDR's New Deal and, in particular, the National Recovery Administration.

The name Franklin Delano Roosevelt should suggest, but rarely does, a link with Wall Street. Both Delano and Roosevelt are prominent names in the history of American financial institutions.

Who was Franklin Delano Roosevelt?

Roosevelt's pre political career can be described only as that of financier. Both his family and career before 1928 and his election as Governor of New York were in the business world, more specifically the financial world. Between 1921 and 1928 Roosevelt was a director of 11 corporations headquartered in the Wall Street golden circle and president of a major trade association. The American Construction Council.

Furthermore, Roosevelt was not only president of United European Investors, Ltd., formed to take pecuniary advantage of the misery of German hyperinflation, but was one of the organizers of American Investigation Corporation, a high-powered financial syndicate. Roosevelts formed the financial firm Roosevelt & Son in the late 18th century, and Delanos operated in the financial arena from at least the mid 19th century. Roosevelts and Delanos may not have reaped the great wealth of Morgans and Rockefellers, but they were known and respected names in the halls of international finance. Even in the 1920s we find Uncle Frederic Delano on the Federal Reserve Board, and George Emlen Roosevelt as a director of Guaranty Trust, the *bête noire* of the Street if there ever was one.

It is also reliably recorded that Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party, the first step to the modern welfare-warfare state, was financed by the J.P. Morgan interests; consequently, it should not surprise us to find Wall Street backing Roosevelt in 1928, 1930, and 1932.

In brief, we have shown that Roosevelt was a Wall Streeter, descended from prominent Wall Street families and backed financially by Wall Street. The policies implemented by the Roosevelt régime were precisely those required by the world of international finance. It should not be news to us that international bankers influence policy. What appears to have been neglected in the history of the Roosevelt era is that, not only did FDR reflect their objectives, but was more inclined to do so than the so-called reactionary Herbert Hoover. In fact, Hoover lost in 1932 because, in his own words, he was unwilling to accept the Swope Plan, alias NRA, which he termed, not incorrectly, "a fascist measure."

We cannot say that Wall Streeter Roosevelt was always a highly ethical promoter in his financial flotations. Buyers of his promotions lost money, and substantial money, as the

following brief table based on the data presented suggests:

How Investors Fared With FDR at the Helm

Company Associated with FDR	Issue Price of Stock	Subsequent Price History
United European Investors, Ltd	10,000 marks (about \$13)	Company wound up, stockholders offered \$7.50
International Germanic Trust Company, Inc.	\$170	Went to \$257 in 1928, liquidated in 1930 at \$19 a share

Loss of stockholders' funds, however, can be an accident or mismanagement. Many honest financiers have stumbled. However, association with persons of known ill repute such as Roberts and Gould in United European Investors, Ltd. was not accidental.

FDR's association with the American Construction Council brings to mind Adam Smith's *obita dicta* that the law ". . . cannot hinder people of the same trade from sometimes assembling together, but it ought to do nothing to facilitate such assemblies, much less to render them necessary."² Why not? Because the American Construction Council was in the interests of the construction industry, not in those of the consumer of construction services.

The New York bonding business was made to order for FDR. As vice president of the Fidelity & Deposit Company of Maryland, FDR knew precisely how to operate in the world of politicized business, where price and product quality in the market place are replaced by "Whom do you know?" and "What are your politics?"

The United European Investors caper was an attempt to take advantage of the misery of German 1921-23 hyperinflation. The firm operated under a Canadian charter, no doubt because Canadian registration requirements were more lenient at that time. The most conspicuous observation concerns FDR's associates at U.E.I., including John von Berenberg Gossler, a HAPAG co director of German Chancellor Cuno, who was responsible for the inflation! Then there was William Schall, FDR's New York associate, who had only a few years earlier been involved with German espionage in the United States—at 120 Broadway. The Roberts-Gould element in United European Investors was under criminal investigation; FDR knew they were under investigation, but continued his business associations.

Then we found that the background of the New Deal was speckled with prominent

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Unfortunately, and to its lasting shame. Congress suppressed the core of the Butler testimony. Further, *The New York Times* first reported the story fairly, but then buried and distorted its coverage, even to the extent of incomplete indexing. We are left with the definite possibility that failure of the Baruch-Swope-Johnson NRA plan was to be followed by a more covert, coercive take-over of American industry. This occurrence deserves the fullest attention that unbiased scholars can bring to it. Obviously, the full story has yet to emerge.

Once again, as in the earlier volume, we found a remarkable concentration of persons, firms and events at a single address—120 Broadway, New York City. This was FDR's office address as president of Fidelity & Deposit Company. It was Bernard Baruch's address and the address of Gerard Swope. The three main promoters of the National Recovery Administration—FDR, Baruch, and Swope—were located at the same address through the 1920s. Most disturbing of all, it was found that the original meeting for the Butler Affair was held in 1926 at the Bankers Club, also located at 120 Broadway.

No explanation is yet offered for this remarkable concentration of talent and ideas at a single address. Quite obviously, it is an observation that must be accounted for sooner or later. We also found a concentration of directors of American International Corporation, the vehicle for Wall Street involvement in the Bolshevik revolution, and heavy contributors to the Roosevelt campaign.

Can we look at this story in any wider perspective? The ideas behind the Roosevelt New Deal were not really those of Wall Street; they actually go back to Roman times. From 49 to 44 B.C. Julius Caesar had his new deal public works projects; in 91 A.D. Domitian had his equivalent of the American Construction Council to stop overproduction. The ultimate fall of Rome reflected all the elements we recognize today: extravagant government spending, rapid inflation, and a crushing taxation, all coupled with totalitarian state regulation.³

Under Woodrow Wilson Wall Street achieved a central banking monopoly, the Federal Reserve System. The significance of the International Acceptance Bank, controlled by the financial establishment in Wall Street, was that the Federal Reserve banks used the police power of the state to create for themselves a perpetual money-making machine: the ability to create money with a stroke of a pen or the push of a computer key. The Warburgs, key figures in the International Acceptance Bank—an overseas money-making machine—were advisers to the Roosevelt administration and its monetary policies. Gold was declared a "barbaric relic," opening the way to worthless paper money in the United States. In 1975, as we go to press, the fiat inconvertible dollar is obviously on the way to ultimate depreciation.

Did Wall Street recognize the result of removing gold as backing for currency? Of course it did! Witness Paul Warburg to a Congressional Committee:

Abandonment of the gold standard means wildly fluctuating foreign exchanges and, therefore, the destruction of the free inflow of foreign capital and business. Weak countries will repudiate—or, to use the more polite expression, "fund their debts"—but there will be no general demonetization of gold. Gold at the end of the war will not be worth less but more.⁴

The inevitable conclusion forced upon us by the evidence is that there may indeed exist a financial élite, as pointed out by Franklin D. Roosevelt, and that the objective of this élite is monopoly acquisition of wealth. We have termed this élite advocates of corporate socialism. It thrives on the political process, and it would fade away if it were exposed to the activity of a free market. The great paradox is that the influential world socialist movement, which views itself as an enemy of this élite, is in fact the generator of precisely that politicization of economic activity that keeps the monopoly in power and that its great hero, Franklin D. Roosevelt, was its self-admitted instrument.

Footnotes

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Certainly, if sheer weight of printed paper has any influence, the power of any financial élite should have collapsed long ago. The establishment does appear to have considerable endurance, but nowhere near as much influence as many believe. The most important leg sustaining the credibility and so the power of the élite is the academic community. This group has, in large part, swapped truth and integrity for a piece of the political power and the financial action. Apparently academics can be bought—and you don't have to pay overly much!

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3. H. J. Haskell, *The New Deal in Old Rome: How Government in the Ancient World Tried to Deal with Modern Problems* (New York: Knopf, 1947), pp. 239–40.

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CHAPTER 12

FDR and the Corporate Socialists

At the first meeting of the Cabinet after the President took office in 1933, the financier and adviser to Roosevelt, Bernard Baruch, and Baruch's friend General Hugh Johnson, who was to become the head of the National Recovery Administration, came in with a copy of a book by Gentile, the Italian Fascist theoretician, for each member of the Cabinet, and we all read it with great care.

Mrs. Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor under FDR.

It is worth recalling at this point the epigraph to Chapter 1, that Franklin D. Roosevelt privately believed that the U.S. government was owned by a financial élite. There is, of course, nothing notably original about this observation: it was commonplace in the 19th century. In modern times, it has been averred by such dissimilar writers as Robert Welch and William Domhoff that America is controlled by a financial elite based in New York. The Soviets, who are not always altogether inaccurate, have used this theme in their propaganda for decades, and it was a Marxist theme before Lenin came along.¹

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It was under Roosevelt that quaint Keynesian notions—the modern versions of John Laws' con game with paper money—were introduced to Washington, and so the seeds of our present economic chaos were laid in the early 1930s under Roosevelt. Contemporary double digit inflation, a bankrupt Social Security system, bumbling state bureaucracy, rising unemployment—all this and more can be traced to Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his legislative whirlwind.

But while we now pay the price for these unsound and irresponsible policies, so pervasive is prevailing misinformation that even the identity of the originators of Roosevelt's New Deal and their reasons have been forgotten. While our economists cover their blackboards with meaningless static equations, a dynamic looting operation of the economy has been in progress by the authentic formulators of the liberal New Deal. While the bleeding heart social engineers have screamed at capitalism as the cause of the world's misery, they have been blissfully unaware that their own social formulas in part emanated from—and have certainly been quietly subsidized by—these same so-called capitalists. The tunnel vision of our academic world is hard to beat and equalled only by their avarice for a piece of the action. What we do find is that government intervention into the economy is the root of our present problems; that a Wall Street coté has substantive, if subtle, muscle within this government structure to obtain legislation beneficial to itself; and that a prime example of this self-seeking legislation to establish legal monopoly under big business control was FDR's New Deal and, in particular, the National Recovery Administration.

The name Franklin Delano Roosevelt should suggest, but rarely does, a link with Wall Street. Both Delano and Roosevelt are prominent names in the history of American financial institutions.

Who was Franklin Delano Roosevelt?

Roosevelt's prepolitical career can be described only as that of financier. Both his family and career before 1928 and his election as Governor of New York were in the business world, more specifically the financial world. Between 1921 and 1928 Roosevelt was a director of 11 corporations headquartered in the Wall Street golden circle and president of a major trade association. The American Construction Council.

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Furthermore, Roosevelt was not only president of United European Investors, Ltd., formed to take pecuniary advantage of the misery of German hyperinflation, but was one of the organizers of American Investigation Corporation, a high-powered financial syndicate. Roosevelts formed the financial firm Roosevelt & Son in the late 18th century, and Delanos operated in the financial arena from at least the mid19th century. Roosevelts and Delanos may not have reaped the great wealth of Morgans and Rockefellers, but they were known and respected names in the halls of international finance. Even in the 1920s we find Uncle Frederic Delano on the Federal Reserve Board, and George Emlen Roosevelt as a director of Guaranty Trust, the *bête noire* of the Street if there ever was one.

It is also reliably recorded that Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party, the first step to the modern welfare-warfare state, was financed by the J.P. Morgan interests; consequently, it should not surprise us to find Wall Street backing Roosevelt in 1928, 1930, and 1932.

In brief, we have shown that Roosevelt was a Wall Streeter, descended from prominent Wall Street families and backed financially by Wall Street. The policies implemented by the Roosevelt régime were precisely those required by the world of international finance. It should not be news to us that international bankers influence policy. What appears to have been neglected in the history of the Roosevelt era is that, not only did FDR reflect their objectives, but was more inclined to do so than the so-called reactionary Herbert Hoover. In fact, Hoover lost in 1932 because, in his own words, he was unwilling to accept the Swope Plan, alias NRA, which he termed, not incorrectly, "a fascist measure." We cannot say that Wall Streeter Roosevelt was always a highly ethical promoter in his financial flotations. Buyers of his promotions lost money, and substantial money, as the following brief table based on the data presented suggests:

How Investors Fared With FDR at the Helm

Company Associated with FDR Issue Price of Stock Subsequent Price History

United European Investors, Ltd 10,000 marks (about \$13) Company wound up, stock-holders offered \$7.50

International Germanic Trust Company, Inc. \$170 Went to \$257 in 1928, liquidated in 1930 at \$19 a

share

Loss of stockholders' funds, however, can be an accident or mismanagement. Many honest financiers have stumbled. However, association with persons of known ill repute such as Roberts and Gould in United European Investors, Ltd. was not accidental.

FDR's association with the American Construction Council brings to mind Adam Smith's obita dicta that the law ". . . cannot hinder people of the same trade from sometimes assembling together, but it ought to do nothing to facilitate such assemblies, much less to render them necessary."² Why not? Because the American Construction Council was in the interests of the construction industry, not in those of the consumer of construction services.

The New York bonding business was made to order for FDR. As vice president of the Fidelity & Deposit Company of Maryland, FDR knew precisely how to operate in the world of politicized business, where price and product quality in the market place are replaced by "Whom do you know?" and "What are your politics?"

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4. United States Senate, *Hearings, Munitions Industry*, Part 25, op. cit., p. 8105. Appendix A The Swope Plan

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2. These trade associations may outline trade practices, business ethics, methods of standard accounting and cost practice, standard forms of balance sheet and earnings statement, etc., and may collect and distribute information on volume of business transacted, inventories of merchandise on hand, simplification and standardization of products, stabilization of prices, and all matters which may arise from time to time relating to the growth and development of industry and commerce in order to promote stabilization of employment and give the best service to the public. Much of this sort of exchange of information and data is already being carried on by trade associations now in existence. A great deal more valuable work of this character is possible.

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3. The public interest shall be protected by the supervision of companies and trade associations by the Federal Trade Commission or by a bureau of the Department of Commerce or by some federal supervisory body specially constituted.
4. All companies within the scope of this plan shall be required to adopt standard accounting and cost systems and standardized forms of balance sheet and earnings statement. These systems and forms may differ for the different industries, but will follow a uniform plan for each industry as adopted by the trade association and approved by the federal supervisory body.
5. All companies with participants or stockholders numbering 25 or more, and living in more than one state, shall send to its participants or stockholders and to the supervisory body at least once each quarter a statement of their business and earnings in the prescribed form. At least once each year they shall send to the participants or stockholders and to the supervisory body a complete balance sheet and earnings statement in the prescribed form. In this way the owners will be kept informed of the conditions of the business in such detail that there may be no criticism of irregularity or infrequency of statements or methods of presentation.
6. The federal supervisory body shall cooperate with the Internal Revenue Department and the trade associations in developing for each industry standardized forms of balance sheet and income statement, depending upon the character of the business, for the purpose of reconciling methods of reporting assets and income with the basis of values and income calculated for federal tax purposes.
7. All of the companies of the character described herein may immediately adopt the

provisions of this plan but shall be required to do so within 3 years unless the time is extended by the federal supervisory body. Similar companies formed after the plan becomes effective may come in at once but shall be required to come in before the expiration of 3 years from the date of their organization unless the time is extended by the federal supervisory body.

8. For the protection of employees, the following plans shall be adopted by all of these companies:

(A) **A WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT**, which is part of the legislation necessary under this plan, shall, after careful study, be modeled after the best features of the laws which have been enacted by the several states.

(B) **LIFE AND DISABILITY INSURANCE**. All employees of companies included in this plan may, after two years' service with such companies, and shall, before the expiration of five years of service, be covered by life and disability insurance.

(1) The form of policy shall be determined by the association of which the Company is a member and approved by the federal supervisory body. The policy will belong to the employee and may be retained by him and kept in full force when he changes his employment or otherwise discontinues particular service as outlined later.

(2) The face value of a policy shall be for an amount approximately equal to one year's pay, but not more than \$5,000, with the exception that the employee may, if he desires, increase at his own cost the amount of insurance carried, subject to the approval of the Board of Administrators, later defined.

(3) The cost of this life and disability insurance shall be paid one half by the employee and one-half by the company for which he works, with the following exception: the company's cost shall be determined on the basis of premiums at actual age of employees less than 35 years old and on the basis of 35 years of age for all employees 35 or over and shall be a face value of approximately one-half a year's pay but limited to a maximum premium for \$2,500 of insurance. An employee taking out insurance at age 35 or over will pay the excess premium over the amount based upon age 35. This will remove the necessity for restriction against engaging employees or transferring them from one company to another because of advanced age, as it will place no undue burden of high premiums upon the company.

(4) The life and disability insurance may be carried by a life insurance company selected by the trade association and approved by the federal supervisory body or may be carried by a company organized by the trade association and approved by the federal supervisory body, or a single company may be formed to serve all associations.

(5) The administration of the insurance plan for each company shall be under the direction of a Board of Administrators consisting of representatives, one-half elected by the employee members. The powers and duties of the Board for each company will be to formulate general rules relating to eligibility of employees, etc., but such rules shall be in consonance with the general plan laid down by the General Board of Administration of the trade association of which the company is a member, and approved by the federal supervisory body.

(6) Provision for the continuation of a policy after an employee leaves one company and goes to another in the same association, or goes to a company in another trade association; continuance of the policy after retirement on pension; provisions with regard to beneficiaries; total or partial disability; method of payment of premiums by payroll deductions or otherwise, weekly, monthly or annually, shall be embodied in the plan formulated by the trade association, with the approval of the federal supervisory body.

(7) If an employee leaves a company to go with one which is not a member of the trade association; if he engages in business for himself; or if he withdraws from industrial or commercial occupation, he may elect to retain the portion of the policy for which he has paid, in whole, or in part, by the continued payment of the proportional full premium costs, or he may receive a paid up policy, or be paid the cash surrender value for the part for which he has been paying the premiums. The cash surrender value of that portion of the policy paid for by the company will be paid to the company which paid the premiums.

(C) **PENSIONS.** All employees of companies included in this plan shall be covered by old age pension plans which will be adopted by the trade associations and approved by the federal supervisory body. The principal provisions will be as follows:

(1) All employees may, after two years of service with a company coming within the scope of this plan, and shall, before the expiration of five years of service, be covered by the old age pension plan.

(2) All employees after two years' service may, and after five years' service shall be required to, put aside a minimum of one per cent of earnings, but not more than \$50 per year, for the pension fund. The employee may, if he desires, put aside a larger amount, subject to the approval of the Board of Administrators.

(3) The Company shall be required to put aside an amount equal to the minimum stated above, namely one per cent of earnings of employees, but not more than \$50 per year per employee.

(4) The above minimum percentage shall be the same for all employees who are less

than 35 years of age when payments begin and the minimum percentage for these employees shall remain the same thereafter. The percentage to be set aside by employees coming into the pension plan at 35 years of age or over shall be so determined that it will provide a retiring allowance at age 70 the same as though they had begun one per cent payments at the age of 35. These provisions enable employees to go from one company to another in the same association or to different associations at any age with provision for retiring allowances which will be not less than the minimum rate of an employee who entered the pension plan at age 35.

(5) The amounts set aside by the employee and the company with interest compounded semiannually at five per cent until retirement at age 70, for a typical average employee, would provide an annuity of approximately one-half pay.

(6) The administration of the pension plan for each company shall be under the direction of a Board of Administrators, consisting of representatives, one-half appointed by the management and one half elected by the employee members. The powers and duties of the Board for each company will be to formulate general rules relating to eligibility of employees, conditions of retirement, etc., but such rules shall be in consonance with the general plan laid down by the General Board of Administration of the trade association of which the company is a member, and approved by the federal supervisory body.

(7) The amounts collected from the employees and the companies shall be placed with the pension trust organized by the association, the management of which shall be under the direction of the General Board of Administration referred to hereafter. In no case shall such funds be left under the control of an individual company.

(8) The Pension trust shall invest all funds and place them to the credit of the individual employees, including the income earned by the trust. If an employee goes from one company to another in the same association, the funds accumulated to his credit shall be continued to his credit with proper record of transfer. If an employee goes to a company in another association, the funds accumulated to his credit shall be transferred to his credit in the pension trust of the association to which he goes. If an employee goes to a company which does not come under these provisions or which is not a member of a trade association; goes into business for himself; or withdraws from an industrial or commercial occupation, the amount of his payments plus the interest at the average rate earned by the funds shall be given to him. If an employee dies before reaching retirement age, his beneficiary will receive the amount of his payments plus interest at the average rate earned by the funds. When an employee reaches retirement age, the entire amount accumulated to his credit, including his own payments and those of the company, plus accumulated interest, will be given to him in the form of an annuity. If an employee goes to a company which does not come under these provisions or which is not a member of a trade association; goes into business for himself; or withdraws from industrial or

commercial occupation, he may elect to let the amount to his credit (namely, his own payments plus those of the company and the accumulated interest) remain with the pension trust for transfer, if he should return to the employ of any company coming within the provisions of this plan. If he does not return to the employ of a company coming under these provisions, he may at any time thereafter withdraw the amount of his own payments plus interest at the average rate earned by the funds up to that time. Company contributions and accumulated interest credited to employees who die, or for reasons indicated above, receive or withdraw their own contributions and interest, shall be returned to the employer or employers who made the contributions.

(9) The rules governing the payments of pensions on retirement and all other rules governing its continuance shall be made by the trade association, approved by the federal supervisory body, and observed by the General Board of Administration and the Boards of Administration of the member companies.

(D) **UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.** All employees on piece work, hourly work daily, weekly, or monthly work, with normal pay of \$5,000 per year or less (approximately \$96.15 per week) shall be covered by unemployment insurance.

(1) All such employees may, after two years of service with a company coming within the provisions of this plan, and shall, after five years of service, be each required to put aside a minimum of one per cent of earnings, but not more than \$50 per year for an unemployment insurance fund.

(2) The company shall be required to put aside an amount equal to that put aside by the employees, as set forth above, namely one per cent of the earnings of each employee, but not more than \$50 per year for each such employee.

(3) If a company regularizes and guarantees employment for at least 50 per cent of the normal wage paid each year to such employees, the company assessment for employees covered by such guarantee need not be made, but the employees will pay in a minimum of one per cent of earnings, but not more than \$50 per year, into a special fund for their own benefit.

If such an employee leaves the company, dies or retires on pension, the amount to his credit in the special fund plus interest at the average rate earned by the special fund, shall be given to him or to his beneficiaries or added to his pension.

(4) If a company so plans its work that it is able to reduce unemployment, when the amount of such company's credit in the normal unemployment fund is equal to but not less than 5 per cent of the normal annual earnings of the employees covered, the company may cease making payment to the fund. Employees' payments will continue.

The company will resume payments when its credit in the normal unemployment fund falls below 5 per cent of normal annual earnings of the employees covered.

(5) When the weekly payments made from the fund for unemployment benefits amount to 2 per cent or more of the average weekly earnings of participating employees, the company shall declare an unemployment emergency, and normal payments by the employees and the company shall cease. Thereafter all employees of the company (including the highest officers) receiving 50 per cent or more of their average full-time earnings shall pay 1 per cent of their current earnings to the unemployment fund. A similar amount shall be paid into the fund by the company. The unemployment emergency shall continue until normal conditions are restored, which shall be determined by the Board of Administrators of each company. Thereupon normal payments will be resumed.

(6) The main provisions for the distribution of the funds shall follow along these lines, unless modified by the Board of Administrators as set forth in Section D, paragraph 7 hereof. A certain small percentage of the normal payments of the employees and the company may be considered as available for helping participating employees in need. A larger percentage of such normal payments may be considered as available for loans to participating employees in amounts not exceeding \$200 each, with or without interest as may be determined by the Board. The balance of the funds shall be available for unemployment payments. Unemployment payments shall begin after the first two weeks of unemployment and shall amount to approximately 50 per cent of the participating employee's average weekly or monthly earnings for full time, but in no case more than \$20 per week. Such payments to individual employees shall continue for no longer than ten weeks in any twelve consecutive months unless extended by the Board. When a participating employee is working part-time because of lack of work and receiving less than 50 per cent of his average weekly or monthly earnings for full time, he shall be eligible for payments to be made from the fund, amounting to the difference between the amount he is receiving as wages from the company and the maximum he may be entitled to as outlined above.

(7) The custody and investment of funds and administration of the unemployment insurance plan for each company shall be under the direction of a Board of Administrators consisting of representatives, one-half appointed by the management and one-half elected by the employee members. The powers and duties of the Board shall be to formulate general rules relating to eligibility of employees, the waiting period before benefits are paid, amounts of benefits and how long they shall continue in any year, whether loans shall be made in time of unemployment or need, whether a portion of the funds shall be placed at the disposal of the Board for relief from need arising from causes other than unemployment, etc., but such rules shall be in consonance with the general plan laid down by the General Board of Administration of the trade association of which the company is a member, and approved by the federal supervisory body.

(8) If an employee leaves the company and goes to work for another company coming within the provisions of this plan, the proportionate amount remaining of his normal contributions, plus interest at the average rate earned by the funds, shall be transferred to such company and to his credit. If he leaves for other reasons, dies or retires on pension, the proportionate amount remaining of his normal payment, plus interest at the average rate earned by the funds, shall be given to him, or to his beneficiary, or added to his pension. When such employee's credit is transferred to another company, or paid to the employee or to his beneficiary under this provision, an equal amount shall be paid to the cooperating company.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION. Each trade association will form a General Board of Administration which shall consist of nine members, three to be elected or appointed by the association, three to be elected by the employees of the member companies, and three, representing the public, to be appointed by the federal supervisory body. The members of the General Board, except employee representatives, shall serve without compensation. The employee representatives shall be paid their regular rates of pay for time devoted to Board work, and all members shall be paid traveling expenses, all of which shall be borne by the trade association. The powers and duties of this General Board shall be to interpret the life and disability insurance, pension and unemployment insurance plans adopted by the trade association and approved by the federal supervisory body, supervise the individual company Boards of Administration, form and direct a pension trust for the custody, investment, and disbursements of the pension funds, and in general supervise and direct all activities connected with life and disability insurance, pension and unemployment insurance plans.

Appendix B

Sponsors of Plans Presented for Economic Planning in the United States at April 1932.¹

American Engineering Council, New York.
American Federation of Labor, Washington.
Associated General Contractors, Washington.
Charles A. Beard, New Milford, Conn.
Ralph Borsodi, author and economist. New York.
Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington.
Stuart Chase, author and economist. Labor Bureau, New York.
Wallace B. Donham, Dean, Harvard School of Business.
Fraternal Order of Eagles (Ludlow bill).
Jay Franklin, author, The Forum.
Guy Greer, economist, The Outlook.
Otto Kahn, banker. New York.
Senator Robert M. La Follette, U.S. Senate.
Lewis L. Lorwin, economist, Brookings Institute, Washington.
Paul M. Mazur, investment banker. New York.
McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., New York.
New England Council, Boston.
Progressive Conference (La Follette bill).
P. Redmond, economist, Schenectady, N.Y.
Sumner Slichter, economist and author, Madison Wis.
George Soule, editor, The New Republic.
C. R. Stevenson, of Stevenson, Jordan, and Harrison, New York.
Gerard Swope, president, General Electric Co.
Wisconsin Regional Plan, State Legislature, Madison, Wis.
National Civic Federation, New York.

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**TOO MUCH
AND
TOO MANY
ROOSEVELTS**

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By Gerald L. K. Smith

CRIMINALS DELUXE

Eleanor Roosevelt, who has for 25 years been the mastermind of the Roosevelt dynasty, was the one who steered her husband out of the lethargy of defeatism and promoted him into the White House.

This same Eleanor Roosevelt with all her machiavelian technique is now masterminding the campaign to return the Roosevelt dynasty to power. She launched her son Jimmie into the California political scene, while simultaneously launching her son Junior (FDR, Jr.) into the political arena of New York State. Whichever one makes the best showing will be Eleanor's candidate for President.

This aggressive amazonian female, who personifies opportunism at its worst, is not alone in her campaign to recapture the White House. She has the support of the following aggressive elements: (1) All Jewish organizations; (2) All important Negro organizations; (3) All socialistic and left wing groups; (4) The great stupid mass of uninformed illiterates who were taught by *Government-bought* and *treasury-paid-for* propaganda to worship the late FDR.

If the Roosevelts get back into the White House they will never leave it. They will immediately seize the public treasury and with the taxpayers' money buy themselves into permanent power. They will set up a pseudo royal family, and with Jew finance behind them, they will rule and reign with the tyranny of Lenin and Stalin.

No mature thinker can survey the American political crisis without being conscious of the fact that the total background of the Roosevelts is criminal, treasonable, demagogic, opportunistic and ruthless. No one can understand the Roosevelts without understanding three things: (1) Their Jewish blood and associates; (2) Their love of money and power; (3) Their fraternization with Communists and their ilk.

The first fact explains their temperament; the second accounts for their willingness to do anything; and the third helps us to understand why our country now stands be-

trayed, with our choicest military secrets in the hands of our worst potential enemy, and with Christian civilization standing with its back to the wall, waiting in holy dread for the moment when the savage Russians and their allies and their slaves will move in upon us, pillaging our homes, raping our women, slaughtering our clergymen, and imprisoning our sons and daughters.

There need be nothing revengeful or partisan about alerting ourselves to the Roosevelt conspiracy. The problem now has gone beyond partisan politics. It is a question involving 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' It involves a death struggle for the preservation of the Republic.

THE DELANO FORTUNE

Behind the Roosevelt dynasty stands the Delano fortune. The letter "D" in Franklin D. stands for "Delano." Mrs. James Roosevelt, the mother of F.D.R., was a Delano. James Roosevelt, the father of Franklin, was 26 years older than Franklin's mother. Incidentally, they were cousins. This perhaps accounts for a family psychology which permitted the young Franklin to marry his cousin Eleanor. Thus we have two generations of the intermarriage of cousins in the Franklin Roosevelt family.

Even *Look Magazine*, which has always been somewhat of a booster of the Roosevelt clan, admitted recently in an article that when Franklin grew up he was somewhat of a sissy and a Mama's boy. No one seemed to restrain him when he decided to marry his cousin Eleanor, a frustrated, ugly duckling who had been raised by private nurses and European tutors and who never entered a schoolhouse until she was nearly 20. Out of this intermarriage of cousins and frustrates came the abortive administration which gave America 15 years of treason, debt, war and bankruptcy.

One of the outstanding attributes of the Roosevelt cabal is their complete lack of conscience concerning all matters involving conduct, morals, financial dealings, political promises, etc. This is easy to understand when we reflect

on the fact that the Delano fortune was assembled by Delano, the Senior, and his affiliates in the Orient by the sale of dope. Delano wasn't just a dope peddler. He was a dope merchant. He reduced his vice to a wholesale formula and thus accumulated a vast estate, which was later to be passed on to the rulers of the United States—and I do not use that word "ruler" inadvisedly—that is exactly what they became.

THE ROOSEVELT FORTUNE

Eleanor as well as Franklin was a Roosevelt. Her maiden name was Roosevelt. The father of Eleanor was an alcoholic, a sharp trader, and a ruthless crook. Both Roosevelts, the father of Franklin and the father of Eleanor, pursued their business with little or no regard for the common decencies. They established their baronial estate in the Hyde Park zone, and there they lived like royalty, extracting their dividends and their profits from the blood, sweat, tears and the depravities of the helpless masses. Franklin's father refused to associate with ordinary citizens and insisted that when anyone was entertained in his home such a one should be a titled personality or royalty. Although the Senior Roosevelt who was the father of Eleanor was an alcoholic and unable to pursue his business with any degree of consistency, he accumulated much of his fortune by sharp practices and crooked deals involving Ohio River shipping facilities.

James Roosevelt, Sr., father of Franklin, died while little Franklin was merely a pampered child in the hands of nurses and tutors. From then on the widowed mother ruled Hyde Park like a tyrant queen. She controlled every act of Franklin until he married Eleanor and then the two hard-headed, determined women, frustrated by background and circumstance, entered into almost a death struggle for control over the life of the grinning manikin that was some day to serve as the ruling figurehead over a once free people.

THE PERSONAL LIFE OF F. D. R.

The man was a snob for his entire life. He grew up alone. His mother considered him too good to associate with ordinary children. He never entered a schoolhouse until he was 14 years of age, when he was sent to Groton, the most exclusive boys' school in the East. Here he made rather ordinary grades and was schooled in the art of exclusiveness and snootiness. Later he was sent to Harvard University and graduated as rather a mediocre student of law.

His personal life, as relates to women, is rather a nebulous story. It seems that he was no ladies' man and he had 'no way with the girls.' His aggressive approach to women was confined largely to social detours which had best not be summarized in this manuscript. Suffice it to say, it is generally believed that he married Eleanor in order to keep the estates of the 'two royal families' together. It is generally believed that his mother manipulated, what turned out to be, rather a synthetic romance.

SLOT MACHINES

Franklin Roosevelt became a lawyer without clients. He had no practice. He earned no money. He depended upon his mother. First he was Mama's boy, and next he was the puppet of his aggressive wife Eleanor. This bothered him, but it didn't bother him as much as hard work. He didn't like to work. He didn't like to study. He didn't like to apply himself. Consequently, he looked about for shortcuts.

Close to his Hyde Park estate lived another indolent scion who was never quite able to make a living for himself. His name was Henry Morgenthau, Jr. The elder Morgenthau was a shrewd, aggressive Jew. Strange enough, the elder Morgenthau was an enemy of Zionism and branded it as a bold, brazen racket. Little did he realize that his son Henry, Jr., would some day become one of the stuffed-shirt heads of the world Zionist movement.

Franklin and Henry got together and they decided to go into the slot machine business. The machines were to vend all sorts of merchandise from coins to neckties, from slugs to underwear. They were to take the place of stores, haberdasheries and whatnot. Of course, it wasn't their idea. It was the idea of a slick bunch of promoters who hoped to cash in on the Morgenthau financial contacts and the Roosevelt name, which had become rather popular, not by way of Hyde Park, but by way of Oyster Bay (the home of the Teddy Roosevelts). Incidentally, the James Roosevelt branch had always been Democrats. The Teddy Roosevelt branch, which even to this day has nothing to do with the Hyde Park clan, was always Republican*.

Suffice it to say, Franklin and Henry cleaned the public for an amount alleged to be between two and three million dollars. Their slot machine venture went broke and the stockholders held the bag.

THE GERMAN PAPER CURRENCY RACKET

Following the first world war, Germany descended into a pitiful financial circumstance. Polish and Russian Jews flooded Germany, and Jews from all over the world came to the defeated nation and cashed in on the suffering of the German people. The abuses which they worked upon the German Christians resulted in the violent nausea and reaction which later produced Hitler and his compatriots. It didn't require a very imaginative leader to ask the Germans to shift the control of their nation from Jew to Christian. The old families of Germany were eating roots and

*Many Republicans to this day, however, feel very bitter toward Teddy Roosevelt. They are not so sure but what it was the strategy of this dynasty to play both sides of the street. The proof given to establish this theory lies in the fact that when Teddy started the Bull Moose Party he split the Republicans, brought Wilson to power, which gave America 40 years of behind-the-scenes rule by the over-publicized and under-exposed Wall Street manipulator and international Jew, Bernard Baruch.

boiling grass; losing their homes and business properties under an inflationary technique which had been manipulated by the international Jewish bankers.

German paper money became as common as baled hay. A set of racketeers and thieves in the United States figured that it would be a good idea to bring over a shipload of this currency, which was not worth the paper it was printed on, and sell it to the American people with the idea that some day it would be redeemed at face value. The fact was, it had no value. It was worth as much as Confederate money after the Civil War.

The crooks and the racketeers needed a 'front' — they needed a 'grinning face.' They needed a society man to make the thing look decent. They selected as their 'attorney' Franklin D. Roosevelt. Suffice it to say, the public was again cleaned of from two to five million dollars. How much of these crooked millions fell into the hands of Franklin Roosevelt, only God knows. The very fact that he would have anything to do with such rackets as the vending machine experiment or the German currency steal should have disqualified him in the mind of the American people as having no value whatsoever as a public servant.

AMERICA'S PHYSICAL TRAGEDY

As an adult in his twenties, Franklin Roosevelt was stricken with infantile paralysis. Never has an individual or a public figure held such a tragedy from the public as artfully as did Mr. Roosevelt and his family. I spoke in Flint, Michigan, as late as 1940 to a large audience. At that time I told the audience that we had a sick man for President, and although a man should be pitied and understood who lacked full physical strength, we should not risk the destiny of our nation in the hands of a man who could not walk. The audience sighed, some booed, some hissed, because many thought I was lying. They didn't believe that Franklin Roosevelt was paralyzed. They had never heard it before. Such was the case in every American community.

RABBITS IN GEORGIA

In the meantime Franklin and his ilk and his playmates had thought up another cute deal. They were going to get rich growing rabbits and they had acquired some wild cheap land in Georgia. After having acquired the land they found that the rabbit venture was not as hopeful as they had believed, but they did discover that there was a spring bubbling warm water on the land, and Franklin and his promoter-minded pals considered this a great place for the development of a resort where claims for the cure of rheumatism, etc., would be made.

THE MARCH OF DIMES — TO WHOM AND HOW MUCH?

The March of Dimes was originated by the little wall-eyed Jew-leftist Eddie Cantor (a radio and motion picture personality). Cantor was recently exposed by the great Hollywood producer Myron C. Fagan as being in the left wing orbit of pro-Stalin propaganda, having even signed a cablegram of congratulations to Joe Stalin at one time, in the home of the Kremlin's pal, Charlie Chaplin.*

The public was told that if the dimes rolled into the White House the crippled children would roll out of Warm Springs cured, and thus the Warm Springs Foundation, built around the former rabbit ranch of F. D. R., grew into a billion dollar campaign. Of course, the people, including the bootlicking politicians, who sent in dimes and dollar bills by the millions, kept no receipts, had no records, and God only knows where all the money went. Reports concerning this fund have never been satisfactory to the discriminating and the inquisitive. It has now settled down

*Anyone who would like to read up on Communism in Hollywood should get Mr. Fagan's book entitled "Red Treason in Hollywood." It may be had for \$1.00 per copy. Address orders to Christian Nationalist Crusade, Post Office Box D-4, St. Louis 1, Missouri. It is a large book and contains scores and hundreds of documents, and lists over 200 personalities within the pinko-Red-Communist orbit in Hollywood.

to a conventional project which might be able to pass muster, but the real scandal of the Warm Springs Foundation existed in the first five years of its life. Never has a poor child been able to go to Warm Springs and be treated. No child can go to Warm Springs without a nurse, plus the payment of \$8.00 per day. What child of a farm tenant or a garage mechanic can afford a private nurse and \$8.00 per day? Why shouldn't we question the handling of this money? Why should anyone trust a Roosevelt in the handling of money? There may be some microscopic exceptions, but by and large every time a Roosevelt has touched money, it has either been squandered or pocketed.

RASKOB BUYS A GOVERNOR

Here we find Franklin Roosevelt a failure as a lawyer, involved in two publicized rackets and a series of unprofitable ventures involving no substance whatsoever. He had no clients. He had no money of his own except that which he had bilked out of his mother's estate and out of the slick boys who had retained him as a stuffed-shirt to 'front' for their questionable practices.

One thing was sure, however, the name Roosevelt was popular in America *although* no one knew anything about the Hyde Park Roosevelts. They had been buried behind the insulation of their own royal snootiness. They lived in their baronial mansion without the outer world. There sat Franklin in a wheel chair, a failure as a lawyer and unknown to the American public.

Al Smith, the popular man of New York, was about to wind up his term as Governor. There was fear and apprehension among Democrats that the Republicans would win. Something drastic had to be done to lift some Republican votes out of the Republican Party and transfer them to the Democrats. The foundation was laid by sending Franklin to the State Senate. Living in a conservative district, he was elected because he was a Roosevelt on the popularity of Teddy. In fact, it was during his Senate term that he was stricken physically.

John Raskob was the attorney for the DuPonts. The

DuPonts owned the Empire State Building. After being defeated for the Presidency, Al Smith was to become the super-janitor of all time; namely, the manager of the Empire State Building. So we find the DuPonts and the Empire State Building and Al Smith casting about for a neat trick with which to enhance their influence over the state government of New York. Both Raskob and Smith were later to repent for outsmarting themselves and doing the nation its most evil deed. What was this evil deed?

Raskob thought up the idea of having Franklin Roosevelt run for Governor of New York to succeed Al Smith. Roosevelt was lazy, lethargic and somewhat of a defeatist caused by his physical handicap. He declined. Raskob then went to Mrs. Roosevelt and to his mother Sara, and they both agreed to help persuade him. At a certain point, the mother, the wife, Raskob and others all put together were unsuccessful until Raskob discovered the key that it took to unlock the door to Franklin's heart — namely, the love of money. Franklin was jealous of his classmates who had made good. He was jealous of his neighbors who were increasing their wealth by their own intelligence and initiative, and although he had been unable to create a fortune of his own by himself, he loved money. Raskob sensed this and thereupon he offered Franklin Roosevelt a bribe of \$250,000 cash to offer himself as a candidate for the Governor of the State of New York. It was understood that the cash was not to be used — not one penny of it for campaign funds. It was to be stashed away and kept with the personal fortune of Franklin Roosevelt.

The announcement was made. The candidacy was announced. All well-informed observers know that New York State has always been closely divided between Democrats and Republicans. In spite of the millions of voters in this state 30,000 to 100,000 votes have always been the balance of power between the two old parties.

Raskob had guessed right. He knew that just the name Roosevelt would swing enough Republicans to turn the trick, and Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt became 'the Governor of New York State.'

THE POLITICIANS 'TASTED BLOOD'

The shrewd boys, the power-mad and the job-hungry Democrats saw a vision of their opportunity to capture the White House. I need not discuss the details here save to say that America in 1932 was in the throes of a crisis. The American people would have elected anybody that the Democratic Party nominated. Anything for a change, they said. The politicians pursued this psychological circumstance with a vengeance and made Franklin Roosevelt the President of the United States in 1932.

The following factors were the most influential in the victory of Roosevelt:

1. The stock market crash, which was a natural reaction from the first world war.
2. The smear of Hoover, which was a scientific job, paid for by Raskob and done by Michaelson.
3. The popularity of the Roosevelt name based on the record of Teddy.
4. The shrewd political manipulations of James A. Farley, one of the most cunning politicians America has ever known; who, incidentally, has repented over and over for what he did to America in helping to foist Roosevelt upon us. Farley's clash with the Roosevelts came because he refused to go along with their pro-Communist program and because of their conscienceless disregard for truth, campaign promises and sound government finance. James Farley, who grew up an humble man, was never received by the Roosevelt family socially. Although he did more than any other man to bring Roosevelt to power, the Roosevelt family never received the Farley family on an equal basis. Farley actually got to the place where he believed Roosevelt to be the biggest and most effective liar in human history.

ATTENTION, READER: This booklet is not intended to be a biography of Roosevelt; neither is it intended to be a history of the Roosevelt dynasty. Although that which has been written thus far has somewhat of a chronological order, the paragraphs from here on will merely be thumbnail sketches of sensational skulduggery, chicanery, duplicity, hypocrisy, etc.

BLACKMAILING, BIG BUSINESS

No human being in the history of the United States, including Al Capone, Frank Costello (both super-gangsters), Pirate Lafitte or Lucky Luciano ever took the practical advantage of power that was taken by the Roosevelts when they entered the White House. Every child, with perhaps one exception (John), and every in-law, with perhaps the exception of John's wife, proceeded to clean up. Elliott was the crudest and the most awkward. He became the black sheep, not because of what he did that was wrong, but because of his artless inability to cover up his tracks. To date this ruthless and brazen son has been married three times, and promises to marry a night club habitue' in the very near future. He has never hesitated to take money as a loan, or as a gift in return for a promise to manipulate in Washington. His most notorious piece of thievery had to do with the financing of a radio network. He learned that Congress was about to pass a very strong piece of legislation dealing with chain stores. He pitched his tent toward the Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company, one of America's large grocery chains. He approached the President of the company, Mr. Hartford, for a loan of \$200,000 with which to finance his radio venture. Hartford hesitated on the grounds that the President might object. Elliott assured him that his father would not object, and immediately took down the telephone, connected Mr. Hartford with his father (the President), and F. D. R. assured the chain store magnate that it would be nice to 'loan' his son Elliott \$200,000.

It isn't necessary to discuss here the details of what fol-

lowed. Suffice it to say, Hartford only got \$4,000 back and Elliott kept not only the \$196,000, but the stock which it was supposed to have purchased. Incidentally, the stock has now gone up in value, about double, and Elliott has the \$196,000 which he rolled out of Mr. Hartford and approximately \$200,000 representing the increased value of the stock. This is not an isolated incident picked out of a clear sky. It is merely a symptom and a sample of the way these boys shook down, rolled and blackmailed men of great wealth. Any prominent man is entitled to a black-sheep son. No father should be held responsible for the conduct of his child unless he encourages and recommends his conduct. It is now known for a fact that F. D. R. used a high government official to effect a settlement with Hartford when the \$200,000 loan was settled for \$4,000.

In the meantime, Jimmie, the eldest son, currently in a campaign to capture California, was getting in his licks. Jimmie's escapades are developed elsewhere in this treatise.

RADIO AND JOURNALISTIC RACKETEERING

The aggressive Eleanor was not one to overlook a single bet. Her manipulation of the radio and the newspaper column proved to be the creation of a new art. It was not new for a woman to be money-hungry or publicity conscious. It was new for the wife of the President of the United States to use the influence of her high position for financial purposes. No one was interested in what Eleanor Roosevelt said because she was Eleanor Roosevelt. If that had been the case, she would have written something and she would have been on the air before she became mistress of the White House. The newspapers which published her columns knew that large numbers of people would read it merely because she was the wife of the President. Newspapers which carried her column assumed that the Internal Revenue Department might be a little more patient with them than if they did not carry her column. They knew that they might have less trouble getting newsprint quotas

during the time of newsprint scarcity. They knew and guessed many things, in fact, and usually they guessed right. Big newspapers are good guessers.

At one time David Hopkins, now holding some sort of a synthetic job in Hollywood, and the son of the late Harry Hopkins, was Public Relations Counsel for some South American coffee interests. Through the influence of Hopkins (his father) and Eleanor, the South American representatives received special loans for promoting the development of their coffee. Trained observers were not surprised, therefore, when it was announced shortly after the negotiation of the loan that Eleanor was to be paid \$5,000 per week for helping to build good will toward coffee in the United States — over the radio.

The love of Eleanor Roosevelt for money and power and publicity cannot be exaggerated. It has no limit. To illustrate:

Eleanor was booked for a speaking tour. One of the towns was Johnson City, Tennessee, a very prosperous little community in the mountains. A civic club had booked Eleanor to speak. The tickets had not sold. It was a financial catastrophe. Eleanor arrived in town but refused to speak until she had been given her check for \$500. The humble members of the committee were forced to go to the bank and borrow the \$500. The President's wife who traditionally belonged to all Americans, upon receiving her five hundred borrowed dollars made her rather dull speech. When she had gone the committee still owed the money and it was necessary to devise ways and means to pay off the debt. They raffled a Chevrolet car and sold chances for \$1.00 and sold enough chances to pay the debt and pay the dealer the wholesale price on the car. A mailman bought the lucky ticket and the last time I heard from Johnson City, the mailman was still driving the car which he had named 'Eleanor'.

This story has a smile in it, but it also has a tragedy because it is merely a sample and a symptom of the avaricious formula which dictated American policy during the reign of the Roosevelts. It is estimated that Eleanor Roosevelt,

while in the White House took in something around \$10 million in cash. Among good men, this is known as the crime of selling influence. Up to this time, whoever dreamed that the wife of a President of the United States would sell her influence for soap and mattresses and coffee? To make the circumstance all the more satirical and inconsistent, she gave her influence to 'Beauty Rest' mattresses and 'Sweetheart' soap.

It is contended that some of this money went to charity. But, even though this were granted, what about the portion that was retained? Does the retaining of any of it change the moral quality of the act? Is it more wrong to steal \$2 million than it is to steal \$1 million? Is that the code of American morality as exemplified by the Roosevelts?

THE CHRISTMAS TREE INCIDENT

It is to be presumed that anyone who owns a Christmas tree has a right to sell it. Many Christmas trees have been planted on the Hyde Park estate. Elliott Roosevelt has become the Christmas tree executor of the Hyde Park dynasty. Each year he cuts trees and brings them down and sells them at a cut-rate price. He advertises that other Christmas tree merchants are over-charging. He fails to tell the public that the Roosevelt trees are of a coarser, less desirable quality. Then the dupes flood in hoping that they can get two things for the price of one—a Christmas tree and a glance at the notorious Elliott.

There is nothing in this circumstance which compares to the routine crookedness of Elliott, but it does introduce into the New York community each year a dirty little trick for commercial purposes which is not at all inconsistent with the background of the Delano dope merchants, the alcoholic Roosevelts and these baronial aristocrats who have always loved their money more than their souls.

TAX-FREE MEMORIALS

Most public men leave it to posterity to build and devise memorials. Franklin D. Roosevelt ran no such risk. He

and his Yiddish advisers knew how to get the Hyde Park estate off the tax rolls. They made it a memorial. They gave it 'to the government' with the understanding that it could be occupied by the Roosevelts. They moved many files and many documents to Hyde Park which could not have been taken by the private citizen Roosevelt, but could be taken under the guise of depositing them on government property through the establishment of this memorial. The Hyde Park estate has been publicized and advertised. It is a stop on the sight-seers' route. Limousines and chartered buses from New York and elsewhere move in upon it in large numbers every year and every month of every year. Of course, the Roosevelts have not overlooked a bet because there is much to be sold and much to be gained in the form of pop stands, ice cream booths, souvenir concessions. Franklin is buried here on the family estate, now made tax exempt under the technical provision that it is a memorial to a man who proposed the memorial while he was alive and promoted its establishment while he was still in power, with government money over which he had almost dictatorial control. The whole thing moves into a realm of ethical conduct which is below the bottom of a decent American's conception of what is decent and honorable.

Note: Even Mount Vernon, the historic home of George Washington, is not Government property, but is owned and operated by a private organization which has to raise the money to maintain it.

THE LEND LEASE SCANDAL

Felix Frankfurter, the enigmatic Jew on the Supreme Court bench who came to America as an immigrant and has spent 50 years encouraging radicals, left-wingers and downright Communists, is given the credit for writing the original Lend-Lease Bill. I am still proud that I testified before the United States Senate (Foreign Affairs Committee) in opposition to the passage of this bill. I was not so much opposed to its attempt to aid potential allies as I

was opposed to its vicious transfer of dictatorial power over America's resources to the President of the United States. Does the reader of this treatise really know what a vicious bill this was? It actually gave to the President all power over all resources of the United States of America. It gave him the authority to give away anything America had to foreign nations without reporting to Congress until after it was done. What can Congress do to a President under such circumstances? Suppose a President squanders \$50 billion and Congress doesn't like it and they decide to impeach the President. We still don't get the \$50 billion back because no man can pay back through a fine or imprisonment or the disgrace of impeachment such squandering, such betrayal of economic stability.

Frankfurter and Morgenthau and their little Jewish clan of manipulators knew that operating through the vanity of Roosevelt and his desire to be President of the World they could use the Lend-Lease bill to ingratiate themselves in the financial and political centers of the world and thus virtually rule the world by the dissipation of American wealth.

Incidentally, under Lend-Lease, Roosevelt gave to Russia more submarines than we now possess. He gave to Russia more airplane bombers than we now possess. He gave Russia factories, refineries, etc. He ordered entire industrial establishments condemned and appraised and then turned these establishments over lock, stock and barrel to Russia. He did similar things for all nations everywhere that were supposed to be on our side potentially.

Roosevelt made Stalin. He fattened the savage Russian and now the mothers of America toss in their sleep or do not sleep at all in the dread that this Frankenstein which Roosevelt fattened will move in upon us any night to slaughter our sons, rape our daughters and enslave our Christians.

Beyond and beside the squander policy and the power-making policy of Lend-Lease, was the penurious Roosevelt racketeering technique.

Fifty million dollars of this Lend-Lease, which compared to billions, looked at that time like only a drop in the bucket, was set aside to satisfy the little (?) personal whims of the tyrant in the wheel chair. This 50 million a year could be spent without an accounting or without any special permission from Congress. This was Roosevelt's pin money with which he did little favors for politicians all over the world, who in turn of course, were very happy to contract with certain American companies for merchandise they were purchasing with Lend-Lease dollars. Out of this little three-cornered racket was built baronial fortunes by international characters (mostly Jews) who now live in castles on obscure islands and on the border of alien beaches where the responsibilities of American charity and where the unhappy thought of the Internal Revenue collector never disturbs them. We furnished the sons. We furnished the money. We pay the taxes. This clique of international Jewish villains make the fortunes and live in royal splendor like the feudal lords of Medieval Europe, while they laugh in Christ-less scorn at the dumb goyim (Gentiles) who believe what their brothelian slaves write in their Jew-owned newspapers, broadcast over their Jew-owned radio and portray in their Jew-owned films. These are the men who own the politicians of the world, who manipulate the United Nations and who, incidentally, propose to return the Roosevelts to the White House.

PHOENIX 'GOT TOOK'

Phoenix is a tranquil little city resting in the heart of the great American desert. Irrigation has turned its environs into a potential Garden of Eden. Flowers bloom, cotton bolls burst, grapefruit and oranges adorn the countryside and the dry, health-giving atmosphere accompanied by almost eternal sunshine makes this little metropolis a center for health, recreation and aggressive business development. This looked like a soft touch to Mrs. Anna Roosevelt Dall Boettiger, the only daughter of Franklin and Eleanor. With her then husband, Mr. Boettiger, she

journeyed to Phoenix. She got an option to purchase a little shopping newspaper being printed in a one story building on a back street. In fact, it was just one degree above a throw-away handbill in its editorial appearance. It was no newspaper. She organized a stock company; through her influence she got it approved by the Securities Exchange Commission. She took on partners. She did whatever was necessary. Detail is not required here. The result was that she rolled about three Phoenix suckers for something like \$500,000 and then proceeded to divorce her husband and leave Phoenix. This glimpse into the crooked business of the only daughter is not so important in this manuscript, but is thrown in merely to suggest that the Roosevelts are always consistent. They are consistently crooked. They are consistently dishonest and they are consistently exhibitionist.

SMUGGLING SPIES

If we had a government that would deal with the Roosevelts the way it deals with ordinary criminals, Eleanor Roosevelt would now be under sentence to a Federal prison along with Alger Hiss and his ilk. It is a matter of common knowledge among journalists and consistent Washington observers that Eleanor Roosevelt actually used her influence upon the State Department to smuggle in aliens known to be Communists and later known to be spies. Time and space will not permit a full development of this accusation. Suffice it to say, she became a great pal of the Eislers. She brought pressure to bear upon men of authority who had refused to admit the Eislers and then under pressure from Eleanor they yielded. The reader will recall that Hans Eisler, the Hollywood musician, wrote revolutionary songs, contributed money to revolutionary causes, and hated America. When he landed in Europe after being sent out of America, he boasted that it was good once again

to breathe the air of freedom. His brother, Gerhard Eisler, was identified by the Un-American Activities Committee as Stalin's No. 1 agent in the U. S. A. — merely pals of friendly Eleanor who manipulated 'that mean, old State Department' and made them admit these 'sweet' men to our U. S. A. What does the reader think would happen to any ordinary American who would carry on a smuggling campaign to get spies into the U. S. A.?

THE PEARL HARBOR HOAX

No incident in history has ever taken place that could surpass, and no incident will ever take place which can surpass the villainy, hypocrisy and duplicity embodied in the so-called Pearl Harbor incident. I know that the Japs were ambitious. Their military clique wanted power. They were playing politics for influence in the Orient, but they did not want war with the U. S. A. The attack at Pearl Harbor was not a sneak attack. Roosevelt, in order to please his Jewish masters and his friend Joe Stalin was determined to get us into World War II. All mature thinkers now know that the war was a fake which can be proved in about ten sentences as follows:

The propaganda against Hitler was based on his original desire for a corridor to the sea by way of Danzig which would have meant a strip of land off Poland. I am not saying he should have had it or should not have had it. I'm saying that that was the big issue. A cry went up from the propagandists that Hitler was taking a part of Poland so we went to war against Germany. We destroyed Germany and gave *all* of Poland to Russia. That rather demolishes the so-called principle involved, does it not?

The warmongers told us that Japan was too ambitious in the Orient and might some day take China, so we decided to destroy Japan, which we did, and turned all of China, which will eventually mean the Orient, over to Rus-

sia. The net result of the war then is: we fought Germany to make Stalin safe in Europe, and we fought Japan to make Stalin safe in China, and now the man we made strong with our blood and our money and our President is out to swallow the United States.

The Jews really were the only aggressive group on earth who wanted World War II. They, through their Communist and propaganda machine manipulated the pro-war propaganda. But, even so, America did not want war. A reliable poll of public opinion 30 days before the war started revealed that 87 per cent of the American people did not want war. So, Roosevelt and his manipulating friends had to do something else. They gave us Pearl Harbor. They goaded the Japs. They incited the Japs. They blockaded the Japs. They told the Japs that we were going to starve them to death and shut off all their shipping by a blockade. What did they expect the Japs to do? Sit and starve to death for lack of imports? The Japs did exactly what could be expected and what Roosevelt expected them to do and what the warmongers wanted them to do. They attacked Pearl Harbor. They killed 3,000 of our boys whom Roosevelt and his 'palace guard' considered expendable. Only uninformed and unrealistic people who have not benefited by available facts think that Pearl Harbor was a sneak attack. Roosevelt desired it. Roosevelt promoted it. Roosevelt expected it. Even Eleanor in an off-guarded moment, in one of her columns said, "We were all looking for it." The poker-faced General Marshall was unable to remember where he was that night. He could remember where he was the night before and the night after and any other night, but not that night. In order to prepare Pearl Harbor for his deadly, satanic deed, it was necessary for Roosevelt to go down sixteen degrees from the top of the naval command in order to find one who would take the fall. The investigation of the Pearl Harbor incident was whitewashed by a set of crooks, warmongers and political whores. It easily remains the scandal of all scandals in the history of men who are willing to trade the blood of the innocent for their own tangible ambitions.

SELLING SLAVES TO STALIN

Elliott Roosevelt in his book admitted that all the important personalities at the Yalta Conference were drunk. Quite a scene was that! Stalin, Churchill, Roosevelt. Of course, we know Churchill to be an alcoholic. Wherever he goes it is necessary for him to have one quart of brandy per day in order to satisfy the nerve tissues in his seared stomach. The press reported that more than forty toasts were given in vodka which is supposed to be a more potent and deadly drink than American moonshine. Alger Hiss was at Roosevelt's elbow. He was *the* expert advising the President. For Hiss to be there was the same as Frankfurter being there, because Frankfurter has been Hiss' mentor. It was Frankfurter who testified as a character witness for Hiss in his first New York trial. Later, the reader recalls, in another trial Hiss was exposed and convicted. He was revealed as an absolute traitor, having stolen government documents and turned them over to Stalin's agent. A fine expert he made! A great man to stand at the elbow of America's vodka-drinking President to say 'here's the place to sign, Mr. President'.

The three important conferences of such a nature attended by our President in Europe will go down in history, if historians ever become objective, as the most heartless decisions debauched humanity has ever known. Here it was that our President agreed to the introduction of history's most savage program of human slavery.

By his signature, Mr. Roosevelt actually released something like 5 million German and Italian boys to be deposited in the slave labor battalions of savage Russia while their wives remained behind to be assaulted and raped and manhandled by the Oriental beasts that moved in upon Christian Europe from behind the Ural Mountains. Only a drunken Churchill, a blood-thirsty Stalin and a Jew-dominated Roosevelt could have concocted the savage schemes that were instituted in these foreign palaces occupied lavishly by these power-mad political maniacs.

THE FRANKFURTER BUSINESS

When I spoke at Harvard University some years ago, I was entertained by a strong Club of right-wing students opposed to Communism and all its trappings. I spoke in what is called the New Lecture Hall. In the middle of my address, a gang of students marched down the aisles, stomping, booing, hissing and spitting. They were thrown out. After the meeting I had a sandwich with the committee and I said to the boys "Who were those people?" I had observed that they were all Jews. The chairman of the committee said "They are members of the John Reed Club." The reader will recall that John Reed was the founder of the American Communist Party. I said to the committee: "Do you mean to tell me that Harvard University permits such an organization to have official representation on the campus?" "Yes," my informant replied. "We have tried to have it removed from the official status it holds, but the Dean of the Law Department always takes the side of the John Reed (Communist) Club." "Who is the Dean?" said I. "Felix Frankfurter" was the answer.

Shortly thereafter, Franklin Roosevelt appointed Felix Frankfurter to the Supreme Court of the United States. James Farley revealed that Frankfurter himself scarcely allowed a day to pass that he did not high-pressure the President to make him a member of the Supreme Court. Ordinarily this is never done. Men chosen for this high office wait for the job to pursue them; they never pursue the job. Not so with the little Jew Felix. He campaigned for it. He fought for it. He asked for it. He nagged everybody in authority until he got it. Frankfurter became Roosevelt's chief brain truster. He filled Washington with his proteges, his former students, his ideological and intellectual puppets. If the treason story of this generation is ever written fully, Felix Frankfurter will be right in the center of it.

THE SAVAGE MORGENTHAU PLAN

In a figurative sense, Henry Morgenthau 'killed' Cordell Hull. Cordell Hull, still alive when this was written, is now an unknown figure. We never hear of him. He is never quoted. Why?

In 1940 a poll of public opinion among Democrats revealed that Cordell Hull was the most popular Democrat in America. This, of course, inspired Mr. Roosevelt's jealousy. But that's not the reason that Morgenthau 'killed' Hull. Hull was opposed to the sneak campaign of Henry Morgenthau and his Zionist Jew advisers to murder, liquidate and enslave the entire German race. Suddenly we began to hear that Cordell Hull was a sick man; that he wasn't competent enough to run the State Department. Roosevelt ignored him. He used Sumner Welles (a notorious homosexual and pervert) as the acting Secretary of State who, in fact, carried out Roosevelt's wishes and did what Roosevelt and the Jews wanted. He had to. He didn't dare be exposed. He was blackmailed by the Jews, the 'palace guard' and the power-mad maniacs that were running Washington at that time.

Theoretically, Henry Morgenthau had nothing to do with the State Department, but the average Jew meddles in everything he touches whether it is his or not. Morgenthau had a job to do. He represented an element and a clique. He met Roosevelt and Churchill at Quebec without Mr. Hull's knowledge and there he presented the Morgenthau Plan for liquidating the German race. The most revengeful, heartless, savage, Christ-less, bloody, conscienceless, criminal, barbaric program for the destruction of human beings ever designed by any man in any century not excluding the Neroes, the Caesars, the Alexanders and the Genghis Khans. The substance of the Morgenthau Plan decreed that Germany should be destroyed as a self-sustaining nation. All factories should be burned or given away to Russia and other nations. This proud, aggressive and progressive people was to be divided up. Two million were

to be shot. Many of the most influential were to be sent into slavery in Russia and the remainder were to be made peasants under the lash of a political regime to be managed by American, English and French Jews and Russian commissars.

It is unbelievable that any man who has been exposed to American Christian civilization could ever think of such a thing. But, people who have scientifically resisted the ethics of Christ for 2,000 years are less influenced by environment than the pagan who has never known Christ, either to be for Him or against Him. The Zionist Jew is a calloused creature who has made himself scientifically immune to Christianity.

Fortunately, the death of Roosevelt brought, in large measure, the repeal of the Morgenthau Plan and in spite of Jew pressure, President Truman refused to carry it out. Of course, public sentiment developed against it and no typical American soldier or military officer would have the heart to carry out the intent of such a barbarian procedure.

Note: It must not be forgotten that the same Morgenthau who devised this savage plan is now in charge of all the money-raising campaigns for the Zionist enterprises and manipulates these millions which are now being used to bribe public officials, promote propaganda and clear the track for the ruthless enterprises of the Jews in Palestine who have already driven one million helpless Arabs into the desert, out of their own homes, out of their own business, and these wretched people are now starving and enduring a living death.

THE TREASON IN BERLIN

Franklin D. Roosevelt gave Berlin to Stalin without the consent or knowledge of the American people. The

British and American troops under the leadership of Montgomery and Patton were ready to take Berlin. Our troops were ready to march in and capture this, the most important city in Europe from the standpoint of military strategy. Roosevelt, believe it or not, ordered the British and American troops to withdraw so that Berlin could be taken by the Russians. Roosevelt claimed that he did it to make Stalin feel good. Undoubtedly it did make Stalin feel good. It made our generals very bitter, especially General Patton. Patton said that he had a little black book and that he proposed to keep that little black book and when he got back to the United States, said he, "I will raise hell and blow the lid off everything." Patton never returned. He was 'accidentally' run over by a truck. It might refresh the memories of some of the readers of this treatise to recall that it was Drew Pearson, the character-assassin and hatchet-man for the Anti-Defamation League (Jewish gestapo) who smeared Patton right while he was on the battlefield and accused him of slapping a Jewish boy for pretending to be sick and failing to go to the front. The truth concerning the matter has never come out except that it is generally known that Patton was a real soldier and expected all men in his troops to do their share. He did not hesitate to deal strongly with men who faked sickness in order to escape danger. The Jews never forgave Patton and he was smeared directly and indirectly by their journals and their agents and their stooges until the very hour of his death.

It was treason for Roosevelt to give Berlin to Stalin. This circumstance has caused the Western world more trouble than any other single situation. Stalin is there with his troops. Berlin has been cut up like a pie. The people under the heel of Stalin live like slaves and Russia now has a military base in the very heart of the European continent. From East Berlin she could atom-bomb every major city in Europe. Roosevelt was so anxious to please Stalin that he even turned all of Eastern Germany over to him. Of course, it was part of the Jew revenge program, knowing that Stalin would enslave and abuse

the Christian Germans in harmony with the savage Morgenthau Plan.

No intelligent person should ever attach any constructive greatness to Roosevelt in the light of the Berlin incident.

HISS AND THE WHITE HOUSE

Alger Hiss, the protege of Felix Frankfurter and the chief adviser on foreign affairs to Franklin D. Roosevelt, now stands exposed as America's No. 1 Traitor. He is a traitor but he is not No. 1. The No. 1 traitors were the 'palace guard' of Franklin Roosevelt and it would take considerable argument to convince the writer that the No. 1 traitor was not 'old moose jaw' himself. Here is the outline of treason in the 'palace guard' which requires little or no development.

1. Vice-President Wallace played the pro-Russian game with the full cooperation of the President.

2. It was from the White House that Sumner Welles, the notorious homosexual, got his authority to run the State Department, over the head and without the knowledge of Cordell Hull. Little wonder that the State Department itself recently admitted that it had fired 91 homosexuals. How many did it fail to fire?

3. From the White House, Henry Morgenthau, the Secretary of the Treasury, spawned his slaughter plan for liquidating the entire German race.

4. It was in the White House that Eleanor Roosevelt entertained hundreds of Pinks, Reds and downright Communists.

5. It was in the White House that the President met

Earl Browder, head of the Communist Party, after arranging to pardon him from the Atlanta penitentiary in order to sew up the balance of power in the New York State election.

6. It was in the White House that Harry Hopkins lived while he was ordering military officials to transfer atom bomb materials to the Russians.

These are only samples, however. Hiss was not the only one. He merely symbolized the whole game of treason. The Justice Department of the United States was forced to do something because Hiss' case was so flagrant. We could hardly expect the Democratic Administration to imprison the pillars of the Roosevelt regime, which is what really should be done. Frankfurter, Eleanor Roosevelt, Henry Morgenthau, Henry Wallace and many others of their ilk should have been tried and convicted for a wide variety of criminal practices against the safety and security of the U. S. A.

The reader must never forget that Alger Hiss was in full charge of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and had charge of all details at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco.

THE PLOT TO DESTROY MARTIN DIES

I was one of five men who met confidentially and took steps to initiate and request the formation of a special committee of Congressmen to investigate un-American Activities. Congressman Martin Dies of Texas, whom I had known for many years, took the lead and the result was the formation of the famous Dies Committee. From the very start, the Roosevelts were determined to destroy this

committee. Although Mr. Dies was a Democrat, Mr. Roosevelt took from him all his patronage and never missed an opportunity to utter public statements reflecting on the integrity and the intelligence of Mr. Dies. Eleanor Roosevelt stooped so low as to visit the Dies Committee hearings on one occasion, surrounded by Communists. She and the Communists sat in the hearing room, heckled, ridiculed and issued vindictive statements to the press concerning the integrity and the purpose of the Dies Committee. This, right at the time when the committee was exposing men and women now accepted to be cold-blooded Communists and traitors. These traitors were all sheltered and flattered and praised by Eleanor. At this very time she was even addressing their conventions. She never addressed an actual Communist Party Convention, but she addressed the Convention of the American Youth Congress, which was the Reddest front that the Communist Party had for working among young people in America. Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt never gave up trying to destroy Martin Dies. The publicity that was put out against him resulted in all sorts of threats against his life, anonymous letters and calls threatening to kidnap his children. At last in order to defeat Dies, Roosevelt established a military construction base in his district and moved in thousands and thousands of CIO voters, enough to overwhelm Dies in his right-wing campaign. It is conservative to believe, that Roosevelt spent \$100 million of government money in order to defeat Martin Dies.

RED ROGGE AND ROOSEVELT

At the outset of the war, Roosevelt took steps to imprison all of his effective opponents. Anyone who had been an outstanding critic of the New Deal, or who was opposed to the Jew conspiracy to get us into an unnecessary war,

or who had even been adjudged as anti-Semitic was to be indicted, convicted and imprisoned. The campaign was a ruthless one.

Drew Pearson, the hatchet-man and character-assassin for the warmongers reported on page one of the *Detroit Free Press* when the writer lived in Detroit, that at the top of the list of men that Roosevelt intended to imprison was Gerald L. K. Smith. He failed, of course, but the tricks he employed in order to carry out his desires would make a book which some day I may write. He had enough power and enough evil intent to do it. But I say without embarrassment or blush that God just wouldn't let him do it. There is no other way I have of explaining how I escaped either being shot or imprisoned, or both, by this evil man whom I never ceased to expose and who hated and feared me so that in his last big speech on earth before 250,000 people in Chicago he took out enough time to attack Gerald L. K. Smith.

Roosevelt feared me so that he gave every daily newspaper to understand that their newsprint allowances might be cut off if they quoted me accurately. He gave every radio network to understand that they would lose their license if they permitted me to broadcast. With ankle-irons on my legs, figuratively speaking, and with handcuffs around my wrists, figuratively speaking, and with all the avenues of communication closed to me, Roosevelt still feared me. I was not the only man who had his number, but I was one of the few men who was never afraid to expose his villainy and skulduggery even in time of war.

When the war came on I said to my people, that even though it was unnecessary and I was against it, there was only one way to end it and that was to win it. My only son came back with all the citations that a hero could have save perhaps the Congressional medal.

The Attorney General for Mr. Roosevelt's purge cam-

paign was the anemic puppet and petered-out aristocrat, Francis Biddle. He chose as the special United States attorney for the purge campaign a lawyer who called himself O. John Rogge. This Rogge rogue had done a smart job in hiding his true colors. He appeared as a young, sincere, fanatical attorney. His background was apparently conservative. He had no sense of humor. He never smiled. He was determined to liquidate these terrible people who were 'hindering' the war effort, such as anti-New Dealers, anti-Communists and anti-Semites.

Prior to his appointment, a very crude person carried out the will of the President in calling a grand jury and indicting between 30 and 40 of the more conspicuous anti-Semites and anti-New Dealers. This list, however, did not include any real prominent people such as Henry Ford, Colonel McCormick or Col. Charles Lindbergh. Neither did it include Rev. Charles Coughlin or Gerald L. K. Smith. It was the intention of Roosevelt to imprison these people as a pattern for dealing with all other opposition. It served quite a purpose in that it not only crucified these 30 some odd people, but it frightened many of the less courageous leaders on our side of the fight.

Rogge's conduct as the special prosecutor was comparable only to the conduct of Vishinsky, who conducted the notorious purge trials of Russia. It was rumored that Judge Eicher had been promised a seat on the Supreme Court by Roosevelt if he would carry through and send these people to jail. The Anti-Defamation League (Jewish gestapo) spent thousands and thousands of dollars bringing about the prosecution and they furnished most of the research for Rogge.

The trial went on 7 months. Most of the people depended on charity lawyers. God intervened. The crooked judge dropped dead. The trial blew up, and the fiasco was so scandalous that even the Jew-owned Washington Post backtracked and called for the dismissal of the whole

thing. It will be recalled by those who followed the case carefully that the Washington Post even hired stooges to help frame up some of those that were indicted and some others whom they hoped to have indicted. The whole thing was a boomerang. But, even so, it caused about 35 people a great inconvenience. It cost one sweet old man his life, and the Government of the United States should pay out of its treasury to these prosecuted ones enough to help heal some of the terrible scars that were inflicted upon these innocent people.

Although Rogge conducted himself like Vishinsky and although his vindictive Jew-manufactured attitude was repulsive, no one was able to pin the Red badge on him up to the close of the trial. But, since that time, illuminating things have happened. Reds have been indicted. Fellow travelers have been exposed. Communist agents have been brought to light and in scores of instances the defense attorney has been O. John Rogge, pal of the Anti-Defamation League, headsmen for Franklin Roosevelt and contender for the questionable honor of becoming America's first Vishinsky.

To cap the climax, shortly before this was written, Rogge, with Henry Wallace attended the Progressive Convention in Chicago and helped write the platform for this Red-dominated political machine. This Rogge, this villain, this stooge for Stalin, is the man that Franklin Roosevelt picked as the prosecutor and persecutor to liquidate by imprisonment or death all who dared lift their voices against the tyranny of the Roosevelt dynasty.

THE RELEASE OF EARL BROWDER

For years, Earl Browder was head of the Communist Party in America. During this entire time he was a personal friend of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Many years ago Earl Browder was sent by the Kremlin to China to train and develop the leadership which has recently turned

China over to Russia. Browder's plough has left a deep furrow. He originated the popular front and the fellow traveler idea for America. He boasted that there were over 10,000 Communists in the pulpits of America. He executed Stalin's program to plant Communists in our schools and colleges and churches and political organizations. For years he held the balance of power in the New York State elections, when it was generally believed that no man could be elected President without carrying New York State, and whoever got the Communist vote got New York. Therefore, Roosevelt went out after the Communist vote. Browder sent word to Roosevelt that he could not have the Communist vote in New York unless he, Browder, was released from the Atlanta penitentiary. Roosevelt let him out and invited him to visit him in the White House. The deal was closed and Roosevelt carried New York. This is a big story and a lengthy story, but space and time won't permit that it be told here but even this much doesn't look good for Mr. Roosevelt, does it?

The son of such a man, in fact two sons of such a man, are now competing with each other to reestablish Roosevelt power in the White House. It would be the tragedy of tragedies.

THE CORRUPTION OF CONGRESS

Roosevelt was the first President of the United States to completely corrupt Congress with money taken out of the treasury and away from the taxpayers. I would not be simple-minded enough to suggest that he was the first politician ever to corrupt a Congressman. We have isolated cases of corrupting Members of Congress from the very beginning of the life of this nation, but Roosevelt was the first one to put a steam shovel into the treasury of the United States and overwhelm the elected representatives of the people with grants and expenditures which

scores of these little men in Congress could not resist. In fact, many of the big ones could not resist it—only a minority of men of great character and stability. Roosevelt enjoyed buying the soul of a Republican as much as a Democrat. He was not partial. He used the emergency of the depression in his manipulations, and with this terrific weapon he made the feeding of the hungry a political and partisan enterprise until a situation developed which regimented the hungry and the forlorn for the ballot box. Unemployed were given to understand that if they didn't vote right they would be removed from the relief rolls. One-third of the farm land was made idle which also made one-third of the farm hands idle. These farm hands who were hungry in the presence of bonfires of wheat and drowning of pigs and murdered cattle were given to understand by a shrewd manipulation that they couldn't eat any of this meat or make bread out of any of this wheat unless they voted right. The empty stomachs of the American people were ground through the voting machine of Franklin Roosevelt like running cattle through a dipping vat. Those on relief were the balance of power. In most instances no Congressman could be elected without the vote of the relievers. This put the blacksnake whip in the hands of Franklin Roosevelt, and with it he drove the Congress like a 20-mule team. They passed his rubber-stamp legislation in puppetry, surpassed only by the so-called Kremlin congress in its rubber-stamp attitude. While this Congress was rubber-stamped, Roosevelt took advantage of the opportunity, egged on by his ruthless advisors and with appropriations and no regard for waste, he captured the treasury. He was the first President of the United States to capture the treasury and exploit it for his own personal and political ambitions and those of his 'palace guard.' How could his opponents win when he was able to give support to his candidates with millions and millions of dollars for just single Congressional districts? It is estimated that in 1938 when Senator Barkley of Kentucky was almost sure of defeat that Roosevelt caused to be appropriated at least \$300 million in order to save his stooge on the floor of the Senate.

THE KIMMEL-SHORT TRAGEDY

Admiral Kimmel and General Short were the two men in charge of the Navy and Army at Pearl Harbor when the big blowup came. Kimmel had obeyed Roosevelt blindly in bringing our Navy into the harbor where it was exposed like a barrel full of sitting ducks. It was a 'lead pipe cinch' for the agitated and goaded Japs. The result was exactly what Roosevelt wanted. It gave the impression of the sneak attack. It produced the hysteria necessary for war and it made Kimmel and Short 'the goats.' The investigation was a fake. The report was a lie, and Kimmel and Short 'took the fall.' God only knows what they knew. One of the super-scandals of all time has yet to be written—the true story of Kimmel and Short. They undoubtedly obeyed Roosevelt because they thought that something great for themselves would come out of it. But, instead of rewarding them for their puppetry, he allowed them to be 'the goats' and offered them as a burnt offering to the resentment of the American people.

Short died in disgrace and obscurity and at this writing, I do not know where Admiral Kimmel is. One thing sure, Roosevelt didn't dare allow these two men to be convicted for any crime. There was too much that they could tell.

THE HENRY WALLACE SCANDAL

Franklin Roosevelt was the man who made Henry Wallace. Perhaps Henry Wallace has been the most frustrated, unstable individual ever to become prominent in public life in the U. S. A. He was born a Republican, became a Bull-Mooser, joined the Democrats, espoused the New Deal, became a disciple of Karl Marx, fraternized with Communists and wound up the favored Presidential candidate in 1948 of Josef Stalin and his Communist stooges in the U. S. A. Through it all, he was the pal and political playmate of the Roosevelts.

On the religious and sociological side Wallace started out a Methodist, toyed with Presbyterianism, studied and tried to become a Catholic. Gave this up. Played around with the Episcopalians. Toyed with the Yogi cult. Encouraged the nudists, and wound up in a cult temple in New York City worshipping the Guru god-man, etc., etc. This was the man that the Communists and the Jews had groomed for the Presidency of the United States. He was so weak and manipulatable that they expected to make of him a ruling puppet after they had softened the country up for Communism by the proper exploitation of Roosevelt's extravagance and vanity.

Wallace became very unpopular in the Democratic Party. In 1940 Roosevelt wanted him again nevertheless for a running mate. When the Convention came up in Chicago, the Democrats rebelled. They booed the mention of his name. Immediately F. D. R. put Eleanor on a plane. She flew to Chicago. She conferred with Harry Hopkins, who was sequestered in the Blackstone Hotel, and then she went to the convention hall. There she gave the delegates to understand that Henry Wallace had to be named as the Vice Presidential candidate. Most of the delegates were jobholders on the payroll of the Roosevelt regime. They fell in line, and while the echo of their boos was still ringing in the convention hall, under the lash of 'Queen Eleanor' they 'capitulated' and gave Henry Wallace to their masters on a platter.

It was during this campaign that much came out on Henry Wallace, but it was not used by the Republican campaigners. It was known that Wallace had indulged in all sorts of ridiculous relationships to this Oriental cult, of which he was a member. He had put cultists on the payroll of the Agricultural Department. He had sent them to the Orient in search of a new Messiah. They went in search, at Government expense, of a certain panther, whose glands, when condensed into an extract and injected into the veins of man, would prolong his masculinity 150 years. The whole thing was a ridiculous, laughable thing.

According to *Newsweek* Magazine, when the report of some of these things came to Harry Hopkins, he yelled: "Why didn't I know this before, especially when I have a man on every newspaper in the U. S. A.?" He immediately ordered his henchmen, who could have been killers, to contact the man who had written the story for publication (which had not yet been published) to stop it regardless of what it took, and then said: "Leave the Republicans to me." He blackmailed the proper Republicans and Willkie never used the Wallace story in his campaign. This is a great big long untold story, incidentally.

THE GLORIFICATION OF SEX PERVERSION

For years it was an open secret in Washington that sex perversion was rampant in the State Department as well as other Government departments. Men responsible for America's destiny and relationship with foreign nations were known to be perverts of the worst sort. They were among those drawing the highest salaries and holding the most important positions, including Sumner Welles, who virtually ran the State Department for Roosevelt. Perversion of this sort, which involved the living of 'men with men' and the living of 'women with women' was symptomatic of the terrible decay and degeneration in the City of Washington. It competed with the record of Sodom and Gomorrah. Military officers revealed that if Washington had been anything but the Nation's Capital it would have been declared out-of-bounds and forbidden territory for any man in uniform. Surveys revealed that the average amount of liquor consumed in Washington, made up mostly of political jobholders, was double the amount consumed by the average American.

Shortly before this manuscript was sent to the printer,

the perversion of the State Department ceased to be the whisper of a gossip. It was being discussed openly on the floor of Congress, and the Department had admitted that already 91 had been dismissed for their sex orgies. This is the skunk cabbage that grew in Roosevelt's political garden. The men who brought these things about were men who enjoyed the favor of both Franklin and Eleanor. In fact, the escapades of Eleanor and the conduct of many of her youthful boy friends in New York have never been fully discussed anywhere in print. I would not mention it here if these very people were not the ones attempting to capture our White House in 1952. What a filthy lot of traitors, Communists, wasters, perverts! Shall these people rule America? God forbid!

THE BETRAYAL OF CHINA

Some place, somewhere, somehow, someone or several ones have been made immensely rich beyond the imagination of man because of what they did for Stalin in China. China is a big country. China is the Orient. The little islands and the little nations and even India go down the same drain pipe with China whenever China goes down the drain pipe. There is more actual natural wealth in China than there is in the United States.

Someone delivered China on a platter to Stalin. It was a clever process. The plot required the State Department of the Government of the United States. It was deep, subtle, powerful and machiavelian. The villainy of the China plot has been unexcelled in human history. It required the same satanic mentalities to effect the betrayal of China that it required to bring about the crucifixion of Jesus Christ.

It was done by Franklin Roosevelt and his 'palace guard' and the perverts whom he elevated to power in the State Department. Mr. Truman cannot be blamed. He was just

the little man who found it. What could he do about it? If Mr. Truman told all he knew it would blow the Democratic Party into 'kingdom come,' and who can expect Mr. Truman to blow up his own party? It is amazing that he has done as well as he has with the inheritance which he received. If he were really to act with precision and complete abandon he would likely be assassinated within 48 hours. Many of the villains he found have been removed. In fact, he has perhaps done a better clean-up job than Dewey would have done, because basically Dewey was Lehman's man and Roosevelt's man. He was the artful 'me tooer' that sold the Republican Party down the river for Roosevelt.

After all, Vandenberg, the so-called big Republican, was in on this China business. He made the scheme look like a bi-partisan scheme. He helped silence debate. He helped the traitors cover up their tracks. Here is the way it was done: (1) We destroyed Japan, the only hindrance Stalin had in the Orient; (2) We built up Chiang Kai-shek to the point where his economy and the economy of the Nationalists could not exist without our help; (3) We then deserted Chiang Kai-shek, pulled the rug out from under him. He and his regime went down the drain pipe. With only dishonest reports concerning the facts coming out of the State Department, we withdrew officially and let Stalin have it all.

General Patrick Hurley, who was the Secretary of War under Hoover, was sent over to study the Chinese situation by this administration. He came back and resigned. He told me personally that there was no use trying to do anything in China because our State Department was so full of Reds that any confidential messages sent by our representatives out of China reached Moscow before they reached Washington. In his interview with me, General Hurley said it was his opinion that we had 1,000 people in the State Department who were either members of the Communist Party or doing a job for Russia.

Jewism against the China sell-out. Some place, somewhere, behind the curtain of unrevealed facts some Sanhedrinite has made himself a billion dollars for promoting this betrayal of China.

Even so, it wouldn't be so bad if China were the only one betrayed, but it was the betrayal of America. Stalin now has a billion people (1,000,000,000) whom he can equip and regiment and send against us. What does he care if he loses ten to our one? He can still send them in waves until they have overrun us like hornets.

I have never been much of a believer in capital punishment. I am not ready yet to advocate it, but if there ever was an excuse for capital punishment, what about the people who have sold us into this treason trap?

THE CRUCIFIXION OF POLAND

The Polish people in America, with few exceptions, were completely taken in by F. D. R. Through their leadership, to whom he made false promises, the Polish communities were deceived. Roosevelt promised the American Poles that he would destroy Germany and save Poland. He destroyed Germany and gave Poland to the Russians, and today the Polish Christians are in bondage, slavery and want.

The Polish government is a puppet government and is as completely Communist as Russia itself. Whenever Russia wants to do something real villainous and real dirty, she calls on her Polish puppets to do it. The Polish delegate to the U. N. votes with Stalin on every question.

Roosevelt used his false promises to the Polish people to line up the Polish vote at every election. Today these people

are disillusioned, disheartened and consider themselves the victims of great deceit. They know that their loved ones were sold down the river by a man who was more interested in pleasing Stalin than in pleasing them. It is one of the tragedies of all time.

THE THIRD AND FOURTH-TERM TRICK

Roosevelt's third and fourth terms were spawned by hypocrisy, duplicity and dishonesty. It took a pack of lies to get Roosevelt into the White House four times. When running for the third term Roosevelt said in his Philadelphia campaign speech: "I say to you fathers and mothers again and again, your sons shall never be sent to die on foreign soil — unless we are attacked." The qualifying phrase at the end of that sentence disturbed the mothers of America, and in his Boston speech a little later he left it off, and said: "I say to you fathers and mothers again and again, your sons shall never be sent to die on foreign soil." The fact is, in this campaign Roosevelt assured the mothers of America, and all American citizens for that matter, that there would be no war, and no American boy would be asked to die on foreign soil. He knew this was a lie. He had already promised France and England that we were coming into it. He did it for just one purpose, to get the anti-war vote, which proves, of course, that he had no conscience, no character, and no self-respect when it came to his spoken word. Adding lies to lies, he assured the public that his campaign for a third term would be the last. He, of course, didn't mean it and came up four years later asking the people to return him to the White House. He announced that he wasn't going to attend the Democratic Convention in 1944. He denied that he would be in Chicago, but he slipped into the city secretly under the cover of military protection, living in his private car on a rail-

road siding, and manipulated his own nomination for a fourth term, while all his official agents actually lied for him and said that he was still in Washington, D. C. It was one of the most brazen programs of political deception ever undertaken in the Nation or any other nation for that matter. He wanted Henry Wallace for Vice President again. The more conservative wing wanted Jimmie Byrnes, and the Convention compromised on the little man from Missouri, Harry Truman. That is just how close we came to getting Henry Wallace for President of the United States.

TREASON WITH MONEY

Few Americans know and few have the capacity to believe it if they were told the facts concerning what Morgenthau and Roosevelt did with the American money-printing machinery. Morgenthau, with the consent of Roosevelt actually gave original engraved plates belonging to our Mint to Russia. She used these money-printing plates for producing actual American money in Russia. It was produced by the billions and when it moved into Europe, the Jew money-changers were there to do their trick. Cheap jewelry was sold to the Russians at fabulous prices. It was easy for the Russians to pay because they had unlimited sums of printing-press money. They paid as high as \$15,000 for an ordinary \$25.00 American watch. This money was quickly manipulated and exchanged for permanent currency, and Jew refugees have been coming into this country since that time with suitcases and trunks loaded with \$10's, \$20's and \$500's. The mysterious presence in America of large amounts of legal tender accounts for the great real estate syndicates being developed all over the Nation. With this money these Jews are buying up houses, land, apartment buildings and office buildings. Price seems to be no object, and they are paying what is asked. Why should they worry? They are able to pay what is asked,

and they are happy to exchange it for good, sound American property. The reader is not asked to believe this story at first reading, but the fact is that it is supported by the proper evidence and the proper documents. A few, and a very few important daily newspapers, ran the story about two years after I published it first.

BIG MONEY BEHIND THE ROOSEVELTS

There is no limit to the amount of money available to put another Roosevelt in the White House. One sure thing, they will spend none of their own money. The Roosevelt estate is never touched. No sacrifices are ever made by the Roosevelts. F. D. R. and Eleanor and F. D. R.'s mother never gave any money out of their fabulous estate to finance the Democratic Party or any other political committee. In fact, a careful perusal of their mode of handling money reveals that they are a bunch of tight-fisted skinflints when it comes to handling their *own* money. They are only generous with other people's money and with the taxpayers' money.

Everyone who is behind the Roosevelts' campaign for power has an axe to grind. No generosity is involved. The money will be made and is being made available by selfish men — power-mad personalities. There are hundreds of these men who were either in the 'palace guard' of the late F. D. R. or who have become the enigmatic manipulators of national and international affairs. I name just a few because they are symbolic of this satanic clan of ruthless men bent on ruling the world.

1. *Morgenthau*. Morgenthau is now the head of the

finance committee of the whole international Jew set-up. He is one of the three or four most powerful Zionists on earth. Author of the savage Morgenthau plan, which was a plot to wipe out by slaughter, imprisonment and enslavement 100 million Nordics, including the German race. He, of course, was the one who loaned our money-printing plates to Stalin.

2. *Joe Davies*. This Jew wrote the book "Mission to Moscow," which was a lying volume of propaganda designed to deceive the American people completely concerning the true facts about barbaric Russia. By marriage he has his hands on the great Post fortune (Post Toasties, etc), having married the widow of the late Mr. Post. He lives in the splendor of a baron. When he was first appointed by Roosevelt as Ambassador to Russia he took with him a shipload of thousands of luxury items including some 3,000 quarts of rich frozen American cream. This was merely typical of the luxurious existence he set up for himself and his henchmen in Moscow. He became a very warm friend of Josef Stalin, and since that time has been literally treasonable in his propaganda activities. Out of his book the Jew movie film (Warner Bros.) turned its lying propaganda into a film. The film was a ridiculous misrepresentation, produced in the 'hangover' atmosphere of war propaganda and if shown today, any ordinary American audience would laugh at it.

3. *David Dubinsky*. David Dubinsky is one of the shrewdest Jew manipulators on earth. Recently he said that he proposed to spend a million dollars, if necessary, to make Jimmie Roosevelt the Governor of California. Dubinsky is sometimes referred to as a 'labor baron.' Under his control are approximately 500,000 workers (mostly Jews) who manufacture the garments for ladies in America. It is common knowledge that the Dubinsky union makes at least 90% of all the clothing worn by American women. The union is super-rich, air-tight and tyrannically operated. Dubinsky can make any kind of an assessment he

wants to make and it will be taken out of the workers' wages. An assessment of \$10.00 means \$5 million brought in. The income from his union activities to the treasury of the union runs from \$5 million to \$20 million per year. Anything Dubinsky says, goes. He is the boss, the dictator, the head man. He also runs the so-called Liberal Party, a Socialist outfit, mad at the Communists. The reader must never be deceived by feuds among Socialists. The Communists are Marxists, and all Socialists are Marxists. Their patron saint is the Jew Karl Marx. Dubinsky will be one of the visible and active figures in the campaign to put another Roosevelt in the White House, and he can supply almost unlimited sums of money.

These Jews are only types, and along with them we have the Filene family, the Backers, the Frankfurters, the Lilienthals, the Kuhn-Loebs, the Baruchs, the Rothschilds, and a thousand more.

4. *The Rothschilds who pay no taxes.* Roosevelt and his political henchmen were very careful to protect Jew refugees from paying taxes. A recent investigation on Long Island revealed the scions of the Rothschilds living in magnificent luxury—in a mansion which had to be given up by an American businessman because of tax problems. They found Mr. Rothschild with scores of servants, 15 or 20 new luxurious automobiles, and similar amounts of baronial equipment. Upon investigation it was revealed that Mr. Rothschild paid no tax to the Government of the United States on the grounds that he was a 'visitor.' When he came to the United States he protested that he was penniless and now insists that he is being kept in this splendor by his generous-hearted relatives. This same Rothschild and his generous-hearted relatives will have plenty of money to put another Roosevelt in the White House. To live like a king and pay no taxes is a situation worth pro-

The official Jewish organizations all favored this deal. Nothing appeared in the Jewish journals or came from the pens of the *official* Jewish writers who wrote for *official*

teeting and the Rothschilds propose to maintain that protection even if they have to name the next President of the United States.

CONSCIENCELESS JUNIOR

Franklin Roosevelt, Jr., is a tall, toothy, wall-eyed duplication of his conscienceless father. He stands high enough to be seen above the crowd. He was recently divorced by his DuPont wife, and he is now all slicked up, bathed, manicured and propagandized, ready to be made the 'crowned prince' of the Roosevelt dynasty. His home is not in the Congressional district that he represents. He just moved in on that district because it was predominately Jewish. Even the New York Democratic machine did not want him, so he ran as a Liberal on the Dubinsky-controlled ticket. The Jews that were theoretically members of the Democratic Party were only too happy to leave their party and vote for Dubinsky's stooge, Franklin, Jr. He was supported by the Marxists and the Socialists and his big support came directly from the Jew-Zionist political machine. Today, he is in Congress, the representative of this big Jew district. His first interest is in the Jews. He serves the Jews. He is the slave of the Jews. He is the 'yes-man' for the Jews. He has Jewish blood in his own veins. (See chart elsewhere in this book.) When he went to Washington to serve as a Congressman, he didn't go directly to Washington. He flew to Palestine and conferred with his Jew henchmen and masters, and from thence went to Washington, D. C.

Can the reader imagine anything more tragic than for this biological product of Eleanorism, Jewism and New Dealism to be the political tyrant and the Jew-owned puppet to rule over America?*

*Note: It is not generally known that Franklin Roosevelt, Jr., was not born in the United States. Legally this disqualifies him for the Presidency, but of course that doesn't bother the Roosevelts.

SCION JIMMIE

Jimmie Roosevelt, the eldest son of the late F. D. R., is a jobless floater who has racketeered on his father's power and his mother's chicanery for 15 years. At one time we find him holding an anonymous job in the White House. At another time we find him shaking down big businessmen for fantastic insurance policies. Again we find him in the divorce courts. At another time running for Governor of the State of California. Jimmie Roosevelt is not immoral; he is unmoral; i.e., he is not a man who knows what is right and violates his conscience. He is one, because of his environment and upbringing, who has no conscience. His bald, open face shows no lines of guilt because he does not feel guilty of anything. A bull that wanders through the gate into a neighbor's clover patch does not look guilty because he does not know it is wrong.

Jimmie Roosevelt's political life is comparable to the sex life of the African Zulus. They violate no moral code because they have no moral code.

33 NAMES FOR JIMMIE

1. **Crook.** This senior scion of the hypocritical Roosevelts represents the natural ultimate that can be expected from a family of dope traders, snobs, charlatans and hypocrites. It is impossible, because of lack of time and space, to give even a thumbnail sketch of the crookedness of Jimmie Roosevelt. One sample lies in the fact that at a very strategic moment when certain Hollywood moguls were about to be indicted, and perhaps convicted, these same moguls took on Jimmie Roosevelt for \$25,000 per year.

2. **Demagogue.** There is no promise in the book from pensions to prosperity, from mongrelization to immigration, that Jimmie will not make in order to satisfy those to whom he happens to be speaking. He comes by this

naturally, but lacks the hypocritical finesse practiced by the old man.

3. **Floater.** Jimmie is as much of a floater as a seasonal worker who follows the crops from cotton to prunes. No one really knows where he lives. It is assumed that by some technicality he has made himself a legal resident of California — at least, during his campaign for Governor.

4. **Jewish.** Elsewhere in this manuscript the family tree of the Roosevelts is given showing their Jewish ancestors back through Holland and Spain. Their ancestors were run out of Spain because of their attempt to undermine the Church. In Holland their name was Rosenvelt.

5. **Paramour.** The personal morality of Jimmie Roosevelt, like the rest of the Roosevelts, is too questionable and messy to put down in print.

6. **Mongrelizer.** Like his mother, Jimmie cooperates with all plans to mix the blacks and whites. He poses for pictures with his arms around Negroes. He favors the abolition of all segregation. He is only too happy, in return for votes, to experiment with your children and mine in the laboratory of demagoguery.

7. **Zionist.** Like all the Roosevelts, he owes his first allegiance to what the Jews want in Palestine. He is willing to adjust any opinion he has on foreign and domestic policy to satisfy the Zionist Jews.

8. **Anti-Truman.** He did his best to unseat Mr. Truman in the last election and offered the name of General Eisenhower, and realizes that he cannot become the next President unless he undermines the Truman organization.

9. **Pal of the Reds.** Like his notorious mother, Jimmy has played piggy-back and footie-footie and all sorts of

intimate games with the Red-front personalities being used as Stalin's tools in the U. S. A.

10. **Not even a Democrat.** Although posing as a Democrat, his conduct and his expression of opinions are contrary to all of the richest traditions of the Democratic Party. He deserted the head of his party in 1948. He played around with the A. D. A. (Americans for Democratic Action). No honest-to-God Democrat who is a Democrat in the tradition of Thomas Jefferson would claim Jimmie Roosevelt.

11. **Pincer Politician.** The Roosevelts have figured out that on the basis of New York and California being the two biggest states, they can establish a political pincer technique. Imagine a situation in the Democrat Party with Jimmie Governor of California and Franklin Governor of New York. Even if we could imagine a situation where they could restrain themselves enough not to run for President, whoever controlled these two states could name the next President of the United States and do it with such authority that they could bring themselves to power in 1956.

12. **S. O. E.** Some people are referring to Jimmie as a "S. O. E.," with apologies to Harry Truman when speaking of Drew Pearson. The "E," however, stands for "Eleanor." No one can think of Jimmie Roosevelt or his brothers without thinking of Eleanor, because it is her machiavelian mind, it is her aggressive chicanery which operates behind the scenes, and is not always behind the scenes. She is rather out in front with the 'phantomenal' jawbone of an ass beating down all opposition to the political ambitions of her sons and herself. (Note: The eminent columnist Westbrook Pegler sometimes refers to the late F. D. R. as 'Old Moose Jaw'.)

13. **Frankfurter's stooge.** While serving in an anonymous capacity at \$10,000 per year in a sort of White House loafing job, Jimmie Roosevelt established great intimacy with Felix Frankfurter, the Austrian Jew im-

migrant who promoted himself by aggressive tactics into the highest court of the land. The presence of this Frankfurter in the court is one of the scandalous and disgraceful situations growing out of the Roosevelt regime.

14. **Morgenthau's pal.** Jimmie is prepared to take up with Henry Morgenthau, architect of the savage Morgenthau plan, where his father left off. Morgenthau is the one the Jews have designated to take the Roosevelt pulse frequently. Being the juggler of high Jewish finance, Morgenthau has guaranteed to Jimmie that he need never want for money in the fulfillment of his Jew-controlled ambitions.

15. **Racketeer.** Following in the footsteps of his father, Jimmie couldn't keep his hands off the coin machine business. Early in his public career he got in with the biggest manufacturer of slot machines in the Nation, the Mills Novelty Co., and did some neat jobs for them. Located in Chicago, Jimmie's firm was the same firm that has for years supplied the slot machines for Frank Costello, the notorious gangster king.

16. **Socialist.** Jimmie Roosevelt has been a good friend of the Socialist, the late Harold Laski, who was the mental wizard behind British Socialism. This Laski, together with his comrades Shinwell and Strachey, was the one who designed the super New Deal for Britain and destroyed the private enterprise tradition of the United Kingdom. Every spending program designed to wreck American capital has the support of Jimmie.

17. **Power-mad politico.** The phobia for power which has become synonymous with the name Roosevelt exists in Jimmie in large quantities. Like his mother and his late father, he will promise anything. He will say anything. He will take money from any source necessary to get this power. He is so ambitious for power that he will trade off every phase of our American tradition

rather than to sacrifice his power ambitions.

18. **Artie's man.** In California there is a man by the name of Artie Samish. He is a San Francisco Jew. He is the state's most powerful lobbyist. He was exposed recently in a national magazine as the man who really manipulates California's state legislature. Representing the whiskey trust he has unlimited sums of money at his command. With this money he has purchased, coerced, intimidated and influenced a large number of state senators and representatives in California. From behind the scenes Samish is now giving his influence to Jimmie Roosevelt.

19. **Twig on the family tree.** One encouraging feature about the Jimmie Roosevelt campaign is his lack of finesse. He is part of the Roosevelt family tree, but he is at best, a twig. He doesn't have the old man's syrupy voice. He lacks the art of grinning hypocrisy, and he is not as adept at the brazen display of self-righteousness practiced by his repulsive mother. The arts of the old folks were of the sort that never failed to deceive less discriminating people. To people lacking the power of mature discrimination they were always able to put over their stuff. To mature thinkers who know how to see through people, the entire Roosevelt clan has always been offensive and repulsive. Some would call it 'ham acting' by playing up to the ignorant and the immature. They discovered that there were more people of this type who voted than of the more discriminating type.

20. **S. B.** These letters stand for "spoiled boy." Being the scion of a family of so-called Hyde Park aristocrats, Jimmie Roosevelt never did a day's work. He has never had to provide for himself. He has never successfully consummated anything that required intelligence, honesty and aggressive application. His only bid for fame is the fact that his name is Roosevelt. If his name were anything else he couldn't offer himself as a candidate

for township trustee. In fact, it is very doubtful if he could be elected township trustee in his home township even with the name Roosevelt.

21. **Artful promiser.** The technique of the New Dealer or the Stalinite or any other variety of Marxist is to promise the people in such a convincing manner that they won't realize that they have been deceived until the promiser has come into such complete authority that the people no longer have any of their freedom left. It is the 'cheese in the trap' technique. It is the old confidence game brought into politics. It is the Roosevelt formula.

22. **Tax looter.** It was F. D. R. who first discovered that the way to be elected President three or four times, in spite of anything that was ever said by Washington or Jefferson, was to capture the legislative body of the Congress long enough to seize the treasury. Then start spending fast enough to be able to coerce the legislative body into a continuation of extravagant spending. Roosevelt, Sr., was the first man to be able to use the Federal treasury to corrupt the great voting public. This tax-looting process has Jimmie Roosevelt's approval and will be carried on by him, should he come into the White House, more extravagantly than that which was practiced by his father.

23. **Transient.** Jimmie has wandered around all over the United States, living here and living there. He could well have established his residence in a trailer. Like his sister and his brothers, he seems to have wandered from one opportunistic situation to another, according to design. If California had a law requiring a duration of residence, he wouldn't even be able to offer himself as a candidate for Governor.

24. **Shakedown manipulator.** When F. D. R. became President, Jimmie organized an insurance company. It

was considered, in fact, a shakedown enterprise. A national periodical revealed in a lengthy article that by practicing the powers of coercion based on his father's authority, Jimmie was able to wring \$163,000 out of a few corporations within a few weeks. The article exposing this appeared under the head "Jimmie's Got It," and he certainly did have it — by the shakedown process.

25. **Opportunist.** Though Jimmie is a Socialist, no one could accuse him of being a sincere Socialist. Even if he played along with Stalin's pals, he would only do it as an opportunistic trick, either to please his masters or to turn a deal. I fully believe that Jimmie Roosevelt would run for President on a reactionary right wing ticket if he thought he could be President. The Roosevelts never show any signs of conscience. The reason they turned against their neighbor aristocrats and set out to mobilize the Negroes and the illiterates was because Franklin was a failure in his profession, Eleanor was an 'ugly duckling' that had been raised out of sight, and the whole thing added up to a sort of pitiful frustration with the U. S. A. as the big loser.

26. **Hollywood Jew 'front man.'** Since Jimmie Roosevelt, like his father and mother, is part Jewish, it has been a natural thing for him to be the 'front man' for the big Hollywood Jews. There is no way to tell how much trouble Jimmie has saved the big Hollywood moguls with the government. The black art of extreme pressure has been practiced by Jimmie beyond the imagination of man. In fact, the reason that little people and ordinary people have difficulty some times in understanding just how crooked the Roosevelts can be is because their humble imaginations cannot stretch as far as the big lies and the super-crooked manipulations of this gang.

27. **Fixer.** Without conscience, without character, and without self-respect Jimmie Roosevelt has prostituted his influence during his entire mature life in fixing things for a price.

28. **Hypocrite.** Hypocrisy is the fine art of the Roosevelts. It is merely another way of saying 'living a lie.' The Roosevelts posed as the friends of the downtrodden, but the help on their home estate was always paid poorly. They pretended to hate war but led this country into war at the very moment they were saying, "Your sons shall not be sent to die on foreign soil." These are only symbolic of the super-hypocrisy that they practiced.

29. **Self-seeker.** It is a notorious fact that the Roosevelts never spend any of their own money on politics. When they sell their name for political influence they make the other man pay and pay and and then they collect and collect.

30. **Work-misser.** One question should embarrass Jimmie Roosevelt, but of course these brazen Roosevelts are beyond the borders of embarrassment. They cannot be embarrassed, but if they did have any remnant of blushing power left, this question should embarrass Jimmie: "What is your profession?" He has none.

31. **Decayed chip off the old block.** One of the most optimistic hopes that we can have is that Jimmie Roosevelt is so completely degenerated into an inferior that he will not be able to practice the chicanery of his hypocritical father with the convincing deception that the senior Roosevelt exercised. It is to be hoped that the 'chip off the old block' is too soft and too wet to burn.

32. **Squatter.** In olden days people who possessed land that was not theirs and who settled where they did not belong and who invaded areas where they were not desired and then stayed on the theory that 'possession is nine-tenths of the law' — these people were called squatters. That is the game that is being played all over the United States by the Roosevelts including Jimmie.

33. **A Roosevelt.** To any mature-minded person who

knows contemporary history and is familiar with the deeds of the Roosevelts, there is no more disgraceful name than an individual could possess in this country than the name 'Roosevelt,' especially if it has any connection whatsoever with the Hyde Park dynasty.

IF THE ROOSEVELTS RULE AGAIN, WHAT CAN WE EXPECT?

1. **A Jewish Dictatorship.** Anyone who doesn't know that the Jews dictated and determined the policy of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt is just not mature in his thinking. James A. Farley was considered one of the shrewdest politicians that ever lived, but the Jews that swarmed into the White House caused him to be smeared, ridiculed and isolated even to the point where he was snubbed by the White House 'palace guard,' the left wingers, and the mangy crowd that hung around the Roosevelts. One important personality who is now in the White House said: "When we moved in, the place looked like a third-class hotel."

The savage Morgenthau, who sold Roosevelt on a scheme to kill or enslave 80 million Germans, is still licking his wounds, waiting for an opportunity to return to power. If one of the Roosevelts goes into the White House in 1952, Morgenthau will be there with him, together with Joe Davies, David Dubinsky, Lilienthal and the rest of the crowd. The Roosevelts are Zionists, and the Jew-Zionist machine is out to enforce its rule through a Roosevelt.

2. **A Rubber-Stamp Puppet Congress.** There is no limit to the amount of money that the Roosevelt backers will spend to elevate one of their toothy puppets to the Presidency. They will mobilize the morons, the Jews, the Negroes, the refugee voters, the Communists, the sappy

liberals and the ignoramuses in a more ruthless manner, if possible, than did the late F. D. R. Anyone who thinks that the above classifications do not constitute an approach to even an actual majority just doesn't know the score. When these people start electing Congressmen, you can bet your last bottom dollar that they will be puppets, bought and paid for by Jew money until they get into office, and then kept bought by money appropriated out of the U. S. Treasury. Walter Reuther, for instance, who is head of the C. I. O. Automobile Workers Union is able to assess his membership (the largest union in America) for \$10 million almost any time he thinks he needs it. He poses as an anti-Communist and perhaps is anti-Stalin, but he is pro-Socialist, Pro-New Deal, pro-Marxist. Good Americans are not too much concerned over what particular denomination of Communism an individual belongs to. Marxism is Marxism, whether it comes from Stalin, Trotsky, Roosevelt, Reuther or Dubinsky.

3. **Complete Mongrelization.** The Negroes will be turned loose upon us. They will make it a criminal offense to conduct any kind of a school that does not offer to mix black and white. Audiences in public meetings will be thrown together. Restaurateurs will be arrested or imprisoned if they refuse to serve Negroes. Residential sections will be destroyed and people who have spent their lifetime paying for a home will find Negroes living next door under pressure of the law, and anyone who opposes the presence of his new Negro neighbor will be arrested, fined, imprisoned or both. The person who belittles this threat just refuses to be sane and logical concerning the problems of this hour.

4. **Peace with Stalin by Appeasement.** If a Roosevelt is elected President he will give Stalin his way in Asia. Then give him his way in Europe. He will turn the Red propagandists loose on us in the United States. He will destroy the Un-American Activities Committee. He will oppose all loyalty tests, and he will finish the job neces-

sary to ripen America for the Red revolution, and we will go the way of Czechoslovakia and Poland, Hungary and Finland, and the rest.

5. Complete Socialism Resulting in the Dictatorship of a Dynasty. The Roosevelts will promise anything, and in promising it they will spend the treasury dry and establish an economic and political dictatorship on the Russian pattern.

6. Re-election for at least Four Terms through Corruption, Coercion and Reprisal, Resulting Finally in a Permanent Dictatorship. Controlling the treasury, rubber-stamping the Congress, subduing the nation economically, they will have little trouble re-electing and re-electing for one, two, three, four and finally what will result in a permanent term. Does anyone doubt that F. D. R. would have run for a fifth term or a sixth term had he lived? If the Jew manipulators can establish a dynasty where one President can name his successor, then elections will be mere forms that carry with them no important contests

7. Liquidation of Private Business. Regimentation means nationalization of business, and nationalization of business means the English socialist system. The English system means the enslavement of the superior and the authority of the inferior. It means the liquidation of the greatest system for producing prosperity and happiness the human race has ever known—the American system of free enterprise.

8. Imprisonment, Persecution and Smear of all Political Opposition. The author of this book and all similar crusaders will be persecuted, imprisoned, smeared. Ruthless character killers like Walter Winchell and Drew Pearson will be the ones who say who shall be imprisoned and who shall not. It will be the time of great tribulation for true patriots.

WHAT ABOUT TRUMAN?

Just before this book went to press Pearson and Winchell got out their meat-chopping machine and proceeded to work on Truman. Poor Truman! He will be fought by the Republicans and the Roosevelt gang. The Roosevelts will use the Republicans to smear Truman, and then they will use the Roosevelts to defeat the Republicans. In a desperate attempt to win the Republicans will trot out Eisenhower who did everything Roosevelt wanted him to do, and was the choice of the Jews, second only to the Roosevelts. In fact, he was Jimmie's choice in 1948. The words in this paragraph do not indicate that the writer has any brief for certain New Deal policies of Mr. Truman, but unless we hold back the Roosevelts the day will come when Truman and his administration will look like conservatives compared to the Jew-bought, Stalin-controlled dynasty of the Roosevelts.

If we fight and show courage we might have someone for President like John Bricker, backed up by fearless men on the order of McCarthy, Rankin and others. Whatever the case, God bless us and God save America.

ROOSEVELT'S JEWISH ANCESTRY

The following article appeared in a Washington, D. C. newspaper, October 15, 1936, and it was accompanied by a family tree chart, as reproduced herewith.

The chart shown herewith, prepared by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D. C., has come as a shocking revelation to millions of American citizens. It explains things in connection with Roosevelt's Administration which cannot otherwise be understood.

Even a hasty perusal of this factual document convinces one, as to the President's Jewish ancestry. From the viewpoint of eugenics, it explains his natural bent toward radicalism.

It shows why he has given hundreds of so-called Liberals, Socialists and Communists, powerful positions in the na-

tional government. It reveals the origin of the sinister spirit which today animates the White House.

It proves unmistakably, that the Roosevelt Administration offers a biological, as well as political program.

The New York Times of March 14, 1935, quotes the President as saying: "In the distant past my ancestors may have been Jews. All I know about the origin of the Roosevelt family is that they are apparently descended from Claes Martenszen van Roosevelt, who came from Holland."

Additional information regarding the nationality of the Roosevelt family, was given by Chase S. Osborn, early in 1934, at St. Petersburg, Florida. Mr. Osborn was formerly Governor of Michigan.

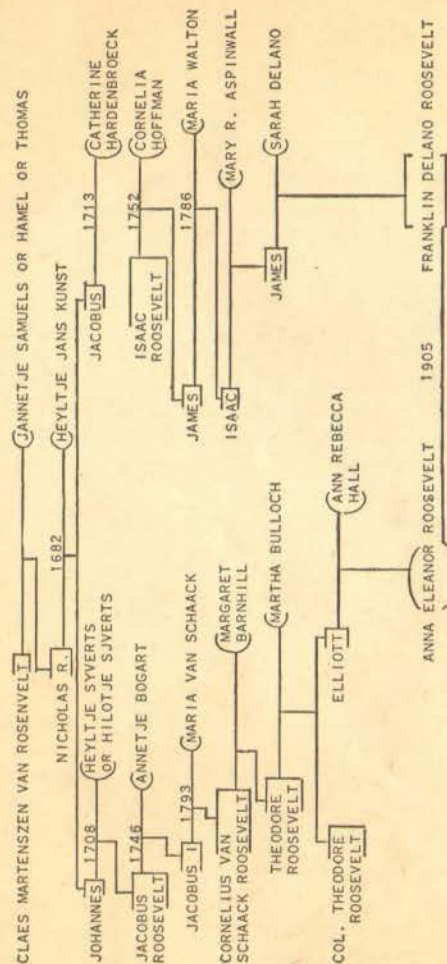
The leading newspaper of the city carried the following report after the interview:

"Although a Republican the former Governor has a sincere regard for President Roosevelt and his policies. He referred to the 'Jewish ancestry' of the President, explaining how he is a descendant of the Rossacampo family expelled from Spain in 1620. Seeking safety in Germany, Holland and other countries, members of the family, he said, changed their name to Rosenberg, Rosenbaum, Rosenblum and Rosenthal. The Rosenvelts in north Holland finally became Roosevelt, soon becoming apostates with the first generation and others following suit until in the fourth generation, a little storekeeper by the name of Jacobus Roosevelt was the only one who remained true to his Jewish faith. It is because of this Jewish ancestry, former Governor Osborn said, that President Roosevelt has the trend of economic safety in his veins."

Many will disagree with Osborn's conclusions although his facts are most interesting.

ROOSEVELT JEWISH ANCESTRY

THIS IS THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY TREE



Above is the exact family tree of the Roosevelts, establishing their Jewish ancestry.

Note: Millions of dollars are being spent by powerful Jewish financiers to put another Roosevelt in the White House. Every sensible Christian and loyal American will fight the campaign of Leftists, Communists, Jews and Internationalists to return the Roosevelt dynasty to power.

Extra copies of this family tree may be had in tract form by addressing all orders to the CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST CRUSADE, P. O. Box D-4, St. Louis 1, Missouri. 50 copies, \$1.00. 300 copies, \$5.00. 1000 copies, \$10.00.

NOTE: THIS FAMILY TREE CHART WAS PREPARED BY THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON, D.C.

JEWRY'S WORLD PROGRAM

The radical movement which is sweeping the world today, causing the foundations of organized society to crumble, is a Jewish movement!

Whether it is the First Communist Manifesto, written by the Jew Karl Marx, in 1848—or a Moscow dictatorship, set up eighteen years ago, composed of 545 leaders, of whom 447 were Jews—or a Jewish banking concern in Wall Street depositing money to the credit of Lenin and Trotsky in a sister bank in Sweden—or a Communist regime in France, headed by the Jew, Leon Blum—or a Spanish revolution, precipitated by a Jew named Bela Kun—or an ominous division in the ranks of the American Federation of Labor—or a subversive Brain Trust carrying the Nation toward the red abyss of Bolshevism . . . the radical program is today, and always has been, primarily A JEWISH PROGRAM.

James Abbe in his book *I Photograph Russia*: "I have no doubt that the Russians will some day revert to type and precedent, and ungratefully throw the Jews out of the authoritative positions they occupy throughout the entire Soviet governmental structure. I ran across the symptoms of returning anti-Semitism in many places in Russia.

"But seventy-five per cent of the men who made the Russian Revolution were Jews; Jewish minds do the quick thinking in Soviet Russia today and in the Communist Party the world over—and Litvinoff & Co., Great Lubyanka Street, Moscow, is the main office of a system of political chain stores which girdle the globe."

ROOSEVELT, A EUGENICAL PROBLEM

It is silly to say there is no racial problem in the United States.

Right there, where you live, the eugenical future of your community depends upon the ancestors of your neighbors, how the present members of your locality marry, how they behave themselves morally, and the environment in which the living generation of children grow up.

Eugenics, like arithmetic, operates according to fixed laws. It finds and studies facts, and reports the evidence for critical interpretation—whether such facts and conclusions be pleasant or unpleasant.

Eugenics is that science which studies inborn qualities—physical, mental and spiritual—in man, with a view to their improvement. Only an imbecile would say that this system of thought, built up by years of laborious effort, is all hokum!

When a man like Roosevelt is elevated to the position of leadership in a Country, his chromosomes became a matter of public concern.

Chromosomes are the almost invisible threads of which 24 are interwoven with every body cell. These mysterious life-carriers contain all the traits of human heredity, from genius to crime, from color to height.

Your very existence is therefore suspended on these invisible "hairs"!

So, watch your chromosomes!

In mating, the child never receives all 24 chromosomes from one parent. He inherits 12 from the father and 12 from the mother—with never a variation.

This law of nature is beyond human control.

Science estimates that a father actually gives 6 chromosomes to his offspring, and hands down 6 more from his ancestors and near kin. The mother does likewise, making up the grand total of 12 to each cell of the new born child.

FOR THIS REASON...

Jews are rigidly nationalistic and individualistic. Dispersion keeps them scattered among the Gentile nations. They are dislocated! Try as they will to adjust themselves to their environment, they entertain a feeling of superiority and often contempt, for those about them.

Roosevelt inevitably draws upon his Semitic ancestry. It is, therefore, as natural for him to be a radical, as it is for others to be true Americans.

This is why he can boast of flaunting conventionalities, and publicly gloat over destroying those traditions which are fundamental to our national character. HE IS NOT ONE OF US! This may also explain why he attaches so little importance to his word of honor, and has no hesitation in breaking his promises.

It is to be doubted if he, himself, understands the inner forces that surge through his being, driving him further and further toward the Left. It's in his blood. Meanwhile, the result of 160 years' constructive effort on the part of Christian patriots threatens to be swept away.

For this reason, one of his first official acts after becoming President, was to invite Finkelstein, alias Litvinoff, to the White House for the purpose of establishing diplomatic relations with the Jewish dictatorship of Moscow.

For this reason, he has appointed Jewish Ambassadors to

such strategic diplomatic posts as Paris, Stockholm and Moscow.

For this reason, the notorious Felix Frankfurter has become the most powerful figure in the Nation, during the present Administration.

For this reason, Bernard Baruch has lately been called "the unofficial President of the United States."

For this reason, a super-cabinet, known as the "Brain Trust"—an organization of appointees dominated by powerful Jewish intellects, has been set up to usurp the constitutional power of our duly elected lawmakers.

We do not condemn Roosevelt for coming from Jewish stock. We condemn him for being a leader in the international radical movement which is throwing Gentile governments, the world over, into convulsions.

If the Jews were living as an independent nation, in their homeland (Palestine) today, it would be a mistake for a Gentile to rule over them.

In like manner, the Semitic mind is incapable of assimilating the Christian and American viewpoints sufficiently, to risk placing the destiny of 120,000,000 human beings in the hands of a few members of their race.

In the last analysis, it's a matter of their chromosomes!

The problem in Washington is one of eugenics, rather than politics!

One of the first important individuals in America to expose the Jew ancestry of the Roosevelts was Governor Chase Osborn of Michigan. Mr. Osborn was more than a Governor. He was one of the patriarchs of Michigan and enjoyed the respect of men and women of influence in all political parties. No one could accuse Governor Os-

born of being prejudiced and lacking objectivity in his thinking. Herewith we reproduce a photostatic copy of Governor Osborn's statement.

poorest to the richest."

Although a Republican the former governor has a sincere regard for President Roosevelt and his policies. He referred to the "Jewish ancestry" of the president, explaining how he is a descendant of the Rossacampo family expelled from Spain in 1620. Seeking safety in Germany, Holland and other countries members of the family, he said, changed their name to Rosenberg, Rosenberg, Rosenbaum, Rosenblum, Roosevelt and Rosenthal. The Rosenvelts in north Ireland finally became Roosevelt, soon becoming apostates with the first generation and others following suit until, in the fourth generation, a little storekeeper by the name of Jacobus Roosevelt was the only one who remained true to his Jewish faith. It is because of this Jewish ancestry, former Governor Osborn said, that President Roosevelt has the trend of economic safety in his veins.

Note: The periodical which carried the article concerning the Roosevelt Jewish ancestry was known as **The Revealer**, a Christian news journal which was then published by the Reverend Gerald B. Winrod. This article created such a sensation that the Rosenvelts and the Jews in general never forgave Reverend Winrod and it was used as a basis for trying to imprison the Kansas minister during the recent war. The Communists and the extreme Jewish groups attempted to use the war as a persecution apparatus for imprisoning all so-called anti-Semites. To them anyone alert to the aggressive political ambitions of Jews is considered an anti-Semite.

AN OPEN LETTER TO ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Hyde Park, New York
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

This is an open letter to you from Gerald L. K. Smith. On September 8, you, in a dispatch that came out of Atlanta, Georgia, levelled an attack on the most listened to Christian preacher in the world. You branded as "fanatic" and as a man of ill repute my friend the late Rev. Dr. Walter Maier, the eminent Lutheran clergyman. At an earlier date you levelled a facetious and cynical and similar attack on His Eminence Cardinal Spellman. Earlier you had joined with the bloody savages of Europe in condemning Cardinal Mindszenty who is now facing the inevitable, liquidation by death.

Your attack on my friend Dr. Walter Maier could have been represented as an anti-Protestant attack, but the fact that you also attacked the leaders of the Catholic Church brands you as an anti-Christian influence in America and in the world.

It confirms the impression that some of us persecuted ones have had of you through the years—namely, that your first loyalty is to the Jews and their political child Communism. Recently you have posed (your background notwithstanding) as an anti-Communist, but whenever you are asked to display a symptom, or whenever you display it on your own initiative, you cast your rather questionably developed influence on the side of the Communists.

To me you personify and symbolize the corruption of our Republic. In a sanctimonious atmosphere of political self-righteousness you have made out of yourself one of the world's leading negative influences.

You have fraternized with traitors. You have dined with Communists. You extol dissipation. You have served the waters of treason to those under your influence, and you have conspired with America's most deadly enemies from every quarter of the globe.

I accuse you, Eleanor Roosevelt, of being the world's most evil influence, second only to Josef Stalin. You may protest and you may insist that you are no longer pro-Stalin, but your protestations come rather late. With the world on fire, with Western civilization on the very brink of the pit of chaos, with the Orient, including China, betrayed into the hands of your erstwhile pals and political friends, your protestations, which, in my opinion, go no deeper into yourself than your own teeth, have little to do with the truth.

A book could be written, and some day I hope to write it, on your betrayal of American tradition and on your scientific cooperation with America's destroyers, but in this letter I accuse you in brief, and I summarize in outline your diabolical un-American treasonable conduct during your public life.

1. You helped smuggle into this country by deception and full cooperation with Communists some of the most dangerous spies and propagandists with which we have been compelled to cope.

2. You fraternized with the Jew Joe Lash, the notorious Marxist, to the point of intimacy. He slept in the White House. He travelled with you. You gave him and he accepted your personal influence, and there was a time when it was generally understood that any program undertaken by Josef Stalin had your approval. Further investigation into this intimacy may reveal facts that could not be uttered in mixed company.

3. When Congressman Martin Dies, with the help and support of some of us who know the score, formed the first Un-American Activities Committee, he proceeded to uncover and expose the most obvious traitors to our country. These traitors included large numbers of your political pals. You immediately rushed to their defense. You actually stooped to the indignity of visiting the Dies Committee hearing and subjecting Mr. Dies and his patriotic Committee to coldblooded ridicule. It was rather a new thing in America for the wife of a President to heckle a Congressional Committee investigating Communism.

4. Your business manager was a racketeer and a shake-down artist. He was a Jew by the name of Colonel Myles Lasker who handled your radio contracts. When J. Edward Jones, an important New York businessman, launched an attack on the Fascist tendencies of the NRA he was immediately made the victim of the persecution and liquidation technique of your late husband's dictatorial bureaucratic machine. The result was that J. Edward Jones, later to be completely exonerated by the Supreme Court of the United States (before packing), was indicted. If he had been convicted he could have been sentenced to 75 years in prison. Through an intermediary your radio business manager, Colonel Myles Lasker, called on Jones and offered to fix the whole deal. He offered to introduce Mr. Jones to you. He offered to take him to the White House. He guaranteed the quashing of the indictment—for a mere \$50,000. Mr. Jones is still living and has the conversation of Mr. Lasker on a phonograph record taken down without his knowledge through the use of dictaphone equipment.

5. I accuse you of impugning the integrity of a good man when you attacked the noted Rev. Walter Maier. The first time I saw Dr. Maier he came to see me in Detroit, Michigan, and conferred with me for three hours. He impressed me at that time as a man of great intelligence and great courage. During the Detroit visit he discussed with me his radio secretary, Mr. Lawrence Reilly (now head of the Lutheran Research Society). Mr. Reilly was then one of the most influential students on the campus of Concordia Seminary in St. Louis. Dr. Maier said he wanted Mr. Reilly to visit with me and learn all he could about my methods and my program of activity in order that he might benefit by these facts in his worldwide radio broadcasts. Later I visited St. Louis and Dr. Maier was my guest at dinner in my suite in the Statler Hotel. He brought Mr. Reilly and other clergymen to my room. We visited without disagreement on any of the major issues until midnight. I am convinced that the Jewish gestapo knew this and they have used you in an attempt to purge this great preacher from his world-wide radio broadcasts on the grounds that he has had intimate contact with Gerald L. K. Smith.

6. You actually entertained Communists in the White House. You used the White House as a rallying center for Red traitors. They exploited this contact and played it to the limit, and in such conduct you exerted more influence on the side of Communism than even the high officials of the Communist Party.

7. You were a part of your husband's super-hypocritical conspiracy to get this country into war—against its will. A Gallup Poll survey and all other responsible poll surveys revealed, as late as November, 1941, that 87% of the American people were against this war. Your husband and the 'palace guard,' including yourself, had promised the Jews of the world, chiefly the Zionist leaders, that we would go to war and we would put Europe back into the hand of the Jewish controllers. Although you and your husband, in 1940, had promised no war and had promised that no boys would be sent across the ocean, you knew in your own hearts that you had committed America to war before 1940. You joined in telling the lie to America and your deceived followers believed you.

8. You knew, Mrs. Roosevelt, that Pearl Harbor was not a sneak attack, that it was effected by scientific processes; and having been caused by what your late husband and his compatriots did, was fully expected by you and the entire top command of the inner circle of your war-making machine. The 3,000 Pearl Harbor casualties and their blood were considered expendable in the fulfillment of this satanic purpose.

9. You know that Earl Browder, the head of the Communist Party, conferred with your husband in the White House, and you know that you participated in an undercover campaign, which was successful, in smuggling Mrs. Earl Browder into the U. S. A., and you cooperated with your husband in a plot to release Earl Browder from the Federal penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia — for political purposes. You knew, as did your husband, that the Communist vote in New York State was the balance of power.

It took that vote to make your friend Herbert Lehman the Governor of New York.

10. You helped publicize the liquor business by announcing to the nation that 'every American girl' should learn early in life how much she could drink. Shame on you! Shame on you!

11. You have five children and there have been seven divorces and ten marriages. At no time have you deplored this wholesale example of domestic duplicity.

12. You know where the real guilt lies and you know the personalities involved in the guilt resulting in the assassination of your husband's most dangerous contemporary, Huey P. Long.

13. By the exploitation of your influence as the wife of the President of the United States, and now the widow of a former President, you have made between two and four million dollars cash, lending your influence to coffee, mattresses, soap, etc. Never in the history of our nation has a woman used the White House in such a ruthless manner for the satisfaction of her mercenary desires.

14. You have promoted, encouraged, inspired and justified the interbreeding of blacks and whites. Surely you know that if your will in this matter is carried out completely that the white race will be destroyed. You know that one of the first symptoms of decay of any civilization in history has been the loss of racial self-respect. You have gone into the South where Negroes constitute a real social problem and have made the most irresponsible proposals imaginable. Your influence has served to make you the goddess of the mongrelizers. You are the lionized 'angel' of the nation's most irresponsible Negroes. You have stimulated and created more racism in America than all the so-called Anti-Negro organizations.

15. You joined with Henry Morgenthau, Jr., in a plot

to liquidate the German race. This plot was carried to your husband in Quebec and O. K.'d by him without the knowledge of Secretary of State Hull and other responsible individuals in the State Department. It represented the most revengful, savage and inhuman gesture in the history of the race. It was a conspiracy to make the Christians of Europe the bond servants and the slaves of the international Jew. It was the most shameful, the most disgraceful, the most uncivilized plot humanity has ever known. The gas chamber propaganda, which you know to be a lie, was released in order to condition the American people for the savagery that you and your ilk hope to enforce upon the people of central Europe.

16. While screaming to high heaven your hypocritical affection for the poor downtrodden underprivileged of America you gave your ideological consent to your husband's agreement with Stalin to reduce the manhood of Italy and Germany to human slavery. Because of your moral support and your husband's megalomaniacal consent, literally millions of Christian men and women inhabit the slave labor camps behind the Iron Curtain today.

17. You tried to destroy Whittaker Chambers. Whittaker Chambers, in a report that no critic has successfully punctured, proved to the satisfaction of mature minds that Alger Hiss was a traitor who stole documents out of our State Department and turned them over to Russian agents. Hiss was the man who traveled with your husband. Hiss was the man who set up the United Nations Conference. He was one of your original pals. In a desperate attempt to save yourself and your conspiring ilk, including Felix Frankfurter (who long since should have been impeached), you, in a public speech, tried to discredit the integrity and testimony of Whittaker Chambers.

You, Eleanor Roosevelt, are the villainess of American history. Your only defense against the accusations contained in this letter is falsehood, evasion, indirection, hypocrisy

and the aid of the powerful influences that have kept you in the press, on the air, and in favor with immature minds and illogical observers.

Yes, I know that I have been liquidated! Your late husband's personal campaign to isolate me and silence me was successful. You know that at one time your husband even instructed the Justice Department to imprison me, but my underground influence among the people made it seem impractical to him.

Thank God, I am the leader of a resistance movement. We shall not always be despised, scorned and ridiculed by those whom your hypocrisy, duplicity and treasonable conduct have brought to power. When you attack the world's most prominent Protestant and America's most prominent Catholic, and when you stabbed the great martyr Mindszenty in the back while he faced death itself, you awakened a great new body of sleeping citizens. God save America from you and your kind, Eleanor Roosevelt. You have cast your influence on the wrong side of practically everything. From the racketeering practices of your sons to the war-mongering villany of your late husband, who went to his grave with the blood of 50 million human beings on his hands. I wonder why you didn't open the casket at the White House, and I wonder why you never opened it at Hyde Park, and I wonder why you never allowed the corpse to lie in state? Could it be that locked up in your heart is a secret which has never been given to the general Public? Could it be that the suspicion of suicide is well founded? Why did you refuse to permit even the personal representative of your husband's friend Joe Stalin to view the remains?

You personify to me, Eleanor Roosevelt, the influences that must be curbed, put down and eliminated if America is to survive. The America of Washington and Lincoln and the rest is not your America. You have betrayed that spirit, and those of us who through the years have been willing to face scorn, ridicule, character assassination,

prison and even death for our convictions shall not rest until your influence over America has been removed from the hearts of the people.

I remain, one who refuses to surrender regardless of the price.

Sincerely yours,

Gerald L. Smith

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PROMISE

AND

PERFORMANCE

The Administration of
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
REVEALS ITSELF

**"BUT REMEMBER WELL, that attitude
and method—the way we do things,
is nearly always the measure of
our sincerity."**

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Butte, Montana, September 19, 1932

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“WE BELIEVE that a party platform is a covenant with the people to be faithfully kept by the party when entrusted with power, and that the people are entitled to know in plain words the terms of the contract to which they are asked to subscribe.”

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1932

“THAT ADMIRABLE DOCUMENT, the platform, which you have adopted, is clear. I accept it one hundred per cent.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Acceptance Speech, July 2, 1932*

“FINALLY, I have made it clear, ever since my nomination a year ago, that I subscribe to the Democratic platform one hundred per cent.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *telegram to Leon McCord, member of Democratic National Committee from Alabama, July 8, 1933*

RELIEF

REEMPLOYMENT

PROMISE

“IT IS NO TIME for delay when 11,000,000 of honest, industrious and willing men and women are tramping the streets and roads of our country looking for work . . . and we of the Democratic party will not wait.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Baltimore, October 25, 1932*

“IT IS A PRIMARY PURPOSE of my administration to cooperate with the States and with industry, to secure work opportunities for as many of the unemployed as possible, by which they will find employment through normal channels.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Statement, June 14, 1933*

“THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT must and shall quit this business of relief. I am not willing that the vitality of our people be further sapped by the giving of cash, or market baskets, or a few hours of weekly work, cutting grass, raking leaves, or picking up papers in the public parks.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Message to Congress, January 4, 1935*

RELIEF

REEMPLOYMENT

PERFORMANCE

IN MARCH, 1936, there were UNEMPLOYED, according to:

The American Federation of Labor	12,184,000
National Industrial Conference Board	9,649,000

AS OF JANUARY, 1936, AT LEAST 19,000,000 PEOPLE WERE RECEIVING RELIEF benefits according to Relief Administrator Hopkins.

(House of Representatives hearings on First Deficiency Bill, 1936)

The following table shows the growth in the number of cases on relief (a case may be an individual or an entire family):

MONTH	INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES ON RELIEF
1933	
July	3,908,068
1934	
July	4,355,493
1935	
June	4,530,832
1936	
March	5,300,000

*(Federal Emergency Relief Administration reports;
Franklin D. Roosevelt, Message to Congress,
March 18, 1936)*

RELIEF

THE COST

PROMISE

“IF WE MAINTAIN the course I have outlined, we can confidently look forward to cumulative beneficial forces represented by increased volume of business, more general profit, greater employment, and a diminution of relief expenses”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Budget Message*,
JANUARY 3, 1934

“WE CAN LOOK FORWARD TODAY toward a continued reduction of deficits, to increased tax receipts, and to declining expenditures for the needy unemployed.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Budget Message*,
JANUARY 3, 1936

“THIS \$400,000,000 (for Civil Works Administration) *isn't* going to cost the Federal Government any more money, because we are taking it out of the large Public Works appropriation of \$3,300,000,000. It is using a portion of that fund in a very practical way.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *November 15, 1933*

RELIEF

THE COST

PERFORMANCE

RELIEF EXPENDITURES, reported in the Budget for 1937, have totaled as follows:

YEAR ENDED JUNE 30	EXPENDITURE
1934.....	\$1,361,800,000
1935.....	2,341,300,000
1936*.....	3,118,700,000
TOTAL	\$6,821,800,000

**Treasury Department Statement of Emergency Relief Expenditures
classified in accordance with the testimony of the Works Progress
Administrator before the Senate Appropriations Committee, May, 1936*

"I HAVE THE HONOR TO REQUEST AN ADDITIONAL \$950,000,000
for the purpose of the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933
... and for continuing the Civil Works Program."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Message to Congress,*
January 29, 1934

RELIEF

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

PROMISE

“WE CONDEMN the improper and excessive use of money in political activities.”

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM 1932

“WE DO WANT YOU to be absolutely hardboiled, if you find any local person within your own states who is trying to get political advantage out of the relief of human needs, and you will have the backing of this Administration 100%, even if you hit the biggest political boss on the head in carrying out this general program.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Remarks to State Directors of the National Emergency Council, February 2, 1934*

RELIEF

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

PERFORMANCE

“I HAND YOU herewith a list of doctors in Ohio county. Kindly separate the Democrats and the Republicans and list them in order of priority so we may notify our safety foremen and compensation men as to who is eligible to participate in case of injury.”

(From a letter written by the State Relief Administrator of West Virginia to a county relief Supervisor, as read before the Senate by SENATOR HOLT, Democrat, of West Virginia)

“DEAR COMMITTEEMAN:

Contact all houses in your division and get the names of all men on relief, also of those holding WPA jobs. Urge them to register Democratic on March 26 or else lose their jobs.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) CHARLES McDONALD”

(Reproduced from a photostatic copy of a letter signed by Democratic leader of the 14th ward in Philadelphia on March 14, 1936, ten days before the Pennsylvania primary registrations, as printed in the Philadelphia Inquirer of March 28, 1936)

“I AM SURE YOU KNOW THAT I CANNOT BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ACTS OF DUMB POLITICIANS.”

(HARRY L. HOPKINS, Works Progress Administrator, in reply to a senatorial request for an investigation of alleged relief irregularities, March 5, 1936)

RELIEF

BOONDOGLING

PROMISE

“TO PUT one thousand men to work with picks and shovels to dig up a water main on one side of the highway, and lay it again on the other side of the highway, is not only a silly project but it destroys the morale of the men who are doing the job.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *On Our Way*,
1934, page 87

RELIEF

BOONDOGGLING

PERFORMANCE

“ I WANT TO SAY just one word about the usefulness of what we are doing. There is a grand word that is going around: ‘BOONDOGGLING.’ It is a pretty good word. If we can boondoggle ourselves out of this depression, that word is going to be enshrined in the hearts of the American people for years to come.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Newark,*
January 18, 1936

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

CIVIL SERVICE

PROMISE

“THE MERIT SYSTEM in civil service is in no danger at my hands; but on the contrary, I hope that it will be extended and improved during my term as President.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *letter to Civil Service Reform League, August 1933*

“THE MERIT SYSTEM has been and will continue to be extended during my administration.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *letter to H. Eliot Kaplan, Secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League, September 17, 1935*

“THERE can be no question of greater moment or broader effect than the maintenance, strengthening, and extension of the merit system, established in the competitive principles of the Civil Service Act, whose 53rd birthday is being celebrated this month . . . I am glad to assure your great organization of my support in this effort.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *radio address to League of Women Voters, January 30, 1936*

“THE Seventy-third Congress, as a part of its efforts to meet the emergency with which the nation was confronted, exempted from the civil service requirements positions in the newly created emergency agencies. The Seventy-fourth Congress made some additional exemptions.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *letter to H. Eliot Kaplan, Secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League, September 17, 1935.*

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

CIVIL SERVICE

PERFORMANCE

FROM June 30, 1932, to April 1936, there was an increase of 227,000 in the number of employees in the Executive Branch of the Federal Government (excluding the Army and Navy and excluding large numbers of employees in various Federal "Emergency" and "Relief" agencies not classified in Civil Service Commission reports as Executive Employees).

Between June 30, 1932, and June 30, 1935, the percentage of employees in the **EXECUTIVE BRANCH** of the Federal Government not under Civil Service **INCREASED FROM 19.9% TO 36.7%.**

During the same period there was an actual **DECLINE OF 11,897** in the number of such employees under **CIVIL SERVICE.**

This compares with an almost uninterrupted increase in the proportion of Federal employees under Civil Service from the time of President Arthur, when the principle was first established. The record is shown in the following table:

EXECUTIVE EMPLOYEES*			UNDER CIVIL SERVICE	NOT UNDER CIVIL SERVICE	PERCENT NOT UNDER CIVIL SERVICE
PRESIDENT	YEAR	TOTAL (To nearest thousand)			
Arthur	(1883)				87.5 (Est.)
McKinley	(1901)	256,000	106,000	150,000	58.6
Taft	(1911)	370,000	223,000	142,000	38.4
Wilson	(1916)	438,000	297,000	141,000	32.2
Wilson	(1918)	918,000	642,000	276,000	30.1
Wilson	(1920)	691,000	498,000	193,000	27.9
Harding	(1923)	516,000	411,000	105,000	20.3
Coolidge	(1928)	541,000	432,000	109,000	20.1
Hoover	(1932)	583,000	467,000	116,000	19.9
ROOSEVELT	(1935)	719,000	455,000	264,000	36.7
ROOSEVELT	(APRIL, 1936)	810,000	NOT AVAILABLE		

(Civil Service Commission Reports and Statistical Abstract of the United States)

* Non-military employees, permanent and temporary, of executive departments. This classification does not include a large number of employees in the various Federal "Emergency" and "Relief" agencies not listed in the Civil Service Commission reports as "Executive Employees."

IT IS TO BE NOTED from the above table that between the years 1916 and 1918, when President Wilson organized the nation for war, the number of employees of the government increased 479,703. Despite this growth, President Wilson was able to increase the total proportion under Civil Service by 2.2%.

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

PROMISE

“WHEN I ASSUMED the office of Postmaster General you expressed the desire that the postal service be so conducted that the revenues and expenditures would approximately balance each other

“I HAVE THE HONOR to inform you that pre-audited figures for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1934 show, after making the usual adjustments authorized by law for certain subventions and free mailing services, that our postal receipts exceeded expenditures for the first time since 1919, the surplus being approximately \$5,000,000

“I TAKE PRIDE in making this favorable report and am sure that it will be most gratifying to you.”

POSTMASTER GENERAL FARLEY, *radio message to President Roosevelt, July 20, 1934*

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

PERFORMANCE

1934

THE ANNUAL REPORT of the Post Office
Department showed

A SURPLUS OF..... \$12,161,415.03

HOWEVER, the Secretary of the Treasury's
Annual Report shows the Post
Office Department had

A DEFICIT OF..... 52,003,296.00

DISCREPANCY..... \$64,164,711.03

1935

THE ANNUAL REPORT of the Post Office
Department showed

A SURPLUS OF..... \$4,964,149.31

HOWEVER, the Secretary of the Treasury's
Annual Report shows the Post
Office Department had

A DEFICIT OF..... 63,970,405.00

DISCREPANCY..... \$68,934,554.31

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

AIRMAIL CONTRACTS

PROMISE

“THE SIMPLE FACT is that from records taken from the files of the Post Office Department, from the files of air mail contractors, themselves, and from evidence produced before the Senate Investigating Committee, it was clearly shown that *these contracts were given and obtained through collusion and fraud. . . .*

“IF THIS ADMINISTRATION was going to keep faith with the people, these fraudulent contracts had to be wiped out.”

POSTMASTER GENERAL FARLEY, *Wilmington, Delaware, March 20, 1934*

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

AIRMAIL CONTRACTS

PERFORMANCE

ON FEBRUARY 9, 1934 Postmaster General Farley cancelled all domestic governmental air mail contracts. This was done without hearings. The cancellation became effective upon ten days' notice rather than upon sixty days' notice as required by the Independent Offices' Appropriation Act of June 16, 1933.

On the same day by Executive Order, President Roosevelt commanded the Army to fly the air mail.

Twelve Army flyers lost their lives in pursuance of this order.

The cost of Army operation of the air mail was \$3,700,000.

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AFTER A LAPSE OF MORE THAN TWO YEARS HAS FAILED TO BRING INDICTMENTS AGAINST THE AVIATION COMPANIES FOR THE COLLUSION AND FRAUD ALLEGED BY THE POSTMASTER GENERAL IN HIS SPEECH OF MARCH 20, 1934.

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

BUREAUCRACY

PROMISE

“WE ARE ATTEMPTING too many functions and we need a simplification of what the Federal Government is giving to the people.

“I ACCUSE the present Administration of being the greatest spending administration in peace times in all our history—one which has piled bureau on bureau, commission on commission, and has failed to anticipate the dire needs or reduced earning power of the people. Bureaus and bureaucrats have been retained at the expense of the taxpayer.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Sioux City, September 29, 1932*

“THE PEOPLE of America demand a reduction of Federal expenditure. It can be accomplished not only by reducing the expenditures of existing departments, but it can be done by abolishing many useless commissions, bureaus and functions, and it can be done by consolidating many activities of the government.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Brooklyn, November 4, 1932*

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

BUREAUCRACY

PERFORMANCE

BEFORE the Roosevelt Administration there were **TEN** agencies dealing with the production and distribution of power. In 1935 there were **TWENTY-THREE** agencies concerned with it.

TWO agencies of the Federal Government were primarily concerned with the settlement of labor disputes in 1932. Four years later **TWELVE** agencies are interested in the settlement of labor disputes.

Housing problems were being considered by **FOUR** agencies of the Government before the Roosevelt Administration. In 1936 **FIFTEEN** agencies are dealing with the problem.

In 1932 there were **SIX** agencies of the Government to which foreign trade was a major concern. Today there are **TWELVE** agencies concerned with this activity.

FOUR government agencies were making loans to farmers four years ago. Today there are **THIRTEEN** agencies engaged in making such loans.

EIGHT agencies of the Federal Government exercised extensive control over the public lands. In 1936 such control was being exercised by **FIFTEEN** different organizations in the Federal Government.

TODAY THERE ARE THREE DIFFERENT GOVERNMENT COMMITTEES EACH ENTIRELY INDEPENDENT OF THE OTHER, ALL STUDYING OVERLAPPING SERVICES IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

PROMISE

“WE CONDEMN the extravagance of the Farm Board . . .”

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM 1932

“I HAVE CALLED for a reorganization of the Department of Agriculture to the end that it may serve the people more and cost the people less.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Sacramento, September 22, 1932*

“WE ARE CERTAINLY paying enough for the Department of Agriculture to get something more useful than we are now getting. I have already proposed its reorganization. I am going to insist that we get more service for the farmer for less money.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Atlanta, October 24, 1932*

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

PERFORMANCE

THE FEDERAL FARM BOARD under the Hoover Administration had at its disposal a revolving fund of \$500,000,000. On December 31, 1935, approximately \$175,000,000 of this appropriation still remained.

DURING THE FIRST THREE YEARS of the operations of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration under the Roosevelt Administration funds to the amount of **\$1,732,000,000** were made available and of these funds the following sums were expended up to March 31, 1936:

Administrative Expenses	\$ 84,953,000
Rental and Benefit Payments	1,135,929,000
Removal and Conservation of Surplus	73,495,000
Drought Relief, Food Conservation and Disease Eradication Operations	162,346,000
Other	61,496,000
TOTAL EXPENDITURES to March 31, 1936	\$1,518,219,000

(Agricultural Adjustment Administration Reports)

IN ADDITION to these expenditures under the AAA, the following table indicates the **INCREASE IN COST** and number of employees in the regular Department of Agriculture:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

	COST	NO. EMPLOYED
1932	\$318,975,817	26,371
1936	436,094,141	47,175
INCREASE	\$117,118,324	20,804

IN ADDITION to all of the above, there has been an expenditure by the Resettlement Administration for rural purposes of **\$74,100,000**.

(Budget Message, January 3, 1936; U. S. Civil Service Commission Reports)

AGRICULTURE

HOME AND FOREIGN MARKETS

PROMISE

“WE FAVOR . . . effective control of crop surpluses so that our farmers may have the full benefit of the domestic market.

“WE CONDEMN . . . the unsound policy of restricting agricultural products to the demands of domestic markets.”

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM 1932

AGRICULTURE

HOME AND FOREIGN MARKETS

PERFORMANCE

COMPETITION for the American domestic market has increased as a result of rising imports. FROM 1932 TO 1935 THE VOLUME OF IMPORTS OF CRUDE FOODSTUFFS INCREASED 41% AND OF MANUFACTURED FOODSTUFFS INCREASED 49%.

The following table gives the volume of imports in 1932 and 1935 for important agricultural products:

COMMODITY	1932	1935
Wheat	3,000 bu.	27,439,000 bu.
Corn	344,000 bu.	43,242,000 bu.
Oats	59,000 bu.	10,107,000 bu.
Barley	None	4,840,000 bu.
Rye	None	9,643,000 bu.
Rice	19,074,000 lb.	53,457,000 lb.
Barley malt	52,533,000 lb.	320,623,000 lb.
Hay	13,858 tons	67,171 tons

MEANWHILE the VOLUME OF AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS from the United States had DECLINED. The quantities of individual commodities exported had declined as follows:

Cotton	33%
Unmanufactured tobacco	4%
Wheat	99%
Flour	42%
Meat products	19%
Lard	82%

(Publications of Department of Commerce)

AGRICULTURE

CROP RESTRICTION

PROMISE

“WE CONDEMN . . . the unsound policy of restricting agricultural products to the demands of domestic markets.”

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM 1932

“WHEN THE FUTILITY of maintaining prices of wheat and cotton through so-called stabilization became apparent, the President's Farm Board, of which his Secretary of Agriculture was a member, invented the cruel joke of advising farmers to allow 20 per cent of their wheat lands to lie idle, to plow up every third row of cotton and to shoot every tenth dairy cow.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Topeka,*
September 14, 1932

AGRICULTURE

CROP RESTRICTION

PERFORMANCE

IN THE SUMMER of 1933 the Government paid farmers under the AAA to **PLOW UP 10,500,000 ACRES** of growing cotton, or 25% of the total acreage.

THE **BANKHEAD COTTON ACT** of 1934 set **A LIMIT OF 10,000,000 BALES** of cotton to be marketed by farmers from the 1934-1935 crop.

IN THE FALL of 1933, the AAA **DESTROYED 6,200,000 PIGS** and slaughtered 220,000 prospective mother sows at a cost of over \$30,000,000. The total live weight of the pigs and sows slaughtered was 443,627,348 pounds. Of this only 97,064,159 pounds of food products were obtained—the rest was converted into inedible grease or fertilizer.

THE AAA **RETIRED** approximately **36,000,000 ACRES** of corn, wheat, cotton and tobacco from cultivation, or one-tenth of the land in cultivation in the United States.

(Agricultural Adjustment Administration Reports)

IN AN ADDRESS TO FARMERS IN WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 14, 1935, THE PRESIDENT SUMMARIZED THE PERFORMANCE OF THE NEW DEAL AS FOLLOWS:

“It is high time for you and for me to carry, by education, knowledge of the fact that not a single program of the AAA contemplated the destruction of an acre of food crops in the United States.

It is high time for you and me to make clear that we are not plowing under cotton this year—that we did not plow it under in 1934 and that we only plowed some of it under in 1933 because the Agricultural Adjustment Act was passed after a huge crop of cotton was already in the ground.

It is high time for us to repeat on every occasion that we have not wastefully destroyed food in any form. It is true that the relief administrator has purchased hundreds of thousands of tons of food-

stuffs to feed the needy and hungry who are on the relief rolls in every part of the United States.

The crocodile tears, shed by the professional mourners of an old and obsolete order over the slaughter of little pigs and other measures to reduce surplus agricultural inventories deceive very few thinking people, and least of all the farmers themselves.

The acknowledged destiny of a pig is sausage, or ham, or bacon or pork. In these forms millions of pigs were consumed by vast numbers of needy people who otherwise would have had to do without.”

AGRICULTURE

CONSTITUTIONAL MEASURES

PROMISE

“WE FAVOR . . . the enactment of every constitutional measure that will aid farmers to receive for their basic farm commodities prices in excess of cost.”

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM 1932

“I LIKE TO THINK that agricultural adjustment is an expression, in concrete form, of the human rights those farmer patriots sought to win when they stood at the bridge at Concord, when they proclaimed the Declaration of Independence and when they perpetuated these ideals by the adoption of the Constitution.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Fremont, Nebraska,*
September 28, 1935

AGRICULTURE

CONSTITUTIONAL MEASURES

PERFORMANCE

THE IMPORTANT MEASURES enacted in pursuance of the platform pledge printed opposite were as follows:

1 • AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT

(declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court January 6, 1936)

2 • KERR TOBACCO CONTROL ACT

(repealed by Congress February 10, 1936 to avoid an unfavorable decision by the Supreme Court on pending cases)

3 • BANKHEAD COTTON ACT

(repealed by Congress February 10, 1936 to avoid an unfavorable decision by the Supreme Court on pending cases)

4 • THE POTATO CONTROL ACT

(repealed by Congress February 10, 1936 because clearly unconstitutional under the Supreme Court's AAA decision)

AGRICULTURE

COERCION

PROMISE

“THE (farm) PLAN must not be coercive. It must be voluntary and the individual producer should at all times have the opportunity of non-participation if he so desires. . . . It must be so organized that the benefits will go to the man who participates.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Topeka, September 14, 1932*

AGRICULTURE

COERCION

PERFORMANCE

THE BANKHEAD COTTON ACT OF 1934 imposed a penalty tax of 50% of the market value of lint cotton, levied on each pound of cotton ginned in excess of the farmer's allotted amount. Violation of the Act was punishable by a fine not to exceed \$1,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by both.

THE KERR TOBACCO ACT imposed a tax ranging from 25% to 33½% of the sales price of the tobacco which a grower sold in excess of the allotment made to him by the Secretary of Agriculture. Punishments for violations of the Act were similar to those imposed by the Bankhead Cotton Act with the additional provision that false statements with respect to, or falsification of tax documents were punishable by a fine not exceeding \$5,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both.

THE POTATO CONTROL ACT OF 1935 provided for a tax of three-fourths of one cent per pound (45 cents per bushel) for potatoes marketed in excess of allotments prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture. In addition to the usual penalties on the grower for violation, the Act made the buyer responsible for the purchase of only those potatoes marketed in a manner fulfilling the requirements of the law. Section 220 stated:

"Any person who knowingly sells, or offers for sale, or knowingly offers to buy, or buys, potatoes not packaged as required by this title, or any person who knowingly offers to buy, or buys, potatoes to the packages of which are not affixed or attached tax-exemption stamps or tax stamps as required by

this title shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than \$1,000. Any person convicted of a second offense under the provisions of this title may, in addition to such fine, be imprisoned for not more than one year."

"CONGRESS HAS NO POWER TO ENFORCE ITS COMMANDS ON THE FARMER TO THE ENDS SOUGHT BY TAXING AND SPENDING TO PURCHASE COMPLIANCE. THE CONSTITUTION AND THE ENTIRE PLAN OF OUR GOVERNMENT NEGATIVE ANY SUCH USE OF THE POWER TO TAX AND TO SPEND AS THE ACT UNDERTAKES TO AUTHORIZE."

(Supreme Court decision on AAA, January 6, 1936)

AGRICULTURE

EMERGENCY PROGRAM

PROMISE

“AN ACT to relieve the existing National economic *emergency* by increasing agricultural purchasing power, to raise revenue for extraordinary expenses incurred by reason of such *emergency*, to provide *emergency* relief with respect to agricultural indebtedness, to provide for the orderly liquidation of joint stock land banks, and for other purposes.”

Preamble of Agricultural Adjustment Act, 1933

AGRICULTURE

EMERGENCY PROGRAM

PERFORMANCE

“IT NEVER was the idea of the man who framed the Act, of those in Congress who revised it, nor of Henry Wallace or Chester Davis that the Agricultural Adjustment Administration should be either a **MERE EMERGENCY OPERATION** or a static agency.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Statement, October 25, 1935*

COST OF GOVERNMENT

EXTRAVAGANCE

PROMISE

“WE ADVOCATE an immediate and drastic reduction of governmental expenditures by abolishing useless commissions and offices, consolidating departments and bureaus, and eliminating extravagance, to accomplish a saving of not less than 25% in the cost of Federal government”

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM 1932

“FOR THREE LONG YEARS I have been going up and down this country preaching that government costs too much. I shall not stop the preaching”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Acceptance Speech*,
July 2, 1932

“THAT (the Hoover spending), my friends, . . . is the most reckless and extravagant pace I have been able to discover in the statistical record of any peace-time government anywhere, any time.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Pittsburgh*, October
19, 1932

“YOU ARE HAVING the most economical federal administration you have had for years.”

POSTMASTER GENERAL FARLEY, *Salt Lake City*,
August 1, 1934

COST OF GOVERNMENT

EXTRAVAGANCE

PERFORMANCE

IN THE LAST full fiscal year (1932) of President Hoover's Administration the Federal government spent \$5,153,644,895. The New Deal increased this rate of spending as follows:

In the year ending June 30, 1934, by 38 %
" " " " June 30, 1935, by 43 %
" " " " June 30, 1936, by 72 %

THE COST of running the United States government in recent years:

1927.....	\$3,372,713,000
1931.....	4,091,597,000
1932.....	5,153,645,000
1933.....	5,142,954,000
1934.....	7,105,050,000
1935.....	7,375,825,000
1936.....	8,879,798,000

(House Hearings on Revenue Act of 1936, except the 1936 figure which is from Daily Treasury Statement (unrevised) of June 30, 1936)

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES in 1936 would have been \$3,865,233,671 if there had been a reduction of 25% in the cost of Federal Government from the 1932 level.

From March 4, 1933, to March 31, 1936, the **ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION CREATED MORE THAN FIFTY ADDITIONAL BUREAUS**, commissions, committees, boards, agencies, or government corporations. A partial list follows:

Agricultural Adjustment Administration	Rural Electrification Administration
Commodity Credit Corporation	Electric Home and Farm Authority
Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation	Federal Emergency Relief Administration
National Recovery Administration	Civil Works Administration
National Labor Relations Board	Works Progress Administration
Social Security Board	Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation
National Bituminous Coal Commission	Central Statistical Board
United States Employment Service	Securities and Exchange Commission
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation	National Archives
Fed. Savings and Loan Insurance Corp.	Federal Communications Commission
Home Owners' Loan Corporation	Federal Coordinator of Transportation
Federal Housing Administration	National Resources Committee
Resettlement Administration	Railroad Retirement Board
Public Works Administration	National Emergency Council
Tennessee Valley Authority	

COST OF GOVERNMENT

BALANCED BUDGET

PROMISE

“WE FAVOR maintenance of the national credit by a federal budget, annually balanced on the basis of accurate executive estimates within revenues raised by a system of taxation levied on the principle of ability to pay.”

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM 1932

“THROUGH this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order, and making the income balance outgo.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Inaugural Address*,
March 4, 1933

“FURTHERMORE, the Government during the balance of this calendar (1934) year should plan to build its 1936 expenditures, including recovery and relief, within the revenues expected within the fiscal year 1936. We should plan to have a definitely balanced Budget for the third year of recovery and from that time on seek a continuing reduction of the national debt.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Budget Message*,
January 3, 1934

“THUS IT IS CLEAR to me that the Federal Government, under provisions of present tax schedules, will not need new taxes or increased rates to meet the expense of its necessary annual operations and to retire its public debt.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Statement*,
September 29, 1935

COST OF GOVERNMENT

BALANCED BUDGET

PERFORMANCE

GOVERNMENT EXPENSES have exceeded Government income throughout the Roosevelt Administration:

YEAR ENDING JUNE 30	EXPENDITURES	INCOME	DEFICIT
1934	\$ 7,105,000,000	\$ 3,116,000,000	\$ 3,989,000,000
1935	7,375,000,000	3,800,000,000	3,575,000,000
1936 (Est.)	9,882,000,000	3,916,000,000	5,966,000,000
TOTAL	\$24,362,000,000	\$10,832,000,000	\$13,530,000,000

(PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S *Budget Message, January 3, 1936*;
1936 figures as corrected by Secretary of Treasury Morgenthau
before Senate Finance Committee, April 30, 1936)

OFFICIAL ESTIMATES made at various times by the President or Secretary of the Treasury as to the deficit for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936:

Estimate by President Roosevelt,	<i>January 3, 1934</i>	No deficit
" " " "	<i>January 3, 1935</i>	\$4,529,000,000
" " " "	<i>January 3, 1936</i>	3,234,000,000
" " " "	<i>April 25, 1936</i>	3,000,000,000
Estimate by Secretary Morgenthau,	<i>April 30, 1936</i>	5,966,000,000

"WE ARE CALLED UPON to raise by some form of **PERMANENT TAXATION AN ANNUAL AMOUNT OF \$620,000,000.**"

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Message to Congress, March 3, 1936*

COST OF GOVERNMENT

NATIONAL DEBT

PROMISE

“I PROPOSE TO YOU, my friends, that government . . . be made solvent and that the example be set by the President of the United States.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Acceptance Speech*,
July 2, 1932

“FOR THREE LONG YEARS the Federal Government has been on the road toward bankruptcy . . .

“WITH THE UTMOST seriousness I point out to the Congress the profound effect of this fact upon our national economy . . .

“TOO OFTEN in recent history liberal governments have been wrecked on rocks of loose fiscal policy. We must avoid this danger.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Message to Congress*,
March 10, 1933

“THE CREDIT of the government is at its highest.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Budget Message*,
January 3, 1936

COST OF GOVERNMENT

NATIONAL DEBT

PERFORMANCE

INCREASE IN GROSS DEBT of the United States:

<i>HOOVER Administration</i>		<i>ROOSEVELT Administration</i>	
March 3, 1929	\$17,345,000,000	March 4, 1933	\$20,937,000,000
March 4, 1933	20,937,000,000	June 30, 1936	33,779,000,000
<i>Increase</i>	\$ 3,592,000,000	<i>Increase</i>	\$12,842,000,000
AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE \$898,000,000		AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE \$3,862,000,000	

ON JUNE 30, 1936, THE GROSS DEBT WAS \$33,779,000,000

The total increase in debt from March 4, 1933, to June 30, 1936, was \$12,842,000,000.

IN ADDITION the United States Government has guaranteed the principal and interest of \$4,467,000,000 of securities issued by various governmental corporations.

(From Daily Statement of the United States Treasury)

COST OF GOVERNMENT

TAX REDUCTION

PROMISE

“TAXES ARE PAID in the sweat of every man who labors

If excessive, they are reflected in idle factories, tax-sold farms and, hence, in hordes of the hungry tramping the streets and seeking jobs in vain. Our workers may never see a tax bill, but they pay in deductions from wages, in increased cost of what they buy, or (as now) in broad cessation of employment Our people and our business cannot carry its excessive burdens of taxation”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Pittsburgh,*
October 19, 1932

“I SHALL USE this position of high responsibility to discuss up and down the country, at all seasons, at all times, the duty of reducing taxes, of increasing the efficiency of government, of cutting out the underbrush around our governmental structure, of getting the most public service for every dollar paid by taxation. This I pledge you and nothing I have said in the campaign transcends in importance this covenant with the taxpayers of this country.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Sioux City,*
September 29, 1932

COST OF GOVERNMENT

TAX REDUCTION

PERFORMANCE

ESTIMATED TAX RECEIPTS in 1937 represent an **INCREASE OF 196%** over 1933.

THE FOLLOWING are the tax receipts, including customs, of the Federal Treasury for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1933-1937 (figures for 1936 and 1937 estimated or partially estimated):

1933.....	\$1,855,174,208
1934.....	2,954,038,131
1935.....	3,621,043,062
1936 (Est.).....	4,228,036,000
1937 (Est.).....	5,494,114,000

(Figures for 1933, 1934 from Secretary of the Treasury's Report 1935; figures for 1935, 1936, 1937 from Budget Message, January 3, 1936. The 1936 estimates include processing taxes, since invalidated by the Supreme Court.)

LAWS, involving increased taxation, passed by the Roosevelt Administration:

Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933	Liquor Taxing Act of 1934
National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933	Revenue Act of 1935
Non-Intoxicating Liquor Tax Act of 1933	Social Security Act of 1935
Railroad Retirement Act of 1934	Railroad Retirement Act of 1935
Bankhead Cotton Act of 1934	Kerr-Smith Tobacco Act of 1935
Revenue Act of 1934	Potato Control Act of 1935
Bituminous Coal Conservation Act of 1935 (Guffey Bill)	

A BILL for the taxation of future undistributed earnings of corporations and a "windfall" tax on processors of certain agricultural products was proposed in March, 1936. The majority report of this bill, signed by Democratic members of the House of Representatives Ways and Means Committee, forecasts new tax laws in 1937: "This, (the pending tax bill), will take care of the President's request **UNTIL THE NEXT SESSION OF CONGRESS** which can then act more intelligently in the light of conditions then existing."

COST OF GOVERNMENT

CONSUMER TAXES

PROMISE

“NOT ONLY must the government income meet prospective expenditures, but this income must be secured on the principle of ability to pay. *This is a declaration in favor of graduated income, inheritance and profits taxes, and against taxes on food and clothing, whose burden is actually shifted to the consumers of these necessities of life on a per capita basis rather than on the basis of the relative size of personal income.*”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Looking Forward*, 1934, pages 104-05

“WE FAVOR maintenance of the national credit by a federal budget, annually balanced on the basis of accurate executive estimates within *revenues raised by a system of taxation levied on the principle of ability to pay.*”

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM 1932

“SUCH A REVISION of our corporate taxes would effect great simplification of the tax procedure, in corporate accounting, and in the understanding of the whole subject by the citizens of the nation.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Message to Congress, proposing new tax bill, March 3, 1936*

COST OF GOVERNMENT

CONSUMER TAXES

PERFORMANCE

IN 1930, "we find that those taxes bearing most heavily on the **WELL-TO-DO CONTRIBUTED . . . 68.2 PER CENT** of its (the National Government's) total internal revenue and customs receipts, while miscellaneous taxes and customs receipts, bearing most heavily upon the **CONSUMER, CONTRIBUTED ONLY . . . 31.8 PER CENT** of such receipts. . . .

"IN 1935 the **TAXES BASED ON ABILITY TO PAY CONTRIBUTED 38.7 PER CENT** of the internal revenue and customs receipts . . . there has been an increase in the proportion of revenues contributed by **TAXES BASED ON CONSUMPTION TO 61.3 (PER CENT).**"

ROBERT JACKSON, *Assistant General Counsel, Treasury Department, before Committee on Finance, U. S. Senate, August 6, 1935*

"WHAT IS KNOWN as consumers' taxes, namely the invisible taxes paid by people in every walk of life, fall relatively much more heavily upon the poor man than on the rich man. **IN 1929, CONSUMERS' TAXES REPRESENTED ONLY 30% OF THE NATIONAL REVENUE. TODAY THEY ARE 60%**"

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *letter to Roy W. Howard, September 2, 1935*

"IF THE DIVIDEND CREDIT is a percentage of the adjusted net income which is less than 62.5 (and such percentage is not shown in the foregoing table) the tax shall be a percentage of the adjusted net income equal to the sum of 7.5, plus eleven thirty-firsts of the amount by which 62.5 exceeds the percentage which the dividend credit is of the adjusted net income."

REVENUE BILL OF 1936 as passed by the House of Representatives

CURRENCY POLICIES

SOUND CURRENCY

PROMISE

“WE ADVOCATE a sound currency to be preserved at all hazards.”

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM 1932

“ONE OF THE MOST commonly repeated misrepresentations by Republican speakers, including the President, has been the claim that the Democratic position with regard to money has not been made sufficiently clear. The President is seeing visions of rubber dollars. This is only part of his campaign of fear. I am not going to characterize these statements. I merely present the facts. The Democratic Platform specifically declares, ‘We advocate a sound currency to be preserved at all hazards.’ That, I take it is plain English.

“THE THING HAS been said in plain English three times in my speeches. It is stated without qualification in the platform and I have announced my unqualified acceptance of that platform.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Brooklyn, November 4, 1932*

CURRENCY POLICIES

SOUND CURRENCY

PERFORMANCE

ON APRIL 20, 1933, the **GOLD STANDARD WAS ABANDONED** under an Executive Order issued by President Roosevelt.

ON MAY 12, 1933, President Roosevelt approved the Thomas Amendment to the Agricultural Adjustment Act which gave him the following, among other powers:

- 1 • To issue \$3,000,000,000 of currency in the form of unsecured United States notes (fiat money).
- 2 • To fix the weights of the gold and silver dollars at such amounts as the President finds necessary . . . and to provide for the unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio so fixed; or to reduce the weight of the gold dollar (without reference to silver) by any amount up to 50%.

ON JANUARY 31, 1934, the President, by proclamation, **FIXED THE GOLD CONTENT OF THE DOLLAR AT 59.06%** of what it had formerly been.

The above proclamation included the following statement:

"I reserve the right by virtue of the authority vested in me to alter and modify this proclamation . . ."

CURRENCY POLICIES

GOLD CLAUSE

PROMISE

“THE BUSINESS MEN of the country . . . were told in blunt language in Des Moines, Iowa (by President Hoover), how close an escape the country had some months ago from going off the gold standard. This as has been clearly shown since was a libel on the credit of the United States. . . . Senator Glass made a devastating challenge that no responsible government would have sold to the country securities payable in gold if it knew the promise, yes, the covenant, to pay interest and principal in gold of specified weight and fineness per dollar embodied in these securities was as dubious as the President of the United States claims it was . . .”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Brooklyn,*
November 4, 1932

CURRENCY POLICIES

GOLD CLAUSE

PERFORMANCE

"THE NOTES will be dated May 2, 1933 . . . the principal and interest of the notes will be PAYABLE IN UNITED STATES GOLD COIN OF THE PRESENT STANDARD OF VALUE."

(Covenant printed on face of \$500,000,000 Government securities offered to investors April 24, 1933)

FORTY-TWO DAYS LATER, June 5, 1933, President Roosevelt signed a joint resolution of Congress abrogating the Gold Clause in all existing and future public and private contracts.

IN RENDERING ITS DECISION on the Government's repudiation of its gold contracts the Supreme Court, February 18, 1935, adopted the language of an earlier decision, as follows:

"THE UNITED STATES ARE AS MUCH BOUND BY THEIR CONTRACTS AS ARE INDIVIDUALS. If they repudiate their obligations, it is as much repudiation, with all the wrong and reproach that term implies, as it would be if the repudiator had been a State or a Municipality or a citizen."

CURRENCY POLICIES

WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

PROMISE

“WE ADVOCATE . . . an international economic conference designed to restore international trade and facilitate exchange.”

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM 1932

“IF NORMAL LIFE is to be resumed, the World Economic Conference must be made a success. . . . We are in agreement that a fixed measure of exchange values must be re-established in the world, and we believe that this measure must be gold.”

AMERICAN-ITALIAN STATEMENT, *May 6, 1933, following conversations between President Roosevelt and representatives of Great Britain, France and Italy*

“THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE . . . must establish order in place of the present chaos by a stabilization of currencies, by freeing the flow of world trade, and by international action to raise price levels. It must, in short, supplement individual domestic programs for economic recovery by wise and considered international action.”

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, *Message to Nations participating in the World Monetary and Economic Conference, May 16, 1933*

CURRENCY POLICIES

WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

PERFORMANCE

ON July 3, 1933, the usefulness of the World Monetary and Economic Conference was for all practical purposes ended by a radio message from President Roosevelt to the Conference in London:

“The world will not long be lulled by the specious policy of achieving a temporary and probably an artificial stability in foreign exchange on the part of a few large countries”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *in a radio message to the World Monetary and Economic Conference, July 3, 1933*

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

MONOPOLY

PROMISE

“WE ADVOCATE strengthening and impartial enforcement of the anti-trust laws to prevent monopoly and unfair trade practices, and revision thereof for the better protection of labor and the small producer and distributor.”

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM 1932

“THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES of the anti-trust laws should be more adequately applied. Monopolies and private price fixing within industries must not be allowed nor condoned. ‘No monopoly should be private’.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Message advocating the extension of the NRA, February 20, 1935*

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

MONOPOLY

PERFORMANCE

“THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT provided that “While this title is in effect . . . and for sixty days thereafter, any code, agreement or license approved . . . under this title . . . shall be exempt from the provisions of the anti-trust laws of the United States.” (Title I, Section 5).

“THE ANTI-TRUST ACTS prohibit combinations in restraint of trade. But NRA specifically permits such combinations with government sanction and supervision. **THERE IS NOT ONE SINGLE CODE THAT IS NOT A COMBINATION IN RESTRAINT OF TRADE**, and, if codes are not permitted so to restrain trade, then NIRA ought to be repealed tomorrow.”

GENERAL HUGH JOHNSON, *former NRA Administrator, in The Blue Eagle from Egg to Earth, page 177*

“YET STEP BY STEP through the diabolical logic of events the NRA became the apparent exponent and protector of ‘price fixing’—that hateful objective of that most hated ogre, a big business monopoly.”

DONALD R. RICHBERG, *former Counsel and later Administrator of NRA, in The Rainbow, page 31*

“THE NRA has given the sanction of government to self-governing combinations . . . Inevitably this means control by the largest producers. . . . We have here a body not only perfectly equipped to exercise monopolistic control, but endowed with extraordinary powers incompatible with the ideals heretofore entertained in a free country. . . . In proportion as the authority of government sanctions regulation by industrial combinations, the inevitable tendency is toward monopoly with the elimination of the small business.”

(*Special and Supplementary Reports of Darrow Committee, appointed by the President, released May 20, 1934*)

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

LABOR DISPUTES

PROMISE

“THIS (NRA) is not a law to foment discord and it will not be executed as such.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Statement, June 16, 1933*

“THE WORKERS of this country have rights under this law which cannot be taken from them, and nobody will be permitted to whittle them away, but, on the other hand, no aggression is now necessary to attain those rights.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Radio Address, July 24, 1933*

“I WOULD POINT OUT that the extent and severity of labor disputes during this period (the preceding twelve months) has been far less than in any other previous comparable period.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Radio Address, September 30, 1934*

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

LABOR DISPUTES

PERFORMANCE

IN THE twenty-three months that NRA was on the Statute books, the average **NUMBER OF WORKERS INVOLVED IN STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS** and the number of days of idleness per month resulting therefrom were **APPROXIMATELY FOUR TIMES AS LARGE** as during the six months before NRA.

AFTER NRA was declared unconstitutional, both the number of workers involved in industrial disputes and the number of days lost have **DECLINED**.

The following table gives monthly average figures:

	WORKERS IN DISPUTES AVERAGE PER MONTH	MAN DAYS OF IDLENESS AVERAGE PER MONTH
Before NRA (January to June '33)	41,953	417,776
During NRA (July '33—May '35)	163,569	1,621,961
After NRA (June '35—April '36)	142,552	1,227,730

(Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor)

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

CONTROL OF BUSINESS

PROMISE

“IT IS WHOLLY WRONG to call the measures that we have taken government control of farming, control of industry, and control of transportation. It is rather a partnership between government and farming and industry and transportation, not partnership in profits, for the profits would still go to the citizens, but rather a partnership in planning and partnership to see that the plans are carried out.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Radio Address, May 7, 1933*

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

CONTROL OF BUSINESS

PERFORMANCE

IN ITS RULING on the NRA, the Supreme Court said, May 27, 1935:

“If the commerce clause were construed to reach all enterprises and transactions which could be said to have an indirect effect upon interstate commerce, the Federal authority would embrace practically all the activities of the people and the authority of the State over its domestic concerns would exist only by sufferance of the Federal government . . .

“Otherwise, . . . there would be **VIRTUALLY NO LIMIT TO THE FEDERAL POWER** and for all practical purposes, we should have a completely centralized Government . . .”

MR. JUSTICE CARDOZO added:

“Here in effect is a **ROVING COMMISSION** (to the President) to inquire into evils and upon discovery to correct them.”

IN ITS RULING upon the AAA, on January 6, 1936, the Supreme Court said:

“At best it is a scheme for purchasing with Federal funds **SUBMISSION TO FEDERAL REGULATION** of a subject reserved to the States.”

ON May 18, 1936, in declaring the “Bituminous Coal Conservation Act of 1935” (Guffey Bill) unconstitutional the Supreme Court again told the Roosevelt Administration it could not set up an NRA. Immediately upon the Supreme Court announcing its opinion a new bill was presented in Congress.

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

GOVERNMENT IN BUSINESS

PROMISE

“WE ADVOCATE The removal of government from all fields of private enterprise except where necessary to develop public works and natural resources in the common interest.”

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM 1932

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

GOVERNMENT IN BUSINESS

PERFORMANCE

THE FOLLOWING are some of the GOVERNMENT AGENCIES, created since March 4, 1933, WHICH COMPETE WITH PRIVATE ENTERPRISE:

Federal Housing Administration
Home Owners' Loan Corporation
Alley Dwelling Authority
Subsistence Homesteads Corporation
Resettlement Administration
Rural Electrification Administration
Electric Home and Farm Authority
First Export-Import Bank of Washington
Second Export-Import Bank of Washington
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation
Tennessee Valley Associated Cooperatives, Inc.
Central Bank for Cooperatives
District Banks (12) for Cooperatives
Production Credit Corporations (12)
Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation
Federal Credit Union System
Commodity Credit Corporation
Virgin Islands Co.

LOANS OUTSTANDING
MARCH 31, 1936

GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS AND LENDING AGENCIES \$8,317,000,000

(Federal Reserve Bulletin, May, 1936)

RECOVERY

ECONOMIC PLANNING

PROMISE

“YES, we are on the way back—not by mere chance; not by a turn of the cycle. We are coming back more soundly than ever before because we planned it that way, and don’t let anybody tell you differently.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Charleston, S. C.,
October 23, 1935*

RECOVERY

ECONOMIC PLANNING

PERFORMANCE

THE PRICE

FROM March 4, 1933 to May 15, 1936:

Roosevelt Expenditures \$25,068,000,000

Increase in National Debt 12,842,000,000

(Daily Statement of the Treasury)

THE RESULTS

THE American Federation of Labor reported 12,184,000 still unemployed in March, 1936.

THE President reported 5,300,000 families and individuals still on relief in March, 1936 in contrast to 3,908,000 in July, 1933.

(The President's Message to Congress, March 18, 1936, F. E. R. A. Report)

THE United States ranks thirteenth in recovery among the leading nations of the world as measured by Industrial Production:

COUNTRY	PERCENTAGE CHANGE 1929 TO MARCH 1936
1. Japan	+50.5
2. Finland	+30.0
3. Chile	+25.1
4. Estonia	+20.3
5. Hungary	+17.7*
6. United Kingdom	+14.7*
7. Norway	+11.4
8. Germany	- 2.2
9. Spain	-12.6**
10. Austria	-17.1
11. Canada	-18.3
12. Belgium	-19.4
13. UNITED STATES	- 21.8
14. Czechoslovakia	-24.8
15. France	-27.6
16. Netherlands	-30.2
17. Poland	-32.2

(League of Nations MONTHLY BULLETIN OF STATISTICS, June, 1936)

*(Covers 1st quarter of 1936)

**Feb. 1936

RECOVERY

NEW CAPITAL

PROMISE

“IF THE COUNTRY is to flourish, capital
must be invested in enterprise.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *statement upon
signing the Securities Act, May 27, 1933*

RECOVERY

NEW CAPITAL

PERFORMANCE

NEW CAPITAL made available for investment in productive enterprise through the security markets amounted to \$348,000,000 in 1935. This was less than 1/10th of the volume in 1929 and 1/9th of the volume in 1927.

IN GREAT BRITAIN in 1935 new capital floated in the security markets for domestic purposes was nearly as great as in 1929.

NEW CAPITAL ISSUES

STOCKS AND BONDS representing new capital invested, excluding governmental borrowings and refundings:

	UNITED STATES	GREAT BRITAIN
1927	\$3,201,000,000	\$710,509,000
1928	3,062,000,000	983,033,000
1929	3,668,000,000	759,174,000
1930	3,039,000,000	394,186,500
1931	1,006,000,000	155,728,000
1932	321,000,000	248,191,500
1933	177,000,000	296,856,500
1934	356,000,000	350,388,000
1935	348,000,000	666,710,500

(Standard Statistics Co., "New Money for Operating and Producing")

(Midland Bank, London, "New Issues for British Companies," converted from £ to \$ at \$4.8665)

EMPLOYMENT, greatly dependent upon capital investments, has also recovered more rapidly in Great Britain than in the United States:

	UNITED STATES	GREAT BRITAIN
Unemployed 1930 (Average)	4,770,000	1,993,951
" Feb. 1936	12,550,000	2,016,578
PER CENT INCREASE:	163%	1.1%

(American Federation of Labor)

(League of Nations, Bulletin of Statistics)

RECOVERY

BANK CREDIT

PROMISE

“COMMERCIAL CREDIT has continually contracted and is contracting now.

“The truth is that our banks are financing these stupendous (Government) deficits and that the burden is absorbing their resources. All this is highly undesirable and wholly unnecessary. It arises from one cause only, and that is the unbalanced budget

“OUR FEDERAL EXTRAVAGANCE and improvidence bears a double evil: First, our people and our business can not carry its excessive burdens of taxation; second, our credit structure is impaired by the unorthodox Federal financing made necessary by the unprecedented magnitude of its deficits. . . . Instead of financing the billion dollar deficit of 1931 in the regular way, our government simply absorbed that much of the lending capacity of banks, and, by so much, impaired the credit available for business.

“In that year the amount of government obligations held by our banks increased by a little more than one billion dollars.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, *Pittsburgh, October 19, 1932*

RECOVERY

BANK CREDIT

PERFORMANCE

DURING THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION banks have increased their holdings of U. S. Government securities by approximately \$6,500,000,000, but their loans have fallen by nearly \$2,000,000,000:

POSITION OF ALL ACTIVE BANKS

	TOTAL LOANS AND DISCOUNTS	HOLDINGS OF U. S. GOVERNMENT OBLIGATIONS
June 30, 1932	\$28,090,000,000	\$ 6,456,000,000
June 30, 1933	22,388,000,000	7,796,000,000
June 30, 1934	21,431,158,000	11,663,000,000
June 30, 1935	20,419,000,000	14,284,000,000

PERCENTAGE CHANGE
FROM 1933 TO 1935

8.8% DECREASE

83.2% INCREASE

(Annual Reports, Comptroller of Currency)

SENATOR CARTER GLASS, of Virginia, Secretary of the Treasury under President Wilson, and co-Author of the Federal Reserve Act, on February 21, 1935, said:

“THE EXISTING OUTSTANDING INDEBTEDNESS of the United States is approximately \$28,000,000,000. Listen, Senators: Of that amount \$15,364,000,000 is piled up in the banking institutions of the country. **SOME OF THE BANKS HAVE AS MUCH AS 60 PER CENT OF THEIR ENTIRE ASSETS INVESTED IN GOVERNMENT SECURITIES.** They are prohibited, were there the demand, from coming to the aid of business activity. They hold 55 per cent of Government securities in the banks of the United States as against but 11 per cent of Great Britain's indebtedness held in the banks of Great Britain—55 per cent as against 11 per cent!

“THE BANKS have been brought to a state in which they are literally obliged to take Treasury issues whether they want them or not.

“THEY ARE COMPELLED to take them in order to maintain the bond market of the United States, because it has been represented to me by competent authorities that a depreciation of 10 per cent in Government bonds would render insolvent 90 per cent of the banks of this country.”

(Congressional Record, 74th Congress, First Session, Vol. 4, page 2475)

CONSTITUTION

STATE RIGHTS

PROMISE

“THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION has proven itself the most marvelously elastic compilation of rules of Government ever written It was clear to the framers of our Constitution that the greatest possible liberty of self-government must be given to each State, and that any national administration attempting to make all laws for the whole Nation . . . would inevitably result at some future time in a dissolution of the Union itself.

“NOW TO BRING ABOUT government by oligarchy, masquerading as democracy, it is fundamentally essential that practically all authority and control be centralized in our national government. The individual sovereignty of our States must first be destroyed We are safe from the danger of any such departure from the principles on which this country was founded just so long as the individual home rule of the States is scrupulously preserved and fought for whenever they seem in danger.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT *as Governor of the State of New York, Radio Address, March 2, 1930*

CONSTITUTION

STATE RIGHTS

PERFORMANCE

“IF THE COMMERCE CLAUSE were construed to reach all enterprises and transactions which could be said to have an indirect effect upon interstate commerce, the Federal authority would embrace practically all the activities of the people and THE AUTHORITY OF THE STATE OVER ITS DOMESTIC CONCERNS WOULD EXIST ONLY BY SUFFERANCE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.”

SUPREME COURT DECISION declaring National Industrial Recovery Act unconstitutional, May 27, 1935

“THIS ACT INVADES THE RESERVED RIGHTS OF THE STATES. It is a statutory plan to regulate and control agricultural production, a matter beyond the powers delegated to the Federal Government . . .”

SUPREME COURT DECISION declaring Agricultural Adjustment Act unconstitutional, January 6, 1936

“STATE POWERS CAN NEITHER BE APPROPRIATED ON THE ONE HAND NOR ABDICATED ON THE OTHER . . . Every journey to a forbidden land begins with the first step; and the danger of such a step by the Federal government in the direction of taking over the powers of the states is that the end of the journey may find the states so despoiled of their powers . . . as to reduce them to little more than geographical subdivisions of the national domain.”

SUPREME COURT DECISION declaring the Guffey Coal Act unconstitutional, May 18, 1936

CONSTITUTION

THE OATH OF OFFICE

PROMISE

“I, FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

OATH OF OFFICE, *March 4, 1933*

CONSTITUTION

THE OATH OF OFFICE

PERFORMANCE

THE FOLLOWING executive and legislative acts during the Roosevelt Administration have been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court:

- 1• Oil Control Sections of NIRA, January 7, 1935.
- 2• Joint Resolution of Congress invalidating the Gold clause in existing Government bonds, February 18, 1935.
- 3• Railroad Pension Act, May 6, 1935.
- 4• National Industrial Recovery Act, May 27, 1935.
- 5• Frazier-Lemke Farm Mortgage Moratorium Act, May 27, 1935.
- 6• Removal of Federal Trade Commissioner Humphrey by President Roosevelt, May 27, 1935.
- 7• Agricultural Adjustment Act, January 6, 1936.
(On February 10, 1936, to avoid unfavorable decisions by the Supreme Court, Congress repealed the Bankhead Cotton Control Act, Kerr Tobacco Control Act, and the Potato Control Act.)
- 8• Guffey Coal Act, May 18, 1936.
(This Act, equivalent to NRA for the coal industry, was signed by the President 94 days after NRA had been declared unconstitutional.)
- 9• Municipal Corporation Bankruptcy Law, May 25, 1936.

“(THE PRESIDENT) said that the country was in the ‘horse and buggy’ stage when the Constitution was written. . . . He then went on to state, without qualification, that if the implications of the Court decision were carried to their logical conclusion they would strip the government of most of their powers.”

PRESS REPORT of so-called “Horse and buggy” interview of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the President, following NRA decision, May 31, 1935

“I HOPE YOUR COMMITTEE WILL NOT PERMIT DOUBTS AS TO CONSTITUTIONALITY, HOWEVER REASONABLE, TO BLOCK THE SUGGESTED LEGISLATION.”

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, the President, in letter to Representative Samuel B. Hill, regarding the Guffey Coal Bill, July 5, 1935

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Photo by Toloff, Evanston, Ill.

The Author



Revolutionary Communist parades, like this one in Chicago, are growing in size and number and take place frequently in the principal American cities, with a total of hundreds of thousands of America's Red enemies participating.

THE ROOSEVELT RED RECORD AND ITS BACKGROUND

Walter Bryant
1936

by

ELIZABETH DILLING

(Mrs. Albert W. Dilling)

Author of "The Red Network"



Published by the Author

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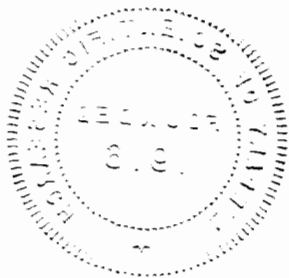


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"Let us speak plain; there is more force in names
Than most men dream of; and a lie may keep
Its throne a whole age longer if it skulk
Behind the shield of some fair-seeming name.
Let us call tyrants tyrants, and maintain
That only freedom comes by grace of God,
And all that comes not by His grace must fall."

—James Russell Lowell.

WHAT IS YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD ROOSEVELT?

Admiring and Uninformed?

Attitudes toward President Roosevelt fall largely into four classes:

1. The attitude of the "man in the street", who knows, thinks, and cares less about the international conspiracies of Marxian Communism-Socialism than he does about Greek syntax. He accepts the President at his face value, admires his winning smile, splendid voice, confident delivery, and assuring promises, and trusts that his extraordinary expenditures are just what the Country needs to carry it toward renewed prosperity, in fact, toward some sort of new Utopia where the reign of perfect "social justice" will bring new life to the "forgotten man".

Any features of the New Deal to which he objects he blames on the "crack-brained brain-trusters" surrounding the President, but objects to having any blame or responsibility attached to the President himself for appointing these "brain-trusters" and choosing close personal association with them. Though supposedly outwitted, outmanouvered, and taken in by these Reds, the President remains, in his opinion, a strong dependable leader of sound judgment.

He regards any adverse criticism of Roosevelt, as Roosevelt himself has described it, as the malicious emanations of "representatives of entrenched greed," personifying the spirit of human wolves who tremble to tear the raw flesh from the bones of the poor and grin while licking the blood dripping from their chops—but are prevented from doing so only by the intervention of a Messiah President, copy-righter of humanitarianism, altruism, and "social justice". Naturally, the "man in the street" loves the "Messiah" and loathes the "wolfish" opposition.

Admiring or Critical Because Leftist?

2. The attitude of the radical, who understands exactly what the President is doing and who either praises him or "smokescreens" for him because he has achieved more of the revolutionary Socialist program in a few months than all of the American Reds combined have in years, or else assails him because he does not go all the way at once, hoist the Red flag over the White House, and proclaim a Soviet America. The latter follow the "leftist line" of the Communist Party and their close associates, although at the Comintern (Communist International) Congress in Moscow, Aug. 15th, 1935, Dimitroff, Secretary of the Communist International, urged support of Roosevelt as against his opponents.

The Socialist-controlled A. F. of L. unions (the United Textile Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, etc.), have now formed a "Labor's Non-Partisan League" to work for the reelection of Roosevelt, hinting that this bloc is to become the nucleus of the Farmer-Labor Party advocated by the Communist Party and the Communist International as a united Red Front to elect radical candidates to office preparatory

to complete Socialist seizure of power. Spain and France already have such "Red Fronts".

After the pro-Roosevelt announcement by the Red unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., William Green, A. F. of L. President, announced in opposition that the A. F. of L. should maintain its non-political tradition. But so strong was the pressure that he was forced to reverse himself only a few days later and publicly announce (5/6/36) that the A. F. of L. should work for the reelection of Roosevelt.

Critical Because Partly Informed?

3. The attitude of the person who understands enough about what Roosevelt is doing to see its destructive and un-American trend. He knows that the petty revenge and vindictiveness, the "cracking down" on opponents, the spying, snooping, intimidating of opponents, of the Roosevelt "New Deal", is "new" in America but very old in countries under the iron heel of tyranny. He does not relish the jailing of a poor pants presser because he dared sell his services at a price satisfactory to himself and his customer. He does not like to think of having to pay a \$1,000 fine and being jailed a year for buying or selling potatoes without the permission of a Soviet-minded Commissar he did not even elect to office. He objects to being taxed to provide funds to harass patriotic organizations, as the Black Committee is doing, solely because they oppose the "New Deal".

No Free Speech for Opponents

He is disagreeably reminded of those Emperors of old who did not allow their vanity to be offended with impunity, when he learns that the U. S. Marine Band was ordered to pack up its instruments and walk out, the Navy speakers were forbidden to speak, and the Navy chaplain even forbidden to pray, for the Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, a brilliant gathering in Washington, D. C., January 1936, representing the leading patriotic groups of the United States, to punish the ladies for listening to Hon. Bainbridge Colby tell them what the U. S. Supreme Court has told the whole world, namely, that the legislation pushed by the Roosevelt Administration is unconstitutional.

Presumably, the ladies might have "beaten up" Mr. Colby in order to retain the good graces of the President and the services of his (?) Army and Navy.

This opponent of Roosevelt treasures and wishes to preserve the liberty and opportunity for individual achievement protected by the American Constitution, which has lured the whole world to the gates of America. He knows something of the universal failure of Socialism in practice and believes that the unprecedented American record of advancement for all must be carried into the future under the American system, which allows the individual to work for profit, instead of under "planned" compulsion.

Poor or rich, he objects to being "planned" for, nursed, bullied, coddled, or "uplifted" by political "planners". He has helped local

sufferers in the past and considers his own heart as humane as any politician's and his own judgment concerning his own business affairs better than that of any remote political "brain-truster".

"Entrenched Greed"

He is willing to be taxed to provide food for the hungry, but he is unwilling to have his wages and property taxed away to support armies of political bureaucrats and their hangers-on and to provide recreational facilities such as amateurish art daubing, silly theatricals, tap dancing, etc., to multitudes whom he thinks have an easier time thus "boondoggling" than he has working to support them. For these ideas, President Roosevelt dubs him one of the wolf-pack "representatives of entrenched greed".

Fully Informed?

4. The attitude of the patriotic student of the world Marxian revolutionary movement, who sees in the Roosevelt regime a deliberate, comprehensive plan to change the American form of government to a Red dictatorship. He sees that the persons placed in power by Roosevelt are Red revolutionaries, that, soon after the New Deal achieved power, the mechanism for a Soviet America was provided in the Emergency Leasing Corporation (I have a certified copy of its incorporation papers) and other similar corporations, incorporated under the laws of the State of Delaware as secretly as possible by Secretary Ickes and his immediate subordinates. While not put into operation since their exposure, these corporations provide for the use of Government funds to buy, lease, manage, operate, and take over every sort of American property and business.

Also, a reading of sections and details of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration Act is like reading the set-up for a new Soviet Russia. The thoroughness and audacity of dictatorial provisions along these lines make one gasp. Socialist legislation in defiance of the American Constitution has been pushed by Roosevelt since the day he took office.

Socialism by Stealth

In order to make socialistic legislation abolishing the private property right, the essence of Communism-Socialism, stick, the Supreme Court has to declare it constitutional, which it is not, or the Constitution must be amended. The New Dealers hoped that their cry of "Emergency" would influence the Supreme Court to declare their socialistic legislation constitutional. Justices Brandeis, Cardozo, and Stone could be depended upon to have radical sympathies, and Chief Justice Hughes and Justice Roberts had also voted that way at times. The favorable "Gold Clause Decision" gave New Deal Socialists courage. But when, to their surprise, the N.R.A. was knocked out by a unanimous decision, President Roosevelt referred sneeringly to the Constitution he had sworn to uphold and defend as a relic of "horse and buggy days".

The Constitution itself provides that it may be amended by a vote of the people. But, as the people, in voting, have always turned down the Socialist Party program, they would be unlikely, in the opinion of the New Dealers, to vote for an amendment to authorize Socialism. So Socialism by stealth and subterfuge, covered by the cry of emergency, was attempted.

Plans for the Future

There are two other ways that may yet be tried. One is to get a radical majority in the Supreme Court by waiting until death claims some of the patriotic conservative Justices, replacing them with radicals. The other is to force Congress to increase the number of Supreme Court Justices and appoint additional radicals. Since the number of Supreme Court Justices is not fixed, the President, acting on precedent, could, if he dared, do this. If Roosevelt is reelected, it is probable that his reelection will be proclaimed a "mandate" to carry out his policies and to take such steps as are necessary to reverse past decisions of the Supreme Court which have hampered his program.

Disarming Resisters

But if such methods are avoided or thwarted, other programs under way may culminate in the same end by different means. If Government ownership of munitions, for example, is achieved, as Mrs. Roosevelt and all the radicals, including the Nye "investigators," intend, opponents of a Red Roosevelt dictatorship will be as disarmed and helpless as are the Russians.

Taxation and Revolution

By confiscatory taxation, by continued attacks upon private business men and private business, by using tax funds (as at present) to train an army of radical agitators and to spread radical propaganda, class hate, and unrest, by grasping ever-increasing control over communications—telephone and telegraph lines, the radio, and the railroads, by loaning large sums on business establishments and homes, which cannot be repaid in the face of mounting taxation with resultant forfeiture to Government ownership, by hastening inflation or repudiation of currency through seemingly foolish squandering of funds (which is not foolish if Socialism is the objective and the Socialist destruction of private property rights and ownership the aim), the way is now being paved for that ripe moment eagerly anticipated by all revolutionists, when, after a false inflationary boom to reelect the Roosevelt regime, lasting until his legislative program is put over, would come sudden economic collapse, ruined currency, debt, despair, confusion, paralysis, and a willingness to take any way out of the dilemma.

Then the signal would be given waiting revolutionaries crying "Capitalism has failed" to start rioting and violence on a huge scale. Preparation for this moment is going on all over the United States with the full knowledge, support and encouragement of the Roosevelt regime. Such a debacle would give Roosevelt, or some other affiliated

radical executive, the excuse to proclaim that in order to avoid Communist violence "emergency measures" must be taken and to snap the handcuffs on the wrists of American Constitutional liberty, setting up a communistic dictatorship, perhaps under some more pleasing name. If Roosevelt, as Soviet officials have claimed very recently, IS only the Kerensky of the "Roosevelt revolution", as his followers fondly call it, perhaps a stronger man would take his place.

Why Does Roosevelt Do This?

It is my personal surmise that Roosevelt is merely an ambitious rich man's son, eager for honors and dictatorial power and flattered with the idea that his "reign" is a beneficent one, and that he has been promised enjoyment of the Presidential plum and still more power if he continues to "behave." If he but takes the time to smile for publicity cameras, and to deliver some prepared radio speeches in a warm fireside manner, the Red ruling clique running him and the Government with his full approval and cooperation are well satisfied. The program goes on with or without him. Whatever he says now or has said in the past can be reversed at the will of the powers-behind-the-smile. Meanwhile, he has time and leisure such as only retired plutocrats usually have to fish, cruise on millionaire's yachts, and vacation constantly.

Roosevelt Is But the Fruit of a Movement

A study of the personnel and program of the radical Conference for Progressive Political Action, that group of Bolshevik-minded men who have been working effectively for years to socialize America by legislation and propaganda and who are backing President Roosevelt, whether they label themselves for convenience "New Deal Democrats" or "Progressive Republicans"; a study of the program of the Communist Manifesto, the "Bible" of Communism-Socialism, and its rules for communizing a State, written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1848; a study of the Socialist and Communist Party platforms compared with New Deal legislation and achievements; a study of the Red affiliations of Mrs. Roosevelt and of the New Deal appointees of the President; a study of the use of Government funds for the purpose of aiding the Red cause and stifling opposition—these studies will convince any intelligent person that America is facing a crisis in its history.

Not a Question of Party

Those Red forces which secured the nomination and election of Roosevelt are determined to capture the Republican Party as they did the Democratic Party and elect a Congress of "Republicans" and "Democrats" whom they can control, under the guise of "liberalism" or "progressivism". Their success or failure will depend upon the enlightenment and opposition of the people. Many forces oppose the real enlightenment of the people. The Red network extends into both Parties, into high places, embarrassing to newspapers, organizations, and individuals having dealings with highly-placed radicals.

There are few who dare to go all the way and tell the whole truth.

Then there are four billion, eight hundred million dollars to reckon with. Many will pocket principle along with an immediate salary.

There is the egotism, apathy, and indifference of ignorance. There is the belief in a Party label, regardless of the "contents of the bottle". There is the selfish desire to remain undisturbed by disagreeable realities; it is more comfortable to ignore annoying truths.

"Patrick Henrys" Needed

But there is also fine unawakened patriotic fire and self-sacrifice latent in America, in the awakening of which lies our only hope of preserving Americanism. There is many a "Patrick Henry", now sleeping, who, when fully aware of the facts, will make his voice heard. The question is: Will it be too late, will the "Red Front", now advancing, capture America as it has Russia, Spain, Mexico and France? All of these countries are being controlled by small but determined Red minorities.

AMERICA'S LEADERS HELP RED CAUSE

Red Promises in Russia

Before the revolution which changed Russia into the U.S.S.R., Union of Soviet **Socialist** Republics, the great promising slogan that won over the people was, "Peace, Bread, and Land to the Peasants!" This sounded so fine to the war-weary, land-hungry peasantry that they obligingly did as they were told, shot their army officers, blew up ammunition, sacked the homes of the wealthy, and returned from the front to put into power the few Communist "promisers" of this Utopia.

Recently, I read in the "Questions and Answers" column of a Communist magazine the question whether or not it was correct for the Bolsheviks to have put forward, as the slogan of the Russian revolution, "Land to the Peasants", when they knew that **all** land would be nationalized. The answer was that this was **correct**; that we must aid the revolution at all times by any possible means; that the Bolsheviks had no "illusions" about the land but had to "take the peasant as they found him" and appeal to him with "**transitional slogans**". In other words, they had to lie to the people to get into power.

What Actually Happened in Russia

In the nineteen years since the Russian revolution, the peasants have had, instead of "Peace, Bread, and Land", poorer food than they ever had before and than those on the dole in capitalistic lands have today, and in addition two of the greatest famines in modern history, the last, recent one being a man-made Soviet Government famine for the "liquidation" of opponents in the Ukraine.

Instead of "peace", they have had the unabating threefold war
(1) Against God and family; (2) Against each other in civil or

"class" war; (3) Against the whole world and its governments, which, they are told, they must "Socialize" by revolution through the instrumentality of the Soviet-Government-supported Communist Parties of the world (the Communist International, or "Comintern"), before their own revolution will be complete and successful.

Instead of having "land" of their own, the peasants have been deprived both of those farms and lands they already owned and of the right to own any, and "collectivized" on penitentiary-like State farms under shotgun persuasion.

Even the new aristocracy, those million and a half Communist Party members who hold down 160,000,000 Russians, have no peace. They spy not only upon the people but upon each other. Frequent Party "purges" are held, in which thousands, even a million, of the members may be ousted. They have the constant dread that they themselves may be suspected of not exactly following the "line" laid down by the Party, which is, in fact, the ten-man "Polit-Bureau" of Joseph Stalin which also governs the Comintern and runs the Soviet Government; for some careless remark may cause them to be denounced by a jealous or ambitious fellow Party member to the fate of a Trotsky, or worse.

Would those millions of peasants who have died in the great Red famines, who have been exiled to Siberia to freeze and die under the most brutal conditions known to the modern world, those Christians who now see their churches turned into stables, atheist theatres and anti-religious museums and their children trained in contempt for God and for parental affection and authority—would those millions have aided the revolution or failed to resist it in time, had they foreseen their fate? Will America, too, sleep and be enchained by Utopian promises?

Chamberlin, Disillusioned Correspondent

Wm. Henry Chamberlin, following a residence of ten years in Russia as newspaper correspondent, after his return, expressed in "Controversy" (Dec. 1935) his irritation at those who, while posing as non-communist "liberals", denounced (as he had) the execution of Anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti and the imprisonment of Anarchist-Communist Tom Mooney, and rail against fascism in Germany and Italy, while condoning the immeasurably greater cruelties of the Communist Soviets.

He says he was shocked at the indifference of these same "liberals" "when 48 Russian intellectuals were slaughtered in the autumn of 1930 by the O.G.P.U. without trial, even an unjust one" and their actual justification of "the shooting of 117 persons without any kind of an open trial after the mysterious assassination of one of Stalin's chief lieutenants, Sergei Kirov" (late in 1934).

He, like the Ukrainians whom I know who have relatives in Russia, lays the responsibility for the Russian famine of 1932-33 squarely on the doorstep of the Soviet dictators. Causes of the famine, originally, were threefold, he says: "unfavorable climatic conditions, ruth-

less requisitions which for several years had stripped the villages of all food reserves, and a mood of apathetic hopelessness among the peasants, which led them in some cases to neglect the cultivation of the fields.

Results of "The Great Experiment"

"The Soviet Government decided to treat the inevitable consequences of its own rash and merciless agrarian policies as peasant 'sabotage'. It carried out food requisitions as energetically as usual in the hungry regions and let millions starve to death."

This act could not have been carried out in a Democratic country, he points out, where the newspapers could have printed descriptions of the famine and where elected representatives from the Ukraine and Caucasus, where the famine centered, could have protested.

As he states, one need not depend upon personal accounts to ascertain the truth about Soviet repressive policies.

The texts of these decrees are published in the official Soviet press. I myself, read in the Moscow News of the edict of Aug. 7, 1932, which decreed the death penalty for theft of state property, which, as he says, in the Soviet Union means almost all property. Women were shot for hiding a few grains of wheat from their collective fields in their aprons. He mentions also the decree of June 10, 1934, "which makes innocent relatives hostages for Soviet citizens who flee from the country" and "the enactment of Nov. 1932, which punishes a single day's absence from work with dismissal and deprivation of food card and factory living quarters."

Mass Production of "Political Prisoners"

"A Soviet official communique is authority for the statement that 71,000 prisoners received partial or complete amnesty after the completion of the Baltic-White Sea Canal. This figure exceeds by many times the number of political prisoners in Italy and probably is far in excess of the numbers of individuals ever confined in German concentration camps. And it refers to part of the inmates of one of Russia's numerous hard labor concentration camps."

Morris Gordin, Disillusioned Communist

I recently became well acquainted with Mr. Morris Gordin, an idealistic Russian-born Jew who came to Chicago years ago and was a protege in radicalism of Jane Addams' Hull House. (His statement that no one could get far in the Red movement without the approval of the Hull House group supports my own impressions from research.) From Hull House, he was sent to live at the home of a University of Chicago professor whose heiress wife was supplying \$1,000 a week to Red strikers, for further tutelage. He organized for the pro-Soviet Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union under Sidney Hillman, now of Roosevelt's National Labor Board (see pages 104 and 290 of "The Red Network"), and left from the Communist Party of Chicago to go to Russia, where he acted as Press Commissar of the Comintern and as a Party leader in the Ukraine. He completely

lost his illusions concerning Communism over there and escaped a number of years ago. Recently, he completed his second anti-Communist book, became a Christian, and is studying at Moody Bible Institute in order to be able intelligently to oppose the Communists in their plans for capturing the Church, in which plans they are making remarkable headway.

He said, "We have a saying in Russia, 'A fish stinks from the head'. Here in America, one finds much the same situation that we had in Russia before the revolution. We had a millionaire, Rosov, head of the textile industry, who was supporting the Communists regularly. He had to commit suicide after the revolution. Communist propaganda was coming from the universities, from part of royalty even. It came from the 'head'. Here, the same rotten propaganda is coming from heads of universities, from the professors, from some of the churches, even from the White House."

Foundations Aid Communism

As he knows, we have the millionaire Carnegie Foundation modernizing the plant for communistic Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas, and subsidizing a great range of radical-pacifist propaganda agencies favored by the Reds. There is no greater center of radicalism than Columbia University, which is headed by Nicholas Murray Butler of the Carnegie Peace Foundation. There, many New Deal "brain-trusters" have been nurtured. We see the Russell Sage Foundation supporting socialistic Survey Associates, of which Mrs. Roosevelt is a member, and red Mary Van Kleeck, active on Communist platforms and fellow author with the secretary of the Communist Party of a Communist pamphlet, who uses the Foundation rooms for Red meetings. We see the capitalistic Rosenwald Foundation, headed by Edwin R. Embree (member of the committee which organized the communist Am. Lg. Against War and Fascism Chgo. br.), appropriating huge sums for "furthering socialized medicine" (Chicago Daily News, 5/20/35), while the Rosenwald family donated \$10,000 as an extra gift to the University of Chicago with words of commendation for its policies, after the Illinois Legislative investigation had aired its radicalism.

Edward A. Filene and His "Twentieth Century Fund"

We see the Boston millionaire, Edward A. Filene, "angel" of the unconstitutional socialistic N.R.A. until Congress appropriated funds for it, now setting aside \$1,000,000 for socialistic cooperative stores, organized as the Consumers' Distributor Corporation. "Within ten years the stores are to take over the corporation." (From eulogy in the communist People's Press, 2/8/36.) These stores are to compete with private business. His "Twentieth Century Fund", financed by the millions he earned under the American capitalistic system, is managed by a board of eleven persons, seven of whom have Red records listed in "The Red Network".

When Filene became ill in Moscow at the time the Comintern (Communist International) was in session there, two Kremlin doctors and two Kremlin nurses, together with the medical director of the Soviet Government travel agency, were sent by the Soviet Government to attend him. Although oranges and lemons needed for him could not be procured in the Soviet "paradise" capital and had to be rushed by plane from "benighted" Berlin (I.N.S. 8/10/35), yet, on his return Filene praised Russia saying, "Other nations should be thankful to Russia for making the gigantic experiment she has undertaken", and that Russia is the only country governed by fact finding research (A.P. 10/17/35). He had announced his support of Communist-Socialist Upton Sinclair and is credited with having selected two out of three members of Roosevelt's Labor Relations Board, Edwin S. Smith (Labor Commissioner of Massachusetts and formerly employment manager of Filene's department store) and Lloyd Garrison (of the University of Wisconsin, which is headed by Filene's protege, Glenn Frank).

Rockefeller Millions

We note the pernicious use of Rockefeller funds, under the inspiration, possibly, of their pro-Soviet "Christian Socialist" minister, Harry Emerson Fosdick, who agitates himself in behalf of Communist causes such as the Scottsboro and Herndon cases and the case of dynamiter Mooney, whom he craves to have set free, although Mooney himself states that if liberated he would aid Communist revolution in the United States (see "The Red Network", page 199, for Mooney's letter to Stalin).

Rockefeller millions are spent to support the University of Chicago, where the principal Negro and white Communist Party agitators preach their revolutionary doctrines in University halls, in defiance of the Illinois Sedition Law, sponsored by University authorities and professors with the approval of President Hutchins, who is himself a board member of the communist State University of Moscow summer school, recruiting American college students to go over to Russia to be trained in Communism by Soviet experts. Atheism (Philosophy of Dialectical Materialism) was the first course of the day scheduled for the summer of 1935 (its third year).

When the Hearst newspapers raised a fuss from coast to coast over this seditious venture, 200 U. S. students arrived in Moscow to be told without further explanation from Soviet officials that the summer school would not be held. Among its notorious Soviet teachers in 1934 were Karl Radek, Gregory Skolnikov, and Prof. Mirsky. Roosevelt's "Ambassador William C. Bullitt will address the opening session of the school", the newspapers announced (A.P. 8/20/34).

Swift Aid

The Swift packing company sent out a well-justified plea to investors to protest socialistic New Deal legislation threatening the packing industry; but when one glances at the list of financial sup-

porters of Abraham Lincoln Center, where the Chicago Communist theatre players are trained and where Communist congresses and organization meetings are listed by the director as part of the official activities of the center, one sees that many of the members of the Swift family are listed as contributors. Curtis Reese, the director, has a militant Red record. The president of the board, William H. Holly, Roosevelt appointee to the Federal Bench, is a founder of the Chicago branch of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union and served as chairman of the communist All-America Anti-Imperialist League, Chicago branch, etc., etc. (See "The Red Network").

Harold Swift, vice president and director of the very company sending out the plea, very dapper, very self-assured, with flower poised decoratively in the lapel of his pretty light suit, testified proudly at the University of Chicago Legislative Hearings about the length of time he had served as president of the board of trustees of the University of Chicago, how thoroughly he knew the students, professors and policies, and how proud he was of what was going on there. He is a member of several radical organizations.

I looked at this rich man's son, so pleased with himself, so conscious of the admirable impression he was making on the hearing room packed with U. of C. radicals, who later applauded the Communist "Internationale" as loudly as they had him, and I thought of a pre-election meeting of the Communist Party at the Chicago Coliseum, which I had attended, where a forthright soap-box Party agitator harangued about the "rotten rich," mentioning by name the Swifts, Silas Strawn, and others, and saying that after the revolution the "workers" would "take care of" them. I thought also of the communist Daily Worker article along the same line which irately listed Harold Swift's own salary, to stir the jealousy of the Reds and incite them to end such "injustice".

More Capitalistic Help

We read in the society columns about millionaire industrialists like Vincent Bendix convoying about and entertaining in their homes and on their yachts, Communist Soviet officials, foolishly aiding their own and their country's bitterest foes for the sake of a few dollars profit. A Communist Commissar once said, "Capitalists will commit suicide for the sake of temporary profit."

Kate Crane Gartz, of the wealthy plumbing family, is one of the financial backers of the Communist movement. One Communist training school for agitators acknowledged in its catalogue that its sessions would have been impossible but for her money.

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company

We see capitalistic concerns like the American Telephone and Telegraph Company subsidizing such advocates of revolutionary Socialism as "The Nation", weekly magazine, and socialistic "Survey Graphic" with full-page advertisements, while excellent, interesting,

patriotic, anti-Red publications like the "National Republic" (511-11th St., N. W., Wash., D. C.) and "The Awakener" (110 W. 42nd St., New York City) "starve" for lack of support. I wrote long ago to the president of the Am. Tel. and Tel. Co., Walter S. Gifford, asking why he followed such a policy. The reply, a short and snooty one, came from his advertising manager, to the effect that they considered such publications a good medium.

Walter S. Gifford, of course, may have acquired kinked ideas during his residence at Hull House. He was a member of the honorary committee for the 20th anniversary celebration of the communist-Garland-Fund-supported Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, held in Washington May 3rd, 1935, Mrs. Harold Ickes being chairman of the arrangements committee, at which Jane Addams, its founder, who had long been accepting Red "class war" money as a "peace" advocate, was eulogized by Reds over an international radio hook-up. Socialist Arthur Henderson spoke from London, Lenin's widow, Krupskaya, and Litvinoff's wife praised her from Moscow, and Soviet Ambassador Troyanovsky eulogized her from the platform. (Wash. Post. 5/4/35.)

One can only say "Ho-Hum" to read of the current persecuting inquiry being carried on by the socialistic Roosevelt regime against the Am. Tel. and Tel. Co. One's pity is for the 800,000 stockholders, rather than for the management, whom one might say have long "asked for it".

Even the "House of Morgan" Not Immune

The very name of the Wall Street firm of J. Pierpont Morgan is a bull's-eye objective for every Red sling shot. It was ironically amusing when Thomas W. Lamont, Morgan's radical partner, was being pilloried by the radical Nye inquisition on munitions to recall that Lamont himself is a national councilman of the Foreign Policy Association, which has long been known for its constant dissemination of subtle intellectual pro-communistic propaganda for the consumption of eager culture-hounds, who are advised to read Communist books by its bulletins and are cleverly misinformed by propaganda favorable to Russia. Mrs. Lamont, who is a director of the Foreign Policy Association, is a trustee of the very left, pro-Communist New School for Social Research; she was a director when Mrs. Roosevelt was on its board. Their son, Corliss, is national head of the communist Friends of the Soviet Union and is a Communist writer, specializing in atheism. Yet ambitious Nye "razzed" Lamont like an enemy.

Forums

Pursuant to a deliberate policy adopted by the Communist International several years ago, the lecture forums of the U. S. are now largely in the hands of the radicals. While anti-Communist Americanism work, such little as is done, is being strugglingly carried on by valiant poor to middle-class people, one may constantly read in the society columns of the wealthy, socially-prominent persons supporting Town Hall and similar lecture courses, proudly paying huge fees

to Socialist and Communist speakers, in order that they may applaud their would-be destroyers.

The fatuous pose of acquiring "culture" by "hearing both sides" justifies these dilettantes in their own minds for "sipping" revolutionary doctrines as they would a new alcoholic drink. There is a "kick" in it, even though it be a destructive one to themselves. It has become fashionable to pride one's-self on "swamp" broad-mindedness, on an attitude of tolerance toward everything, whether it be moral filth or one's own financial or physical murder.

Rich "Rabble Rousers"

It is rich men like Roosevelt, Ickes, Morgenthau, Vincent Astor, and their clique who seem to play best the Socialist game of raving and ranting against the rich in their race for personal power. While Ickes "denounces coupon clippers" and "calls critics 'the coupon clipping gentry' and the 'Lord Plushbottoms of the club windows'" (I.N.S. 1/3/36) for the applause of the "masses" whom he wishes to follow him, one wonders if the half million dollar estate left him by his wife, recently, is all invested in real estate and not in coupon-bearing securities. His Winnetka, Illinois, estate, well staffed with servants, where he raises prize dahlias, is far more luxurious, individualistic, and capitalistic than a Lord Plushbottom's mere tenancy in a club "collective" could possibly be.

The Guillotine for Americanism As Well As for Wealth

It is scant comfort to the American patriot of modest means who wishes to preserve the American capitalistic or private-ownership system of freedom and opportunity for all, but who cannot match a small part of the flow of millions provided by "suicidal" or ambitious capitalists for Red universities, ministers, and propaganda agencies, to know that it was the Russian and French dilettante aristocrats who similarly aided their revolutions who were first to have their heads lopped off into waiting baskets when the revolutionists came into power.

Like the fish of the Russian adage, it is from the "head" that America reeks. The awakened members of the middle class are so far fighting a losing battle against gutter Marxism financed by cream-puff millionaires. If the so-called "capitalist class" actually withdrew their financial support from Marxism, its foam would collapse into the dirty puddle that it really is.

WHAT IS COMMUNISM—SOCIALISM?

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

Marx and Engels wrote ponderous tomes, awesomely regarded by followers because of their pompous poly-syllabled words and pedantic style, perhaps deliberately obscure. They utilized grains of truth to build up gigantic lies, such as the Theory of Surplus Value, which claims that the laborer is entitled to every cent of the sale price of

the article he produces, allowing nothing for advertising, overhead, or management, and that his employer is an "exploiter" or a thief if he does not give it to him. Their vain attempt to explain man and the entire history of the world as a Godless, unplanned clashing of purely material forces leading to Marxian "dictatorship of the proletariat" indeed required plenty of explaining. As "dialectical materialism", militant atheism, is an integral part of the entire Marxian theory and formula, it is only the ingenue, dupe, or decoy, who talks of "Christian" Marxism. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and the principal Socialist authorities explain this repeatedly in their writings.

Socialism and Atheism

The last words of "Religion in the U.S.S.R." (by E. Yaroslavsky, President of the League of Militant Atheists of the Soviet Union, and put out by the official Soviet publishing house in the U. S., International Publishers, New York) are:

"We are entering the 16th year of the proletarian revolution with great gains to our account in the field of atheism. But these gains are insufficient, our work must be improved, consolidated, expanded, deepened. The banner of militant atheism must be raised still higher. The ranks of militant atheists must be increased to include millions.

"Remember that the struggle against religion is a struggle for Socialism!"

Red Atheism in the U. S. A.

On the preceding page, in discussing the activities of the Communist international atheist movement and its Proletarian Free-Thinkers International, it says:

"The growth of godlessness in the United States, the closing of churches in other countries, are inevitable accompaniments of the decay of capitalism. Of course, in these countries, too, the priests are trying to adapt themselves to the social changes that are taking place. Whenever necessary, they flirt with socialist theories. But the exposure of the role of the church and of religion will proceed at a growing pace in the countries of capitalism and create a mighty army of militant atheists throughout the world." (To fight for the "scarlet colored beast full of names of blasphemy" at Armageddon?)

It is hard to hang on half way down a chute—all gymnastic "Christian-Socialist" Harry Emerson Fosdicks to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Marxian "graduate" turns out to burn and destroy churches, as in Spain, Mexico and Russia, in order to "free mankind from the shackles of superstition".

Abolishing Capitalism

Nonchalantly, Marx and Engels get rid of private property ownership, religion, marriage (a form of "private ownership"), and parental control of children, and the individual is rewarded for this abnegation of liberty and human rights by the assurance that he will be first looting and fighting, then working, for the "cooperative commonwealth", instead of for his own personal gain. "Production for use

and not for profit" is the slogan, whereas production for use and for profit is the essence of capitalism. But clergymen, oblivious of the knowledge of political corruption, grow so rapturous over this cooperative, profitless feature that they are willing to overlook Socialism's determination to exterminate religion and clergymen.

The Marxian Penitentiary System

If the collectivized victim of Marxism is docile, he is to be given a share of the mass employment, housing, recreation and education "planned" for him by "brain trusters". If he is not docile, he must be "cracked down" upon and exterminated as a counter-revolutionary bourgeois lackey of capitalism (good mouth-filling Communist jargon!).

Since penitentiaries have long solved unemployment and operated much the same system without a flood of eager applicants, but rather release their inmates sooner for good behavior, it is difficult to understand the lure which the Communist-Socialist system holds for brash young rioting college youths and wordy egoistic intellectuals who delight most in their liberty to oppose and offend all conventions.

How scathingly do devotees of the Marxian penitentiary system dub those who prefer the liberty of capitalism, with its hazards, opportunities and responsibilities, as "reactionaries", "Tories", "100-per-centers", and "professional patriots", and flatteringly call themselves "modern" and "Progressives", loftily ignoring the historical fact that State dictatorship and ownership are neither modern nor progressive but the oldest and most reactionary system in the world.

The Lure of Socialism

To many, no doubt, the prime lure of Communism-Socialism is the looting and fighting, while to others perhaps it is the secret belief that they will be the Red political bosses under the "new social order", enjoying the sweet sensation of power, controlling other human beings as underlings, "planning" their lives. The Napoleonic emperor complex has always been a part of human nature. With some, it is, no doubt, mistaken altruism.

But nothing irritates an ambitious Socialist more than to have it inferred that he might be seeking power over others for any reason except the altruistic desire to give "abundant life" to the "forgotten man". Yet there is nothing a convict likes better than to become a "forgotten man" to his jailer.

Socialists and the "Profit Motive"

While working to abolish the "profit motive" which they decry, Socialists and Communists do nicely for themselves. Norman Thomas' and Lincoln Steffens' capitalistic holdings, for example, are far from "proletarian". Morris Hillquit, Socialist leader, left a scheduled estate of some \$200,000.00 from his work toward abolishing capitalism. The banking irregularities charged to Seymour Stedman and other Socialists would indicate no obliviousness to the "profit motive" on the part of those preaching against it.

The epitaph on a tombstone in Shakespeare's graveyard applies to the Socialist reformer (of others):

"What faults ye see in me, pray strive to shun.

Look at home! There's something to be done."

The Red rulers of Mexico—Calles, then Cardenas, etc.—who rode to power by so ardently advocating the distribution of the wealth of others, while in power command great estates, luxurious limousines, gambling concessions, and magnificent homes and gardens, some of which I have seen. Stalin has numerous chauffeurs (one was intimate with friends of ours in Moscow), has a fleet of private Packards, Rolls Royces, etc., and lives like an emperor.

One hears nothing about the donation of the Roosevelt estates to the "forgotten man", though the tax measures demanded by Roosevelt would practically confiscate the businesses and estates of others.

Secretary Wallace and the "Profit Motive"

Scripture-quoting Secretary Wallace is one who, like Roosevelt, throbs oratorically for "social justice" and passionately derides "greed", rugged individualism, and the cut-throat competition of the capitalistic "laissez faire" system (Radicals love to use that French phrase meaning "to let do"). He made a failure of his own inherited business, which was sold for a mortgage of \$2,224,742 to the Dante M. Pierce Corporation (Chicago Tribune 12/8/35), after having been guilty of monopolistic greedy trade practices in violation of the anti-trust laws, according to the court decision of 3/27/36.

A fine of \$37,000.00 was imposed. To quote from the Chicago Tribune of 3/28/36:

"Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead, a farm paper of which Henry A. Wallace, secretary of agriculture, is now 'editor on leave of absence', and four other farm journals were ordered yesterday to pay damages of \$37,000.00 for violation of the Sherman anti-trust law."

"The case involved advertising rates charged by the farm paper group during the period from 1928 to 1932. Accusations were made that the farm papers in the combination had acquired a substantial monopoly of the advertising in this type of paper, and that the setup destroyed competition and was an unlawful conspiracy in restraint of trade."

"According to the charges in the pleadings, the defendants, including the Wallace Publishing Company (of which Wallace was the head at the time of the practices complained of), sought to freeze out competitors. It was charged that, beginning in 1928, the defendants offered joint advertising contracts whereby advertisers were given a special low rate if they advertised in all the papers published by the defendants."

Wallace's Counterbalancing Seed Corn

While Wallace insisted that U. S. farmers cut their corn acreage 20% to decrease crop production, his company advertised, at the exorbitant price of \$6.50, \$7.50, and more, a bushel, the "Wallace

Hi-Bred Seed Corn", guaranteed to boost production 20% (Chicago Examiner 2/12/36), thus nullifying, and destroying any possible justification for, the crop reduction order.

Not satisfied with the volume of this profitable business we learn: "**Wallace's Corn Company Seeks to Beat Seasons.**—The Hi-Bred Corn Company of Grimes, Iowa, founded by Secretary of Agriculture Wallace and in which he still retains a family interest, now is striving to beat the seasons. It is embarked on an experiment of growing hybrid corn in the Argentine this winter for the 1936 planting season in Iowa. Attaches of the Hi-Bred farm at Grimes, Iowa, report that word has been received that the experimental planting south of the equator started about November 1, and will be finished by December 1." (Chicago Tribune 11/19/35.)

Control for You

Wallace said, in socialistic vein: "... we must accept some social discipline. . . . Certain controls have been made during the last year and may perhaps be necessary for a number of years." (N. Y. Post 7/5/34, report of his Fourth of July speech at Chautauqua, New York.)

He should have said "**you**" must accept some "social discipline", instead of "**we**."

A Socialist's Definition

Morris Hillquit, late head of the Socialist Party of America, defined Socialism as follows:

"The Socialist program requires the public or collective ownership and operation of the principal instruments and agencies for the production and distribution of wealth—the land, mines, railroads, factories, and modern machinery. This is the main program, and the ultimate aim of the whole Socialist movement and the political creed of all Socialists. It is the unfailing test of Socialist adherence, and admits of no limitation, extension or variation. Whoever accepts this program is a Socialist; whoever does not, is not."

Russia—Socialism in Action

The name of Russia since its socialization is the U. S. S. R.—Union of Soviet **S**ocialist Republics. The words "Communism" and "Socialism" are synonyms. However, in 1919, the Socialist movement split into two main organizational, not creedal, divisions designating themselves as "Socialist" and "Communist", respectively, and for some time they exhibited considerable rivalry toward each other.

Family Rivalry of Red Internationals

The reason for this break was in part the disorganization of the international Socialist movement by the World War, but also largely the triumph of the Russian Socialists, who seized their government and thus gained control over the national money bags with which to help finance World Revolution. Cockily, they then sent out a call from Moscow to the Anarchists, I.W.W.s and Socialists of the world to send delegates to them to form a new international world alliance

of revolutionary parties under their control.

They scornfully pointed out that the Second International, of which Lenin himself had been a member, had gone "yellow" during the war, since many Socialists had gone back on the Socialist creed of fighting their own government and turning its war into Red revolution and, instead, had fought for their government. Among such "yellow" Marxians were many German Socialists. However American Socialists were so "valiantly" seditious that some 1,500 of them had to be imprisoned by the U. S. Government (With Red applause, President Roosevelt restored their citizenship). **The Socialist Party official resolutions** called for such treasonable activities (see N. Y. State Lusk Report).

The Socialist Parties of some countries—the Italian, Norwegian, Swedish-Left, for example, went over en masse to the new leadership, entitled the "Third" or "Communist International" (abbreviated to "Comintern"). The Socialist Parties of other countries, including the United States, split, part of the membership remaining in the Second, or Labor and Socialist International, the rest joining the Third under Moscow control. They are now drawing together again all over the world under national agreements authorized by the Second International.

Debs for Socialist Unity

Eugene V. Debs, nominated as Presidential candidate by the Socialist Party of America while he was in prison for sedition, urged the entire Socialist Party to join the Communist International (See "The Red Network", page 276).

And now we have a President whose wife publicly honors the Debs Memorial Radio Station, WEVD, maintained by Reds to "perpetuate the voice of Debs"! (See page 188.)

Karl Marx, father (with Friedrich Engels) of Socialism-Communism, whose works are the "Scriptures" and creed of the entire Communist-Socialist, I.W.W., revolutionary movement, finally captured the First International (see "Internationals", "The Red Network"), which was called the International Workingmen's Association and was formed in 1864. After being riven by Marx' battles with the Anarchists for control, it broke up, moved to New York and passed out there.

The Second International, purely Marxian and still extant, was formed in 1889 after Marx' death by his followers.

World Red Front Re-forming Now

As Earl Browder, Secretary of the "Communist Party U.S.A., section of the Communist International," says in his printed report of the 1935 Comintern Congress at Moscow (which I also heard him deliver in Chicago, 10/16/35): "... 1919 was a period of breach in the Socialist movement; we are now in the period of healing."

United fronts have been formed by the Socialist and Communist parties of Austria, Germany, and Italy underground, and openly in France and Spain, where they now jointly control those two governments in the first step toward sovietization.

In Moscow at the Communist Congress in August, 1935, Gil(bert) Green(berg), as head of the Young Communist League of the U.S.A., jubilated over their formation of the American Youth Congress and announced that they also expected soon to combine in the U.S.A. the student organizations of the Socialist and Communist Parties. True enough! December 28-29, 1935, at the **Y.W.C.A.** (the "C" supposedly standing for "Christian") Auditorium in Columbus, Ohio, where despite patriotic protests the conference was held, this was accomplished. The Student League for Industrial Democracy of the Socialist Party and the National Student League of the Communist Party amalgamated, adopting the name "American Student Union", with the blessings of Earl Browder, Norman Thomas, Sinclair Lewis, Francis Gorman of the A. F. of L., etc. (Young Worker, official organ of Young Communist League, 12/31/35; Daily Worker 12/30/35; etc.).

Not only locally, but internationally, the Socialist and Communist youth, and other of the Red groups are uniting.

The Communist Party Daily Worker reported the five-point united front program signed by A. Victor of the Comintern's "World Committee of Students against War and Fascism" and L. Boutbien of the "International Socialist Student Federation", hailed in the U.S.A. by Gil Green (Communist) and Joseph Lash (Socialist), and says:

"In the United States the affiliated organization of the International Federation of Socialist Students is the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the member organization of the World Committee of Students against War and Fascism is the National Student League." (Communist.)

"A united front pact for the defense of Ethiopia against the criminal invasion of Italian fascism, providing . . . for a five point program of joint action in **every country** has just been concluded by the International Socialist Student Federation and the World Committee of Students against War and Fascism, representing Socialist, Communist and other anti-fascist students, official documents received here yesterday revealed." (Daily Worker 11/8/35.)

SOCIALIST-COMMUNIST EMBRYO REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

Roosevelt Sponsored

With revolutionary threats, the Socialist Party's organization for agitating the unemployed, the "Workers' Alliance", which is a section of the League for Industrial Democracy, amalgamated with the Communist Party's "Unemployed Councils."

The "marriage" took place in none other than the U. S. Department of Labor Auditorium! The "Socialist Call" for 4/18/36 reported that "at the beautiful Labor Department Auditorium, Washington," the week before, 700 delegates representing a membership of 800,000 completed the amalgamation of the Workers' Alliance (Socialist), Unemployed Councils (Communist), and the Unemployed Leagues

(of the American Workers' Party, Communist followers of Trotsky and A. J. Muste).

Its Personnel

The name "Workers' Alliance" was agreed upon, and David Lasser, head of the Workers' Alliance, was chosen as national chairman, Communist Herbert Benjamin as national organizer, and Angelo Herndon, the Negro Communist Party organizer jailed for sedition in Georgia, as national vice-chairman. Ben Gray, Ohio, Merrill C. Work, N. Y., John Muldowney, Pa., Herbert Nusser, Pitts., were elected to the national executive board from the communist "Unemployed Councils", Ted Selander, Ohio, and Sam Gordon, Pa., from the Trotskyite-communist "Unemployed Leagues", and fifteen executive board members were to be chosen from the "Workers' Alliance" (Socialist) slate consisting of: Paul Rasmussen, at large, Mittie Johnson, Ill., Ed Morgan, Ill., Hugo Rasmussen, Ind., Secora, Ind., James Handy, Ia., David Benson, Fla., Reyaldo Waters, Md., Geiberhouse, Neb., Ray Cook, N. J. (a leader of the riotous seizure of the State Legislature at Trenton, N. J.), Nelson Meagley, Ohio, Robert Leiberman, Pa., Lyle Olson, Wis., John Spain, N. J. (another active leader of the Trenton "revolutionary rehearsal" of the Workers' Alliance proudly proclaimed an "insurrection."—N. Y. Times 4/25/36), Paul Boyd, Wis., Hillard Bernstein, Va. The mob which seized the Legislative hall is called an "army of occupation" by the Communist Party's Daily Worker (4/29/36).

Patriotism, Regulations and Decency Flouted

James True (National Press Bldg., Washington, D. C.), in his "Industrial Control Reports" (4/18/36), expresses admirable indignation over this amalgamating, agitating session:

"Recently, several hundred 'delegates' of the Communist Workers Alliance came here to demand an increase in doles. Their meetings were held on government property—the auditorium of the Department of Labor.

"A government regulation, relative to the use of public property of the kind, promulgated by 'Honest' Harold Ickes, states that use of the auditoriums shall be restricted to organizations sponsored only by government agencies. Also that no collections shall be taken up in or about an auditorium in connection with meetings held therein.

Mrs. Roosevelt the Sponsor

"An exhaustive attempt to determine the department or individual who sponsored the Communist meeting was met with evasions and buck-passing. Finally Mrs. Roosevelt admitted to press representatives that she sponsored the meeting. A prominently displayed sign on the desk demanded 'Registration Fee 50 cents', and Communist papers were openly sold.

"While this group was in session the Red flag was displayed. Several of the speakers, using a government auditorium at taxpayers' expense, denounced our system of government and demanded its overthrow by force and violence.

"Secretary Perkins gave permission to several of the 'delegates' to sleep in one of the Labor Department conference rooms. Police report that the swines failed to use the toilets a short distance away and left the walls and floors of the room in a vilely filthy condition."

Revolutionary "Practise" at Trenton

The Communist press rumbles with menacing reports of "marches" planned by this embryo revolutionary army of 800,000 "unemployed" organized by the Communists and Socialists to demand more and more—or else! They seized the Trenton, N. J. legislative halls and "camped" in them night and day for nine days, running a mock legislature from the legislators' own seats, and proudly announced, "This is an insurrection." Of course, they were aided by radical ministers.

Plotting Violence

To quote the communist Daily Worker (6/2/36):

"The Workers' Alliance of America and its 800,000 jobless membership in 41 states and the District of Columbia will seek \$6,000,000,000 unemployment aid. 'This new \$1,425,000,000 appropriation will simply aggravate the existing problem,' Lasser said. 'In the course of the next six months we are going to see things in this country that none of us will be responsible for.' . . . The Workers' Alliance will stage mass hunger marches this summer demanding the government increase the \$1,425,000,000 appropriation for 1936-1937 work-relief David Lasser organization president, predicted today."

A riot was staged in the Chicago City Hall, 7/8/36.

Because of its sinister activities and close connections with the Roosevelt regime, the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy, of which the Workers' Alliance is a section, is of interest.

L.I.D. Speakers

The 1935 report of the League for Industrial Democracy announced that the following Roosevelt New Dealers and appointees were speakers for their national broadcast radio programs: Isadore Lubin (Dept. of Labor); socialistic Edward A. Filene*, N.R.A. "angel"; also his "Republican" protegee, Glenn Frank; Socialist Chas. Edward Russell*; A. A. Berle Jr.; Socialist Paul Douglas*; "Dr." Rex. Guy Tugwell* ("Doctor" of Marxian "Foolosophy"); Henry A. Wallace*; Senator Edward Costigan*; Raymond Moley; Socialist Francis J. McConnell* (vice-president of the League for Industrial Democracy and a Roosevelt appointee); Socialist Stuart Chase*; radical David Cushman Coyle; Mary Heaton Vorse* (Communist writer drawing \$3,000 per year in Ickes' department).

According to a League for Industrial Democracy report, they received 1,000 to 1,500 requests after each broadcast for copies of speeches, which, if supplied gratis, would mean that they are financed to spread Red propaganda on a grand scale.

*See "The Red Network" for radical affiliations.

Financed by Capitalists

The L.I.D. "National Advisory Council on Radio in Education" (see "The Red Network") is "financed according to the current report of the Council by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and by the Carnegie Corporation." (Awakener 1/15/35.)

Robert Maynard Hutchins*, Rockefeller's University of Chicago president and a Roosevelt appointee, is a member of the above Radio Council.

God help us, if the American Civil Liberties Union puts through its program with Roosevelt's help, as now seems probable, forcing all radio stations to give radio time to revolutionaries like Earl Browder, to organize, or if public ownership of radio is effected with a man like Hutchins given the job, which he has advocated be created, of Cabinet-member Federal director of all education. We would be spoon-fed by forced feeding on a diet of such Socialist fare as the above speakers provide.

Why Not Set an Example Instead?

Patriots in modest circumstances, distressed at their inability to finance any opposition, wish that some small slice of the Rockefeller or Carnegie millions might be spent to fight the socialization of America. They wish in vain. One would wish at least, that millionaires who finance Socialist-Communist agitations would instead set a peaceful example by turning over their own properties to the state.

Some of Roosevelt's L.I.D. Appointees

Vladimir Karapetoff of Cornell, from 1924 until recently vice-president of the L.I.D., is a Roosevelt appointee as (of all things!) Lt. Commander, U. S. Naval Reserve. He was a lecturer at the red Rand School, 10/21/35, in a course on "Technology and Revolution"!

Norman Thomas, Socialist Party head and director of the L.I.D., is associated with Mrs. Roosevelt as a committeeman and sponsor of the Emergency Peace Campaign which she inaugurated.

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, vice-president of the L.I.D., is a Roosevelt appointee.

Karl Borders was former head of the Midwest, Chicago, headquarters of the L.I.D. and organizer of the L.I.D. Workers' Alliance until he went on the Roosevelt payroll. At last report he was in Harry Hopkins' department.

Nicholas Kelley, director of the L.I.D., is also director of the National Consumers' League, of which Mrs. Roosevelt is vice-president; he is also a Roosevelt appointee.

Paul Douglas, Chicago L.I.D. executive, is a Roosevelt appointee.

Frederic C. Howe of the L.I.D. N. Y. Council is a Roosevelt appointee.

Stuart Chase, author of "The New Deal", a long-time L.I.D. executive, is an unofficial Roosevelt advisor.

*See "The Red Network" for radical affiliations.

Robert Asher, formerly of the Chicago L.I.D. office, married "Miss" Ethel Watson, Chicago, of the same office, when she divorced her husband Clarence Senior, Secretary of the Socialist Party, and they both went to Washington to work for Roosevelt.

Glenford Lawrence, a chairman of the Chicago L.I.D. "Workers' Committee on Unemployment" went into Roosevelt's F.E.R.A. Workers' Education Dept. in 1934.

John A. Lapp of the Chicago executive committee, L.I.D., is a Roosevelt appointee.

A. J. Muste, of the New York L.I.D. Council, is the leader of the communist American Workers' Party (an amalgamation of his followers with the Communist followers of Leon Trotsky, organizer of the Red Terror in Russia and exiled, through jealousy, by Stalin). Muste's "Unemployed Leagues" were one of the three revolutionary organizations for the unemployed which united in the U. S. Dept. of Labor Auditorium provided by the Roosevelt regime for this purpose.

Others associated with the L.I.D. as officers or committeemen include:

Kirby Page, also of Mrs. Roosevelt's Non-Intervention Citizens' Committee. He, with red George Lansbury of England and Mrs. Roosevelt, launched the Emergency Peace Campaign, 4/21/36.

Paul U. Kellogg, of Mrs. Roosevelt's Non-Intervention Citizens' Committee (Mrs. Roosevelt is a member of his Survey Associates); Horace M. Kallen, of Mrs. Roosevelt's radical New School for Social Research; Dorothy Kenyon, of the N. Y. office of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, Mrs. Roosevelt's luncheon companion, according to her newspaper column; Florina Lasker (of the A.C.L.U.) and Walter Lippmann, Mrs. Roosevelt's associates in 1931 on the advisory board of the radical New School for Social Research; red Clarence Darrow, Roosevelt appointee; Anarchist Leonard D. Abbott, Roosevelt appointee; Socialist-Communist Upton Sinclair, Roosevelt supporter (the latter three are founders of the L.I.D.).

What the L.I.D. Has Done

Since 1905, when it was organized (by Jack London, Clarence Darrow, Upton Sinclair, Leonard D. Abbott, A. A. Flower, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Wm. English Walling, Oscar Lovell Triggs, Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Charlotte Perkins Gilman), the League for Industrial Democracy, first called "The Intercollegiate Socialist Society", has penetrated practically every college, forming socialist "Liberal Clubs" and Forums to disseminate Socialism and has trained countless students in the principles of the Communist Manifesto and other Red literature, and conducted yearly organizing and lecture circuits reaching hundreds of thousands of people with the propaganda of Socialist-Communist speakers. In recent years, it has conducted regular and frequent nationwide radio broadcasts.

Communists Alexander Trachtenberg, Carl Haessler, Robert W. Dunn, and many others received their training for the Red revolutionary movement from the L.I.D., long ago anchored by faculty

members in colleges supported by Christians and business men who pooh-poohed or resented any suggestion that Socialist-Communist propaganda was being financed by their donations. Now, they are taking orders from L.I.D. "graduates" in Washington.

ROOSEVELT AND THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

The Red Revolutionary "Bible"

The "Communist Manifesto" by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels is the acknowledged basis and "Bible" of the Red revolutionary movement.

It is part of the official literature of the Communist and Socialist Parties, the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy, etc. They celebrate, yearly, the birth of Karl Marx.

It is regarded with affection and reverence also by the I.W.W. and other Anarchist-syndicalist organizations for its instructions on the "class war", although they object to its provisions for intermediary dictatorship.

The Anarchists wish to have no government at all after the revolution. The I.W.W.s want government only by an interlinking system of unions. The Communists and Socialists in accordance with Karl Marx' plans, after a period of iron dictatorship and terror conducted by the revolutionary "proletariat", expect to finally subdue all bourgeois instincts for ownership, religion, family life, and individual liberty and then have a "cooperative commonwealth" without government. (The first thousand years are the hardest.)

But Two Classes of Society

Briefly, Marx divides all society into just two classes:

1.—The class who own any property, business, or investments, or hire any labor; these are the "exploiters" or "bourgeoisie", the villains of the piece.

2.—The "exploited" or "proletariat", who own nothing but the clothes on their backs. These are the heroes promised the "dictatorship of the proletariat" after the bourgeoisie are "liquidated" (as the Soviets say).

Marx shows that any attempt to reconcile these two classes is but an attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie to avoid having their throats cut in a bloody revolution but that the throats must be cut; that it is the duty of the proletariat to cut them and that "class consciousness" must be promoted to incite the "class struggle" culminating in the cutting.

The last words of the Manifesto are:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

"Workingmen of all countries, unite!"

Marx wrote the text books for the "forgotten man" line.

Abolition of Private Property

Marx and Engels, in the Communist Manifesto, say:

(Page 25): "In a word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend." (Page 23): "... the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: **Abolition of private property.**"

Abolition of the Family

(Page 27): "Abolition of the family! On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. . . .

"The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital."

"The bourgeois claptrap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of modern industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labour."

"Free Love" Versus Marriage

"But you Communists would introduce community of women, screams the whole bourgeoisie in chorus."

"... The Communists have no need to introduce community of women, it has existed almost from time immemorial.

"Our bourgeois, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each other's wives."

(Page 28): "Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalized community of women." (Which they did introduce in Russia.)

To quote from "Collections of Reports on Bolshevism in Russia," presented to Parliament by His British Majesty in April, 1919, and published by His Majesty's stationery office, London:

"There is evidence to show that commissariats of free love have been established in several towns, and respectable women flogged for refusing to yield. Decree of nationalization of women has been put in force, and several experiments made to nationalize children."

Patriotism Versus Red Internationalism

(Page 28): "The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.

"The workingmen have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire

political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word."

Atheism and the "Class Struggle"

"The charges against Communism made from a religious, a philosophical, and, generally, from an ideological standpoint, are not deserving of serious examination.

" . . . man's ideas, views, and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence. . . ."

(Page 29): "'Undoubtedly', it will be said, ' . . . Communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion, and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experience.'

"What does this accusation reduce itself to? The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms. . . ."

"The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas." (Thus does Marx justify brushing away private property, marriage, parental control, and religion.)

Roosevelt and the Communist Manifesto

(Page 30): "But let us have done with the bourgeois objections to Communism."

"The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

"Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionizing the mode of production.

"These measures will of course be different in different countries. Nevertheless in the most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable."

Then (Page 30) Marx proceeds to set forth ten fundamental rules for communizing a country.

That Roosevelt is following Marx nicely, will be evident by comparing those rules with Roosevelt's measures. His "despotic inroads on the rights of property . . . by means of measures which appear insufficient and untenable" are lightly passed off as "crack pot" schemes of Roosevelt "brain trusters" by those ignorant of Marxism. Roosevelt, rather than Marxism, is called "crazy". Marxism is indeed

crazy, but "crazy like a fox" in its thoroughly mapped, crafty, psychological appeals and attacks, camouflaged plans and "blueprints", by which to achieve its Satanic power over man.

"Miss" Perkins and the Communist Manifesto

A news despatch (Chicago Tribune 4/9/35), headed "Woman Accuses Miss Perkins of Soviet Drive", reported a meeting in New York at which "Miss Perkins outlined provisions in the social security bill for old age pensions, unemployment insurance, and unprotected children. . . . At the end of her address she consented to answer questions. A young woman asked: 'Have you read Karl Marx' Manifesto?'

"Before Miss Perkins could answer the young woman said:

"'Karl Marx' Manifesto, page 30, proposes the same program that you have just outlined. How can you support such a program when you know that it is the same as Karl Marx'?"

"'I am supporting it', Miss Perkins replied, 'because I'd rather see it a reality than on page 30.'"

Roosevelt and Marx' Ten Rules

Karl Marx' and Friedrich Engels' first rule for destroying capitalism and communizing a State, in their "Communist Manifesto", page 30, is:

Rule One for Communizing

"1. Abolition of all property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes."

Roosevelt's tremendous and ever mounting taxation for seemingly "economically insufficient and untenable" "boondoggling" projects, coupled with government loans on farms, railroads, homes, and business, points toward government confiscation and ownership of property. Thousands of HOLC loans on homes have already been foreclosed.

As Communist V. F. Calverton says in "Recovery Through Revolution", "What with the state practically supporting and subsidizing the industrial and financial set-up of the nation by means of monies afforded by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, in time, if such subsidies continue, and the railroads and industries which have accepted them cannot meet the obligations that they necessitate, there will be no other recourse than for the State to take them over." (Our "Roosevelt revolution.")

On December 29, 1933, "Dr." Rexford Guy Tugwell ("Dr." of Marxian "Foolosophy"), a White House fireside favorite and the accepted chief spokesman for Roosevelt, told the American Economic Association: "The government of the future will control the use of all land, public and private. . . . We have depended too long on the hope that private ownership would operate for the benefit of society as a whole."

His admiring master, Roosevelt, in somewhat milder tone, advocated to Congress, 6/8/34, "a carefully considered national plan, cov-

ering the development and the human use of our national resources of land and water over a longer period of years."

Rule Two for Communizing

Marx' second rule is:

"2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax."

Roosevelt sent a "Soak-the-Rich" message to Congress, 6/19/35, and the tax tables subsequently drawn up (Chicago Tribune 7/9/35) aimed at practically wiping out large fortunes. He ordered legislation to levy heavier taxes on even comparatively small inheritances and on gifts (to prevent avoidance of this levy), "the elimination of unnecessary holding companies" (so as to cripple the expansion of privately-owned utilities, while he helps crush utilities by the Government competition of such projects as TVA), and taxation of "unwieldy and unnecessary corporate surpluses", affecting the investments of millions of wage earning stockholders and jeopardizing the very life of private industry. A concern robbed of its surplus cannot weather a depression. The 42% tax on corporation surpluses proposed to the 1936 Congress was temporarily decreased in spite, not because, of Roosevelt.

Re-read Marx' second rule above and then note that in Roosevelt's message to Congress, June 1935, he said: "We have established the principle of graduated taxation to personal incomes, gifts, and estates. We should apply the same principle to corporations." (There follows a Marxian harangue.)

Rule Three for Communizing

Marx' third rule is:

"3. Abolition of all right of inheritance."

See under second rule above. Also, to quote from Roosevelt's tax message of 6/19/35:

"My first proposal, in line with this broad policy, has to do with inheritances and gifts. The transmission from generation to generation of vast fortunes by will, inheritance or gift is not consistent with the ideals and sentiments of the American people. . . . In the last analysis such accumulations amount to the perpetuation of great and undesirable concentration of control in a relatively few individuals over the employment and welfare of many, many others." (Roosevelt takes no account of the quickly revolving wheel of fortune which pauperizes today and enriches tomorrow. Nor does he criticize the greatest evil of private wealth—its use by "Foundations" to propagandize Communism.)

Cyrus H. McCormick died in June 1936 bequeathing a large part of his estate to charitable institutions which will be cheated, largely, out of his legacies owing to Roosevelt's tax.

Had he died before the Roosevelt regime, his estate of about \$18,000,000 would have been taxed \$1,700,000 by the Federal Government, or less than ten per cent of the estate. Now, the Federal tax will be about \$9,000,000, or fifty per cent of the estate. The Illinois

State inheritance tax has remained the same and is estimated at about \$1,250,000.

Estates left in the form of a business, like the Ford plant, for example, may have to be sold or turned over to the Government to meet Roosevelt taxes and the business be deprived of the experienced ownership-management which built them up.

Rule Four for Communizing

Marx' fourth rule is:

"4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels."

This was promptly executed by the Soviets, but we are now only in the first stages of the "Roosevelt revolution." Later on, those guilty of some "sin" such as raising potatoes, or pressing pants, without the authority of a Roosevelt "commissar", may be adjudged "counter-revolutionary" rebels deserving not only of the prison sentence and fine already provided in Roosevelt legislation, but of losing their property as well.

Rule Five for Communizing

Marx' fifth rule is:

"5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly."

The Roosevelt Banking Bill of February, 1935, would help to accomplish this. Senator Glass waged a strenuous battle in the Senate causing it to be modified, for the time.

On 2/8/35, Marriner Eccles, Roosevelt's head of the Federal Reserve Board, Tugwell protege, and called the most "liberal" banker in the U. S., said the Bill gave the Board "power to control the expansion and contraction of bank credit, and thus in a large measure to control the country's supply of money", and, on 7/3/35, that the Bill is "in its most vital respects a distinct advance in the direction of centralized responsibilities and authority for the exercise of monetary powers."

To quote one authority: "It altered completely the character of the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, divorced business and banking from any voice in the management and volume of credit and put the economic fortunes of the country in the hands of the President's appointees."

The struggle of the Continental-Illinois Bank in Chicago to elect its own chairman of the board, instead of accepting Roosevelt's man, was reported in the press, as well as the sequel that the opposition finally collapsed and they meekly surrendered.

Bankers, largely, are lost like babes in the woods when confronting Marxism and present a cowed spectacle. The great majority are honest business men dazed at being charged with the sins of a few and wondering what all the hullabaloo against them is about. They have bristled a bit at Roosevelt's attitude, then subsided as meekly as lambs. Few dare to stand up against Red slingshots. I can, at the moment, think of but one (Chicago's "100-per-cent Nichols") who has popped some good American shots back.

Rule Six for Communizing

Marx' sixth rule is:

"6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state."

Roosevelt's Communications Act comes perilously close to accomplishing this. In fact the most **perilous** of its provisions is that in case of war or, to quote, "public peril" the **President** may take over the telephone, telegraph, and radio, paying a just compensation to the owners.

Just what is "public peril" and who shall decide when the "public peril" demands that the President communize the telephone, telegraph, and radio? The law itself is a great "public peril".

Roosevelt's Communications Act passed by his rubber-stamp Congress, 6/9/34, provided for a Federal Communications Commission composed of seven men to regulate the telephone, telegraph and radio, and, on 6/7/35, Roosevelt urged the passage of Bills extending Federal supervision over commerce on the highways, waterways, and in the air. He deferred plans to expand the Interstate Commerce Commission, thus giving it unified control over all transportation. If he is re-elected—watch.

Already, for the first time in American history, the Communist Party, as such, is using nationwide radio facilities, since Roosevelt, with his control through issuance of six months' licenses to stations, holds the whip hand over radio.

Rule Seven for Communizing

Marx' seventh rule is:

"7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan."

The socialistic cooperatives (see page 310) being financed by the Roosevelt regime, the TVA program now involving an area as large as the State of Kentucky and a similar scheme planned to take in the entire Mississippi Valley, are in conformity with rule number 7.

"Textiles Worth Twelve Million Go to WPA Program—117 Million Yards Bought for Sewing Jobs" (Chicago Tribune, 2/25/36), is just one news item indicating the extent to which the Roosevelt government has gone into competition with private business, by "**extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State**". (Marx' rule number 7.)

The AAA, thrown out by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional, has been set up again as a soil erosion "**program for bringing into cultivation waste lands**." Some farmers are paid for moving off waste lands to good land, while others are paid for not cultivating the good land they are on, "**generally, in accordance with a common plan**" and a common "Foolosophy".

A False "Yardstick"

The Tennessee Valley Authority, pushed through Congress by Roosevelt in 1933, is empowered to improve the navigation of the

Tennessee River, work for flood control and reforestation, manufacture electricity, and distribute the surplus in competition with the private utilities owned by many thousands of stockholders. Rates to be charged by TVA are to set up a "yardstick", and a false one, for private utilities to meet, which, if successful in crushing private utilities, will crush with them the savings of millions of small investors in utilities stocks and bonds, in life insurance and pension funds, and will wipe out widows' and orphans' estates, as well as investments supporting charitable institutions. The fall of the utilities upon which millions of people are dependent for income and employment might be the one great slug toppling the entire American business structure supporting the American way of life, throwing our dispossessed swarms helplessly into the maw of the State Socialist machine.

The voters are won over to the TVA scheme by being promised a lowered household electric light bill. Residents near TVA are so enthusiastic over the lower electric bill angle that they ignore the debt to pay for it which their grandchildren will be paying—if the American form of government is preserved and all property is not confiscated.

With a nonchalance bred by nearly four years of Rooseveltian spending, one enthusiastic TVA couple cheerily brushed off this reminder of mine by saying, "Oh well, if the money didn't go for TVA, it would go for something else! This way we get a cheaper electric light bill!"

Government-financed Socialistic cooperatives carry on business at TVA, directed by radical David E. Lilienthal.

Utilities Resist Confiscation

On 5/30/36, nineteen private utilities companies filed suit against the TVA on the ground that it violates the Constitution in several points, charging that the TVA "unlawfully conspired together with the Federal Administration of Public Works, its officers and agents, to take unlawfully from the complainants their business, rights and properties."

The TVA yardstick for wholesale electric rates was characterized by the bill of complaint as "dishonest, unfair, unreasonable and confiscatory", as a measure of rates of the complainants "or other privately-owned and operated utilities". The companies charged that the yardstick "excludes the cost of the major part of the investment necessary to render the service and excludes necessary operating expenses, which TVA either ignores or recoups from State and Federal taxpayers instead of from rates".

"Honest" Harold Accused

The companies accuse TVA and "Honest" Harold Ickes of having "conspired" to force owners of some utility property to sell at distress prices, informing owners of desired property "that unless they sell the property at a price arbitrarily fixed by the defendants, either the TVA or the municipalities will build a duplicate distribution system or transmission system with Federal funds and by competition, so sub-

sitized with **Federal funds** as to be completely destructive to competitors not having access to the Federal Treasury, render the property of the 'recalcitrant' utilities valueless except for junk." (Chicago Tribune 5/30/36.)

When Roosevelt (1/4/35) asked Congress for, and received, an appropriation of four billion dollars for "clearance of slums", "rural housing of several kinds", "rural electrification", "reforestation of the great watersheds of the country", "an intensified program to prevent soil erosion and to reclaim blighted areas", he cleverly sandwiched in the phrases "**which cannot be undertaken by private capital**" and "**where again private capital is unable to function**", as an excuse for Government control of such projects, but was careful not to state that the private utilities had directly begged for the chance to expand rural electrification through a Government loan, on a sound, reasonable business basis which no crew of politicians would ever match.

But private ownership is not in the interest of the general good—of politician-Socialists, who run up debts and festively throw money around at taxpayers' expense like drunken sailors, or like traveling salesmen on unlimited expense accounts, commonly called "swindle sheets".

The President, Again, Controls

The TVA is set up as a Federal corporation under the control of the President. Our President never forgets to set up the power of control for himself. Besides being commissioned to perform the above functions and to manufacture nitrates and explosives, etc., TVA's most joyous commission to the socialistic triumvirate placed in charge by Roosevelt (David E. Lilienthal, Arthur E. Morgan, and Harcourt Morgan) is to achieve "**the economic and social well-being of the people living in the said river basin**".

What Socialist does not itch to plan "the economic and social well-being of the people" of **any** territory?

For this reason, perhaps, patriotic Rev. J. Frank Norris has suggested that, instead of "Iks", "I-cuss", "Ikus", or "Ikeeze", the correct pronunciation of Secretary Ickes' name might be "Itches".

Rule Eight for Communizing

Marx' eighth rule for destroying capitalism is:

"8. Equal obligation of all to work. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture."

The WPA and CCC camps have established industrial armies of a sort used partially in agriculture, but as Roosevelt's General Johnson assured us—"You ain't seen nothin' yet!" Army officers, as a class the most patriotic and anti-communistic of individuals, are now being removed from CCC camps. Because of them, Communist agitation has been unable to make much headway in the camps heretofore.

Shuffling Populations—Rule Nine for Communizing

Marx' ninth rule is:

"9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population over the country."

The U. S. Department of the Interior Bulletin 1, on "Information Concerning the Purposes and Policies of the Division of Subsistence Homesteads", reprints Roosevelt's executive order (page 9):

"EXECUTIVE ORDER

"(No. 6209)

"REDISTRIBUTION OF THE OVERBALANCE OF POPULATION IN INDUSTRIAL CENTERS BY MEANS OF MAKING LOANS FOR AND OTHERWISE AIDING IN THE PURCHASE OF SUBSISTENCE HOMESTEADS

"By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Act of Congress, entitled 'An Act to encourage national industrial recovery, to foster fair competition, and to provide for the construction of certain useful public works, and for other purposes', approved June 16, 1933 (Public No. 67, 73rd Congress), in order to effectuate the intent and purpose of the Congress as expressed in Section 208 under Title II thereof, I hereby authorize the Secretary of the Interior to exercise all the powers vested in me, for the purpose of administering all the provisions of Section 208 under Title II of said Act, including full authority to designate and appoint such agents, to set up such boards and agencies, and to make and promulgate such regulations as he may deem necessary or desirable.

"The White House,

"July 21, 1933.

Franklin D. Roosevelt."

On 12/2/33, a corporation was set up by Secy. Ickes under the laws of Delaware entitled Federal Subsistence Homesteads Corporation, one of a series of such corporations providing illegal power to socialize the entire United States.

Mrs. Roosevelt's "Reedsville" Project

The Rural Resettlement Rehabilitation Project—this feature of Marxism—is the passion of Mrs. Roosevelt and Dr. of "Foolosophy" Tugwell, its chief. Mrs. Roosevelt's pet Reedsville homestead project, a sinkhole for taxpayers' money, started with portable houses and no cellars, then cellars dug which did not fit the portable houses put over them, walls yanked out to meet foundations, additions dotted on here and there, and without industry there to support the residents, has gone on absorbing taxpayers' funds. Contractors were ruled out as being too bourgeois and capitalistic, though the work they bid on has cost far more. It is but one of many such projects and is "unmarred" by a church, according to reports.

Although the Federal District of Columbia Court of Appeals ruled that the delegation of power to Roosevelt to give Tugwell \$976,000,000 for his housing program was unconstitutional (5/18/36), Roosevelt's "Fido" Congress voted him, (6/1/36), a fresh billion, four

hundred and twenty-five million dollars, \$85,500,000 to be spent, if he chooses, on Tugwell's Marxian schemes for moving populations and building suburban utopias, and the rest for boondoggling and other projects at Roosevelt's own sweet will.

Money Cheap as Spinach

As "Bugs" Baer said: "Morgenthau has asked for two thousand million dollars in low wave bonds. Money is so cheap now that they don't even waste cellophane on it. Down in the treasury they wash it to find out what it is. If it has sand in it, then it's spinach."

Dr. of "Foolosophy" Tugwell said, 8/3/33: "As we bring some order into our use of the land it will be not only crops which tend to move **where they belong; people will move too.** The one thing which will make possible a general and permanent deliverance of the city workers into green fields and quiet homes is to group or scatter smaller factories and office buildings throughout the countryside."

Moving Them Even to Alaska

Not content with the space afforded for shuffling populations about in the United States, which is some 3,000 miles wide, Tugwell has moved settlers to far Alaska to participate in a communal, socialized existence under the American flag on ground that is frozen most of the year. However, as long as the canned goods and tax money from the United States keep flowing in, the settlers will not starve.

Roosevelt, in his message to Congress 6/8/34, said: "... a wise Government may help the necessary readjustment of the population ... **this is especially a national problem.**"

As "Master" and head of the "Department" of Marxian "Foolosophy", Roosevelt is making it such. Eventually no "wayward" resident who prefers living on lands declared to be "sub-marginal" by under-Professors of the "Foolosophy" department may hope to count himself a "forgotten man". He may think that out in the bush he is safe, but they will catch him and move him eventually for his own good.

Rule Ten for Communizing—Marx on Education

Marx' tenth rule is:

"10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of child factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc."

Regarding this clause on education Marx and Engels say (page 27): "The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class."

The "ruling class" in America are the loyal American patriots who support the American form of government and wish it preserved from the "social change" toward Communism which is urged by the Roosevelts, the George S. Countses, the John Deweys, etc., who,

therefore, shout for "academic freedom" to capture the young with Communistic teachings which would destroy freedom.

"Abolition of child factory labour in its **present form**", was written in 1848. It no longer exists, but the proponents of the National Child Labor Amendment use the pretext that it does in order to enact Federal control over children, including their education.

The Child Labor Amendment

The first section of the proposed Amendment reads: "The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age."

To quote from debate on this subject in Congress: (Congressional Record, 5/31/24):

"Mr. King. 'I suppose the Senator is aware of the fact that many of the socialists, like Mrs. Kelley, who is a follower of Karl Marx in Communism, and others who have been promoting this legislation, originally designed to have the amendment cover persons up to 21 years of age, and doubtless would have urged it before the committee if they had believed they could succeed.'

"Mr. Bayard. 'It includes everybody, every female and male under the age of 18 years. From the time they are a minute old, up until they are 18 years of age, Congress has complete control of these children, and there is no gainsaying that.'

"Mr. King. 'If the Senator from Delaware will pardon me, every Bolshevik, every extreme communist and socialist in the United States is back of the measure. The Bolsheviks of Russia were familiar with the scheme that was about to be launched to amend our Constitution. In conversation with one of the leading Bolsheviks in the city of Moscow, one of the educators, when I was there last September and October, I was remonstrating with him about the scheme of the Bolsheviks to have the State take charge of the children. "Why," he said, "you are coming to that," and he called my attention to the statutes in many of the States in regard to compulsory education. Then he said, "A number of socialists in the United States," and he mentioned a number of names, but I shall not mention them here, "are back of the movement to amend your Constitution of the United States, and it will be amended, and you will transfer to the Federal Government the power which the Bolshevik Government is asserting now over the young people of the State".

"Of course, this is a communistic, Bolshevistic scheme, and a lot of good people, misled, are accepting it, not knowing the evil consequences which will result and the sinister purposes back of the measure.'"

State Laws on Child Labor Adequate

A table appears in the Congressional record of that date (5/31/24) showing that "not one single state in the Union fails to have a law relative to the employment of children in factories under which no child under 14 years of age may be employed except by special permit

issued by the proper State official . . . in not all of the States is the age limit 14, but in some it is 15 and in some it is 16."

According to the 1920 U. S. Census, there were then, 16 years ago, twelve and a half million children in the U. S., from 10 to 15 years of age, of whom 3.3 per cent were engaged in gainful non-agricultural pursuits. By no means all of these were full-time jobs interfering with health or education. Newsboy part-time occupations made up 5% of this, messenger jobs, 11.6%, etc.

Though the picture usually painted to soft-hearted mothers, by propagandists of Federal control of children through the National Child Labor Amendment, is of hordes of sweated babies languishing in cotton mills, the fact is that, **back 16 years ago**, only 5.3% of the 3.3% of employed children, or about 17/100 of 1% of the American children between 10 and 15 years of age, were employed in cotton mills, and 967/10% had no job in industry at all.

Noel Sargent of the National Manufacturers' Association, in a debate with Norman Thomas over the radio this season, stated that in 1930 there were actually less than 9/10 of 1% of workers in industry under 16 years of age. State laws more carefully than ever control this.

The National Child Labor Amendment is not needed to control child **labor** but to control children.

Buying Educational Control

One college president recently warned that a continuation of Roosevelt's policy of subsidizing educational institutions with Federal funds will result in Federal control of educational policies.

Reports of Roosevelt's formation of a Federal Committee to survey the educational field, with the arch-radical, Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago (and of the Moscow State University of Russia, advisory board), as a member, coupled with Hutchins' suggestions that a Cabinet post be created for a "Federal Director of Education", give rise to the surmise that steps along this line are being formulated.

Mrs. Roosevelt's plea for an education post in the Cabinet and a new Federal Department "to include education, social welfare and health" is reported in the N. Y. Times (4/19/36) under the heading "Federal Control of Schools Sought".

ROOSEVELT AND THE 1932 RED PLATFORMS

Roosevelt Not a Democrat

A clever current cartoon by Shoemaker, of the Chicago Daily News, pictures the Democratic donkey studying a paper marked "Plans for 1936 Democratic Platform". A man is asking him: "Pardon, but why build a new platform when you have a perfectly good one that has never been used?"

When one understands the principles of the "parent", the Communist Manifesto, one understands the principles of the offspring,

the Communist and Socialist Party platforms of 1932, or of any other year, and the plan of Roosevelt's activities which have been practically unrelated to the Democratic Platform of 1932, which he swore so dramatically and unequivocally to carry out.

The "Forgotten Man" and the "Few"

The 1932 Socialist Party platform opened with a harangue familiar to those who listen to Roosevelt's radio speeches about the privileged "few", the "forgotten man", and the completely collapsed capitalist system which he was called in to save (?). It said:

"WE ARE FACING A BREAKDOWN OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. . . . THE WAGE EARNERS AND FARMERS ARE COMPELLED TO GIVE A LARGE PART OF THE PRODUCT OF THEIR LABOR TO THE **FEW** . . . ONLY THE UNITED EFFORTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS ORGANIZED IN UNIONS AND **COOPERATIVES** AND, ABOVE ALL, IN A POLITICAL PARTY OF THEIR OWN, CAN SAVE THE NATION. . . ." The Socialist Party "PROPOSES THE FOLLOWING MEASURES:

"A FEDERAL APPROPRIATION OF \$5,000,000,000 FOR IMMEDIATE RELIEF OF THOSE IN NEED."

\$950,000,000 to carry out the FERA Act of May 12, 1933, "to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several states in relieving hardship by unemployment" and \$3,300,000 appropriated for the NRA in 1934, was Roosevelt's reply to the above. But he has done even better on number 2.

"A FEDERAL APPROPRIATION OF \$5,000,000,000 FOR PUBLIC WORKS AND ROADS, REFORESTATION, SLUM CLEARANCE AND DECENT HOMES FOR THE WORKERS, BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, STATES AND CITIES."

Roosevelt secured an appropriation of the \$4,880,000,000 to use as he pleased for the above purposes in 1935 and another appropriation of \$1,425,000,000, 6/1/36. Radical Jacob Baker, his Assistant Administrator of FERA, CWA, WPA, reckons that he has helped Roosevelt dispend \$6,000,000,000, "the greatest amount of monetary benefits in history." Says the revolutionary socialist New Republic: "In all, about \$8,000,000,000 has been appropriated for these purposes" (6/10/36).

The Communist and Socialist Party platforms of 1932 were as nearly alike as two peas in a pod. The Communist Party platform had also demanded, like the above, Federal, State, and city public works; reforestation; land drainage; land reclamation.

The Socialist platform also demanded:

"LEGISLATION PROVIDING FOR THE ACQUISITION OF LAND, BUILDINGS, AND EQUIPMENT NECESSARY TO PUT THE UNEMPLOYED TO WORK PRODUCING FOOD, FUEL, AND CLOTHING, AND FOR THE ERECTION OF HOUSES FOR THEIR OWN USE."

Roosevelt echoed with his myriad Cooperatives (see), the Rural Rehabilitation program, etc.

The Socialist Party demanded:

"THE SIX-HOUR DAY AND FIVE-DAY WEEK WITHOUT A REDUCTION IN WAGES."

The Communist Party demanded a forty-hour, five-day week, no wage cuts, no speed up.

Roosevelt would have matched the Socialist Party and gone the Communist Party one better with the Black-Connery 30-hour Act (defeated). In the unconstitutional NRA, Roosevelt attempted Federal regulation of hours and wages.

The Federal Child Labor Amendment, to give Federal control over all children, was demanded by both Communist and Socialist parties. Roosevelt encouraged the States to pass it and undertook Federal control over child labor under the NRA, and is expanding Federal youth subsidies and propaganda in the National Youth Administration, to the tune of \$71,250,000 for the year 1936-37.

League of Nations and World Court

The Socialist platform advocated U. S. membership in the League of Nations and its World Court. Roosevelt attempted to "push" the U. S. into the World Court in 1934 but was defeated by the Senate. He did drag us into the back door of the League of Nations, its International Labor Office, slipping through authority from his "Fido" Congress during its chaotic closing. Delegations and representatives have traveled to Geneva steadily at taxpayers' expense ever since. (See under "Peace".)

Unemployment Insurance, Old Age Pensions, Etc.

The Socialist Party demanded:

"A COMPULSORY SYSTEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION WITH ADEQUATE BENEFITS, BASED ON CONTRIBUTIONS BY THE GOVERNMENT AND BY EMPLOYERS. OLD AGE PENSIONS. HEALTH AND MATERNITY INSURANCE. IMPROVED SYSTEMS OF WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION AND ACCIDENT INSURANCE."

Roosevelt responded with his Social Security Bill, embracing unemployment insurance, old age pensions, the Railroad Retirement Act, and aid for widows, orphans, and the blind. This Social Security Act, says the revolutionary socialist New Republic, "represents a definite gain in the country's collective thinking, for which Mr. Roosevelt is certainly entitled to some credit."

The Communist Party had demanded the same Government aid, fed through a larger, gallon-sized Federal "nursing bottle", specified by H. R. 7598 introduced by Congressman Ernest Lundeen.

Public Ownership

The Socialist Party demanded:

"PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF MINES" (Roosevelt's unconstitutional Guffey Bill aimed to control mines), **"FOREST, OIL"** (covered by Roosevelt's Reforestation program; his Petroleum Administration was declared unconstitu-

tional by the "hot oil" and Schechter Supreme Court decisions) "AND POWER RESOURCES, PUBLIC UTILITIES DEALING WITH LIGHT AND POWER" (Roosevelt's TVA and its planned future expansion, Bonneville, Grand Coulee, Ft. Peck, Boulder and Casper-Alcova Federal water and power projects), "TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION" (controlled through Roosevelt's Communications Act), "AND OF ALL OTHER BASIC INDUSTRIES" (NRA control).

"The Public Works Administration has loaned \$62,000,000 to build or improve municipal power plants to the number of 285", says the revolutionary socialist New Republic (6/10/36), cheerily, and also; "the Coordinator recommends as the only satisfactory ultimate solution **government ownership and operation**" (of railroads).

The Communist Party used the word "nationalization", in demands for the above.

Roosevelt Responsible

Paul Mallon, in his "Washington Notebook" Column of 2/9/35, said: "Everyone except the right man is getting the blame or credit for that unexpected provision of the holding-companies bill, abolishing them in five years, instead of merely regulating them. The finger has been pointed at Representative Rayburn, the liberals on the securities exchange commission, Ben Cohen and others. . . . The fact is, Mr. Roosevelt told the public-utility people once that he was going to abolish not merely regulate their holding companies and apparently he is going to insist on it."

The Socialist Party asked: "THE OPERATION OF THESE PUBLICLY OWNED INDUSTRIES BY BOARDS OF ADMINISTRATION ON WHICH THE WAGE-WORKER, THE CONSUMER AND THE TECHNICIAN ARE ADEQUATELY REPRESENTED; THE RECOGNITION IN EACH INDUSTRY OF THE PRINCIPLES OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND CIVIL SERVICE." (Civil service has decreased under Roosevelt.)

Roosevelt set up the Emergency Leasing and other Delaware corporations which arranged for, but have not as yet been used to consummate, public ownership of industry; and he organized Consumers' Boards and councils and the NRA with its boards, which tried, condemned, and punished like Soviets, without recourse to legal courts of law, until knocked out by the Supreme Court. The principles of collective bargaining had been generally recognized as applying to minority or communist T.U.U.L. unions, but not to company unions or to non-union employees who wished to work in spite of agitators.

Class Hate "Mediation"

After some 20 years of peaceful relations with his employes, one employer, whom I met, was summoned before a typical NRA Rooseveltian Board of radicals after his plant had been closed by violence. A few of his employes had been organized under NRA stimulus by Socialist Emil Rieve, of the American Federation of Full-Fashioned

Hosiery Workers, and the majority intimidated by Rieve's imported agitators and kept from working. Machinery had been smashed and other violence committed because he refused to recognize Rieve as the spokesman for his old employes.

The local NRA board glowered at the employer as he entered their presence and its spokesman barked, "Sit down! All we want out of you is 'yes' or 'no' for an answer!"

Much of the NRA "conciliation" work was carried on in this vein—that of the "class struggle" and "class hate" of Marx. Employers complained that they were being forced to submit to the dictates of Communist unions affiliated with the T.U.U.L. (Trade Union Unity League), the American section of Moscow's R.I.L.U. (Red International of Labor Unions). So the T.U.U.L. obligingly claimed to pass an obscure resolution, not noted by the Red press, supposedly severing affiliation with the R.I.L.U., but not with the Communist Party, which, like the R.I.L.U., is a section of Moscow's Comintern. But thereafter this supposed "resolution" was used as an argument that employers had no right to refuse to recognize Communist unions.

Government Aid Encouraging "Red" Strikes

Patriotic Congressman George H. Tinkham (Mass.) described the violent strikes led by the Communist unions affiliated with the T.U.U.L., at Toledo, San Francisco, Portland, Minneapolis, Centralia, Gastonia, Woonsocket, etc., and said (N. Y. American 6/2/35):

"The part played by these various agencies in the great industrial disturbances of the past year is frankly admitted in official Communist publications. . . .

"It is a shocking commentary upon the somnolence of the American people that they have permitted the Government itself to become an accomplice of the Communist Party in building these revolutionary industrial unions. I refer to the interpretations of Section 7A of the National Industrial Recovery Act which have forced reluctant employers to recognize and to deal with representatives of revolutionary industrial unions and which have sanctioned the coercion of reluctant employes into membership in such unions. It is scarcely credible, but it is a fact that the **full powers of Federal Government have been used to encourage, to aid and to abet the forging of instruments designed for its own destruction.**"

NRA "Cracks Down" in Klein Case

"A typical example is the Government pressure brought to bear upon a large clothing dealer in New York, Samuel Klein. The union involved is the Office Workers' Union which 'is affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League.' (See page 8, November, 1934, issue of the Office Worker.)

"Let me read an editorial from the Daily Worker of February 4, 1935, which describes the result of Klein's appeal to the National Labor Relations Board:

"The strike of the S. Klein clothing store workers, who have been out since November 17, has been settled with gains for the workers.

The over 60 workers fired for membership in the Office Workers' Union are to be on the preferential list for rehiring; the strikers receive five weeks' wages for the time lost, and Gertrude Lane, secretary of the Union, has a certified check for this; a deposit is placed in a bank, and will be forfeited if Joseph Brodsky, noted labor attorney, decides that Klein at any time breaks the agreement.'

"Joseph Brodsky is attorney for the International Labor Defense, a mass organization of the Communist party."

Communists Now "Boring from Within" A. F. of L.

"During the past year the policy of the Communist Party in the industrial field has undergone a very marked change. Heretofore, the party has attacked the American Federation of Labor as a Fascist and reactionary organization. It is now devoting the major part of its energy toward organizing and gaining control of the revolutionary 'rank and file' oppositions within the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

"In speaking of this change of policy, Alex Bittelman, in the March, 1935, issue of *The Communist*, referring particularly to criticism of the conservative leadership of the American Federation of Labor, says:

"We must do it not as outsiders, but as part of the unions, fighting for a different policy than the reactionaries and trying to convince and win the workers for our class struggle policies as against the class collaboration reactionary policies." (p. 256.)"

Matthew Woll has been the leading fighter against Communist capture of the A. F. of L., but at the 1935 A. F. of L. Convention Red pressure forced his resignation as vice-president of the anti-Communist National Civic Federation.

The T.U.U.L. was largely dissolved in 1935, its members being poured into the A. F. of L. to capture it from within. Party councils now control the activities of the Communist members within the A. F. of L.

A. F. of L. Goes "Left" for Roosevelt

Under Roosevelt's inspiration and promises of rapid unionization under Section 7A of the NRA, the A. F. of L. took back the left-wing pro-Soviet Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union headed by Sidney Hillman, Roosevelt's Labor Board appointee, which had been ejected by the A. F. of L. in 1914 for radicalism.

The subsequent election of a Socialist Party leader, David Dubinsky, head of the socialist International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, member of the Jewish Socialist Verband, formerly exiled to Siberia for Red revolutionary activities, as vice-president of the A. F. of L., was a lamentable, historic turn to the left. With several hundred thousand members of the Communist T.U.U.L. and Amalgamated Clothing Workers' unions now penetrating the A. F. of L.—militant, determined, Marxian—the A. F. of L. loyal American element have a renewed death struggle on their hands which may ultimately decide the fate of American government.

The C.I.O. (Committee for Industrial Organization), backed by the Communist Party and the radicals generally and headed by John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, have put up a fund of \$500,000 (N. Y. Times 4/20/36), to organize the steel industry by industrial instead of craft unions, in defiance of the orders of the A. F. of L. executive committee.

Industrial Unionism a Revolutionary Weapon

Industrial unionism has long been advocated by the I.W.W. and the Communist Party for facilitating the general strike, a revolutionary weapon. During the chaotic, militant upset of the general strike, revolutionary power is seized.

"In the period of 1933-35 the membership of affiliated industrial unions increased 57 per cent, as compared with only 14 per cent for the craft unions. This strengthening and broadening of the industrial union movement was perhaps the major achievement of labor under the New Deal" (revolutionary socialist New Republic 6/10/36).

Marx and Banking

The Communist Party 1932 platform demanded "Nationalization" of banks. The Socialist platform phrased it: "SOCIALIZATION OF OUR CREDIT AND CURRENCY SYSTEM AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNIFIED BANKING SYSTEM BEGINNING WITH THE COMPLETE ACQUISITION OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS. . . ."

Read Roosevelt's Eccles Banking Law, through which, as the revolutionary socialist New Republic states: "Control of the Federal Reserve system itself was revised and centralized". Also see page 29, this book. We may echo our President's assurance that we are "on our way" in this respect.

Income Taxes

The Communist platform demanded a graduated income tax, starting with incomes of about \$5,000 and increasing gradually, and graduated inheritance and gift taxes on fortunes.

The Socialist platform phrased it:

"STEEPLY INCREASED INHERITANCE TAXES AND INCOME TAXES ON THE HIGHER INCOMES AND ESTATES OF BOTH CORPORATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS."

Roosevelt jumped right through the hoop in obeying these "orders". (See under the Communist Manifesto, page 28.)

Agriculture

For agriculture, the Socialist platform demanded:

"THE REDUCTION OF TAX BURDENS BY A SHIFT FROM TAXES ON FARM PROPERTY TO TAXES ON INCOMES, INHERITANCES AND OTHER SIMILAR FORMS OF TAXATION."

Roosevelt's AAA processing taxes provided one form of such taxation, his inheritance and income taxes another.

The Socialist platform demanded:

"THE CREATION OF A FEDERAL MARKETING AGENCY FOR THE PURCHASE AND MARKETING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS." Roosevelt answered with the FSRC (Federal Surplus Relief Corporation), etc. \$540,000,000 was loaned by the Commodity Credit Corporation on cotton and corn. \$75,000,000 was spent for purchase of surplus hogs, dairy products, wheat, peanuts and sugar. \$156,000,000 in addition was spent for the purchase of other farm commodities.

Cooperatives

The Socialist platform advocated:

"THE ACQUISITION BY BONA FIDE COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES AND BY GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES OF GRAIN ELEVATOR, STOCKYARDS, PACKING HOUSES AND WAREHOUSES, AND THE CONDUCT OF THESE SERVICES ON A **NON-PROFIT** BASIS. THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF FARMERS' COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES AND OF CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVES IN THE CITIES WITH A VIEW OF **ELIMINATING THE MIDDLE-MAN.**" Roosevelt's Farm Credit Administrator has loaned over \$280,000,000 to cooperatives, and three notorious radicals have been sent abroad to further study foreign cooperatives (Jacob Baker, Leland Olds, Chas. E. Stuart. See under "Appointees")!

For agriculture, Roosevelt came through for the Party (Socialist) with the Federal Credit Union, Farm Credit Administration and Farm Credit Act, Emergency Farm Mortgage Act, Commodity Credit Corporation Act, Regulation Commodity Exchanges Act, A.A.A., and the Tennessee Valley Cooperative, Inc. See also under "Roosevelt and Socialist Cooperatives", page 295.

Roosevelt's subsidy of Socialist cooperatives has been most dutiful to the Socialist Party.

Farm and Home Owners' "Relief"

The Communist Party platform demanded emergency relief for farmers and a guaranteed return on their produce. It also demanded:

"A FIVE YEAR MORATORIUM ON FARM MORTGAGE DEBTS INCLUDING DEBTS AND CHATTEL MORTGAGES. FEDERAL LAW AGAINST FORCED FARM FORECLOSURES. PROTECTION FOR HOMEOWNERS." (Although, of course, the ultimate Communist objective, after mortgage holders are crushed out, is to confiscate all property.)

The Frazier-Lemke Farm Mortgage and Refinancing Act, National Housing Act, Home Owners Loan Corporation (now foreclosing thousands of loans on property), were among Roosevelt's enacted and attempted legislation, in part temporarily halted for campaign purposes.

"Planning" Boards

Roosevelt's unconstitutional AAA and National Resources Board answered the Socialist Party's demand for:

"THE CREATION OF NATIONAL, REGIONAL, AND STATE UTILIZATION BOARDS FOR THE PURPOSE OF DISCOVERING THE BEST USES OF THE FARMING LAND OF THE COUNTRY, IN VIEW OF THE JOINT NEEDS OF AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, RECREATION, WATER SUPPLY, REFORESTATION, ETC., AND TO PREPARE THE WAY FOR AGRICULTURAL PLANNING ON A NATIONAL AND ULTIMATELY ON A WORLD SCALE."

In commenting on the reports of the National Resources Board, notably the Mississippi Valley report recommending a Mississippi Valley Authority modeled on the socialistic TVA and introduced by Senator Norris, the revolutionary socialist New Republic says:

"Creation of planning agencies by the various states has been encouraged; a number of such agencies have been found. . . . In sum, it may be said that social planning has made advances in strictly governmental activities, but has been retarded in private enterprise, which in turn does much to hamper government planning."

Roosevelt's Doctors of Marxian "Foolosophy" slaughtered millions of pigs and threw their carcasses away, plowed under crops, etc., in their "agricultural planning on a national scale". Pork chops competed with jewelry in expensiveness; potatoes are now around \$1.00 per peck; and we have, it is reported by labor authorities, twelve million unemployed, instead of the ten million unemployed we had, since Roosevelt started "planning".

The Supreme Court

The Communist Party demanded that the Supreme Court powers be curbed by having the Justices subject to removal at any time and elected by the voters.

The Socialist Party demanded: **"ABOLITION OF THE POWER OF THE SUPREME COURT TO PASS UPON THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF LEGISLATION ENACTED BY CONGRESS."**

Roosevelt's famous reference to the Constitution, when the Supreme Court rendered a decision holding New Deal legislation unconstitutional, as a relic of "horse and buggy days", his orders to pass the unconstitutional Guffey Bill "despite reasonable doubts of its constitutionality", his continual urging of other unconstitutional legislation, the declarations of his appointees that Supreme Court power must be curbed—all point toward the curbing or abolition of Supreme Court power to uphold the Constitution, in conformity with the Red platforms, in case of Roosevelt's re-election.

Roosevelt and "Red" Legislation

Another demand was:

"THE ABOLITION OF INJUNCTIONS IN LABOR DISPUTES, THE OUT-LAWING OF YELLOW DOG CONTRACTS

Copy of the
er Today!

Daily Worker

CENTRAL ORGAN COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (SECTION OF COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL)

NATIO
EDIT

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 11, 1936

(Six Pages)

E RUSHES BONUS BILL TO SE

Sweep Away the Autocratic Power of the United States Supreme Court

— A Call of the Communist Party, U.S.A. —

**FIGHT NOW TO PREVENT THE REACTIONARIES AND FASCISTS
FROM ENSLAVING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE**

**BUILD THE FARMER LABOR PARTY, THE PEOPLE'S FRONT
AGAINST THE GREEDY AUTOCRATS**

Facsimile of Front Page of Communist "Daily Worker", Which, Like the Socialist Party
and the New Deal, Assails the Supreme Court for Blocking Socialist Legislation by Uphold-
ing the Constitution.

AND THE PASSING OF LAWS ENFORCING THE RIGHTS OF WORKERS TO ORGANIZE INTO UNIONS."

The first two measures are part of the legislative program of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, which is endeavoring to introduce into all the States laws modeled after the Federal anti-injunction Bill of Norris-LaGuardia (both Roosevelt pets), passed in 1932. And, according to Allan G. Harper, for three years State secretary of the Pennsylvania branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, in his testimony before the House Indian Affairs sub-committee (page 1039 of printed hearings on H. R. 7781):

"When the Democratic Party took over the program of the Civil Liberties Union, we felt that we had launched a movement which will ultimately result in all this legislation being enacted."

In the NRA, Roosevelt took care of the third measure of the above Socialist demand concerning the "rights of workers to organize into unions", and did it along Socialist lines, which meant that workers not wishing to be organized into unions had their rights disregarded, or trampled upon by radical minorities.

Negro Social Equality

Advocacy of Federal anti-lynching laws and Negro social equality, baited the Socialist and Communist Party "hooks" for Negroes in 1932.

The Roosevelts have made every effort to encourage communistic race relations, and Mrs. Roosevelt, personally, worked for the Costigan-Wagner Federal anti-lynching law in company with her Red friends. That Roosevelt, himself, has not dared make it a "must" piece of legislation to date is due no doubt to his fear of losing the votes of insulted Southerners, who might justly claim that Northern gangsterism claims more lives yearly than lynching ever did.

Federal "Pull" for Agitators

While ostensibly the Costigan-Wagner Bill is a humanitarian measure to prevent lawlessness toward Negroes, it is significant that those radical white agitators now invading the South bent on stirring up Communist Negro insurrection are most anxious to have it passed for their own protection against local citizens who are unsympathetic to Communism and who are tempted to mete out to them and their followers some of their own teachings of violence. They figure that the only way the South can be opened up freely to Red agitators is to pass a Federal law which can be invoked to stretch out a long Federal arm to punish the authorities of any local community in which seditious Red invaders are manhandled.

The Reds are experts at tricks of the courts. Their corps of shyster lawyers employ every known wrinkle along the line of writs, delays, appeals, "fixing", grandstand plays to juries, intimidation, pardons, propaganda, bail, petitions, etc., so that more Red criminals go scot free than are ever punished. They have bedeviled Southern courts for years with the Scottsboro and Herndon cases. But they are comparatively helpless when one of their Red agitators, stirring

up violence, is resented so strongly by an American community that he is beaten up or lynched by the citizens, with or without the sympathy of the local authorities. It is only the fear of physical violence (and a Red does detest for himself the violence he advocates) which has kept the South, until recently, comparatively free of Red agitators.

Revolutionary Self Interest

With the Federal Government controlled by Roosevelt radicals and the Costigan-Wagner Federal anti-lynching Bill enacted, the authorities of any community could be punished from Washington for the direct action of its citizens against Reds.

That, more than any deep sympathy for the Negroes, explains the radicals' steely determination to get this and similar protective Bills for agitators enacted. However, the advocacy of the Bill serves well also for Negro sympathy propaganda.

"Free speech, free press and free assembly" (for Red sedition) is the war cry of the infamous Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, in which the heads of both Socialist and Communist Parties are leaders.

Roosevelt Pardons Reds

The Socialist Party platform, of course, contained a strong clause on "Civil Liberties" and demanded under that title also:

"THE IMMEDIATE REPEAL OF THE ESPIONAGE LAW AND OTHER REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION, AND THE RESTORATION OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS TO THOSE UNJUSTLY CONVICTED UNDER WAR-TIME LAWS."

The I.W.W.s and other revolutionaries **were not unjustly convicted** under war-time laws; consequently, in the intervening years each patriotic American President has refused to condone or pardon the treasonable activities of those revolutionary enemies of America who struck her in the back with a knife during her war-time hour of need. But Roosevelt restored, by Presidential decree and pardon, citizenship to 1,500 Reds who had been convicted of seditious activities against the U. S. Government during the War.

Was it a bond of fellowship or a sympathetic premonition of the possibility of his being in a similar situation himself some day which inspired this action?

Harry N. Weinberg, who had been Anarchist Emma Goldman's attorney, praised this act of Roosevelt's fulsomely. "Hails 1,500 Yule Pardons as Victory for Free Speech", was the heading of the report in the Chicago Daily News (12/26/33).

The Communist Party platform had also demanded this very same act.

"Miss" Perkins Agrees

Another Socialist Party clause on "Civil Liberties" for Reds demanded:

"LEGISLATION PROTECTING ALIENS FROM BEING EXCLUDED FROM THIS COUNTRY OR FROM CITIZENSHIP OR FROM BEING DEPORTED ON ACCOUNT OF THEIR

POLITICAL, SOCIAL OR ECONOMIC BELIEFS MODIFICATION OF THE IMMIGRATION LAWS TO PERMIT THE REUNITING OF FAMILIES AND TO OFFER A REFUGE TO THOSE FLEEING FROM POLITICAL OR RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION."

Ever since Roosevelt placed "Miss" Perkins, a former member of the Socialist Party (communist Daily Worker 10/18/33), in charge of the U. S. Department of Labor, patriotic societies have been petitioning for her removal because of her illegal admission of notorious Red agitators previously barred from America and her failure to deport those who, according to law, should be deported.

Boat load after boat load of radicals ousted from Germany are reported as being deposited on our shores as "immigrants".

Deportation proceedings were deliberately suspended in the cases of more than 2,000 aliens guilty of illegal entry, to the delight of radicals, by the Resolution introduced by Mrs. Roosevelt's radical friend, Mrs. O'Day.

When Roosevelt appointees are sent out to propagandize for the enactment of the Kerr Immigration Bill to give "Miss" Perkins discretionary powers regarding immigration, to replace the mandatory statutes she now ignores, they use the sympathetic argument that the "reuniting of families" (see above Socialist Party clause) and the avoidance of hardship for refugees are the principle objectives of this legislation.

Near Waukegan, Illinois, citizens report that there is a colony, in charge of a communistic director, for immigrant children of German radicals who are brought in as "refugees". They are taught English and then placed in the public schools, to the embarrassment of small rural schools. Twenty had come in one week, and twenty more were expected the next week. If parents and relatives of such children's colonies try to enter the United States later, on the plea that they must be "reunited" with their families and successive children are to be admitted as "refugees", disregarding quotas, the chain of law-flouting immigration can go on endlessly. Why not let immigrants "reunite" in times of unemployment like the present on the other side of the ocean?

Swelling Unemployment

To quote the release of the American Coalition of patriotic societies (5/18/36):

"It is a matter of common knowledge that almost every ship now entering our ports brings to the United States a cargo of refugees. One of our leading daily papers announced on May 15th the entry of 375 aliens under a special quota privilege. What does this special quota privilege mean? Who has undertaken a modification of the regulations imposed by a previous administration for the protection of our unemployed?"

"Members of the medical profession have brought to our attention the fact that refugee entries from Germany are causing serious inroads upon the practice of medicine by American citizens. It is inevitable

that every refugee, however he may be employed, threatens the livelihood of an American citizen."

Roosevelt's "Neutrality" Partisanship

Under "International Relations", the 1932 Socialist Party platform demanded:

"PROHIBITION OF THE SALES OF MUNITIONS TO FOREIGN POWERS." Roosevelt's "neutrality law" covered this and he even, illegally, through Secretary Ickes, tried to keep American oil producers from selling oil to Italy, in order to aid the Socialist-controlled League of Nations' sanctions against Italy.

"THE COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE OF THE PHILIPPINES" was another Socialist Party demand which Roosevelt has gratified.

The strategy of the entire Red movement is to first agitate and secure the "independence" of small dependencies from stronger powers, as a prelude to their communization. As long as outside strong government is in control of a small nation, its sovietization is impeded. (See the All-American Anti-Imperialist League, pages 102-4, "The Red Network".)

So the Socialist Party platform (and in different words the Communist Party platform) demanded also: "THE ABANDONMENT OF EVERY DEGREE OF MILITARY INTERVENTION BY THE UNITED STATES IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES. THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF MILITARY FORCES FROM HAITI AND NICARAGUA."

Roosevelt responded promptly, pulling down the American flag for the first time in years in Haiti.

To quote: "Port-au-Prince, Haiti, Aug. 6.—(AP)—The United States flag which has flown for the last nineteen years over the marine corps barracks at Cape Haitien, on the north coast of Haiti, was lowered today and the Haitian flag raised in its place." (Chicago Daily News 8/6/34.)

War Debts

"THE CANCELLATION OF WAR DEBTS DUE FROM THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS", was another Socialist Party demand.

While Roosevelt has not formally cancelled the debts, yet he has made no effort to collect and has made reciprocal trade agreements ignoring them.

Petting the Soviet "Man-Eating Tiger"

Both Communist and Socialist Parties demanded U. S. recognition of the Soviet Union, self-styled "base of world revolution", the agent for the overthrow of the American Government. Successive patriotic American administrations since the bloody Bolshevik revolution of 1917, which established an organization for world-wide Atheism and terror, have given their sound reasons for U. S. refusal to recognize this international murder monger, but Roosevelt invited its ex-bandit representative, Litvinoff (Finkelstein), to the White House to be

dined and entertained with honors, and recognized the Soviet Russian government 11/16/33.

I was at a Communist mass meeting held in celebration of the Russian revolution when the news was announced in triumph. The Reds thus secured from Roosevelt what they had sought in vain for sixteen years from patriotic American Presidents. Roosevelt is the first American President, also, to send yearly congratulations to Soviet Russia on the anniversary of their Communist revolution.

International Socialism and Disarmament

To conclude quoting the Socialist platform of 1932:

"WHILE THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS OPPOSED TO ALL WAR, IT BELIEVES THAT THERE CAN BE NO PERMANENT PEACE UNTIL SOCIALISM IS ESTABLISHED INTERNATIONALLY."

"IN THE MEANWHILE" disarmament by international agreement or "BY SETTING AN EXAMPLE OURSELVES" is recommended by the platform until Socialism can be achieved.

Urging disarmament of non-Socialist governments is the Red offensive commonly camouflaged as "pacifism"; but, have you ever read a piece of Socialist literature or heard a Socialist speaker criticizing the world's largest army, that of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics? Undoubtedly not.

The disarmament idea is for the non-Socialist government. The huge Red army of Russia, the international Red "fatherland", is the pride of Socialists everywhere.

Roosevelt is to be credited with strengthening, not weakening, our defense forces. However, in view of his socialistic record, one wonders whether he is moved by patriotic instincts or by the desire to strengthen his ultimate power as dictator.

Roosevelt and Liquor

The 1932 Democratic liquor plank is practically the only one that Roosevelt has carried out, presumably because it did not conflict with the Socialist Party's liquor plank calling for State-owned and controlled liquor, as in Russia. Roosevelt instituted control.

He kept his personal pledge that there would be no return to saloons by giving us, instead, thousands of "taverns". The definition of a New Deal "tavern" is: A saloon that caters to women and children.

Recipe for New Deal Cocktail

For Roosocrat cocktail: Take a dash of sentimental altruism, and blend with hypocrisy bitters; fill with urge-to-rule-others; season with graft until palatable; serve with half cracked ice, tinted Red.

SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES ARE BROTHERS

The Communist and Socialist parties differ over leadership and the best means of attaining the same objective. Their objective, creed, root, stem, basic literature and leading songs are identical.

SONGS FOR SOCIALISTS

SING WITH SPIRIT!

RALLYING SONG

By James P. Morton, Jr.

(Tune: Old Lang Syne)

Come, brothers, raise a hearty song
To cheer us on our way;
The fetters old of hate and wrong
We cast aside today.

CHORUS

In bands of Brotherhood we stand,
Determined to be free,
That love and justice hand in hand
May bring true liberty.
To all the sons of men we call,
Of every tribe and name;
The cause of each is that of all,
The hope of each the same.

THE INTERNATIONAL

By Eugene Pottier

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise, ye slaves! no more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been naught, we shall be all.

CHORUS

'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place,
The International Party
Unites the human race.
'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place,
The International Party
Unites the human race.

We want no condescending saviors,
To rule us from our judgment hall.
We workers ask not for their favors;
Let us consult for all.
To make the thief disgorge his booty
To free the spirit from his cell.
We must ourselves decide our duty,
We must decide and do it well.

THE RED FLAG

By James Connel

(Tune: Maryland, My Maryland)

The workers' flag is deepest red,
It shrouded oft our martyred dead;
And ere their limbs grew stiff and cold
Their hearts' blood dyed its every fold.

CHORUS

Then raise the scarlet standard high;
Within its shade we'll live or die.
Tho' cowards flinch and traitors sneer,
We'll keep the red flag flying here.
Look 'round, the Frenchman loves its blaze,
The sturdy German chants its praise;
In Moscow's streets its hymns are sung,
Chicago swells its surging song.
It waved above our infant might,
When all ahead seemed dark as night;
It witnessed many a deed and vow;
We must not change its color now.
It well recalls the triumphs past;
It gives the hope of peace at last;
The banner bright, the symbol plain
Of human right, of human gain.
With heads uncovered swear we all,
To bear it onward till we fall;
Come dungeons dark or gallows grim,
This song shall be our parting hymn.

HOLD THE FORT

We meet today in freedom's cause
And raise our voices high;
We'll join our hands in union strong,
To battle or to die.

CHORUS

Hold the fort for we are coming—
Party men, be strong.
Side by side we battle onward,
Victory will come.
See our numbers still increasing;
Hear the bugles blow.
By our Party we shall triumph
Over every foe.

SOLIDARITY FOREVER

By Ralph Chaplin

(Tune: John Brown's Body)

When the Union's inspiration through the
workers blood shall run,
There can be no power greater anywhere
beneath the sun.

Yet what force on earth is weaker than
the feeble strength of one?

But the Union makes us strong.

CHORUS

Sol-i-dar-i-ty forever!

Sol-i-dar-i-ty forever!

Sol-i-dar-i-ty forever!

For the Union makes us strong.

In our hands is placed a power greater
than their hoarded gold;

Greater than the might of armies, mag-
nified a thousandfold.

We can bring to birth the new world from
the ashes of the old,

For the Union makes us strong!

**WHEN THE REVOLUTION
COMES**

By J. R. Glasier

(Tune: Yankee Doodle)

Come ev'ry honest lad and lass!

Too long we've been kept under

By rusty chains of fraud and fear,

We'll snap them all asunder!

CHORUS

When the revolution comes,

The Social Revolution—

It's coming fast—our turn, at last!

The Social Revolution!

That Robbers' paction styled the Law

To frighten honest folks, sirs.

We'll set ablaze and fumigate

The country with the smoke, sirs.

The landlord and the capitalist,—

If you should wish to see 'em

You'll have to take a holiday

And search in the museum!

Then let us hail the coming day!

The glorious hope before us!

And with brave deeds anticipate

The good time of our chorus!

**WE'LL NOT BE FOOLS
ANY MORE**

(Tune: When Johnny Comes Marching Home)

The battle is on that none can shirk in
field or street;

The lines are drawn 'twixt those who work
and those who eat.

Oh, we are many and they are few,

Yet we've always done what they told
us to.

But the time has come when

We'll not be fools any more;

Yes, the time has come when

We'll not be fools any more!

Oh, how do they hold the upper hand?

The answer runs:

They got the gold and they got the land
and they got the guns.

"Divide and conquer us" was the trick

By the gift of gab and the hired dick.

But the time has come when

We'll not be fools any more;

Yes, the time has come when

We'll not be fools any more!

To feed and shelter and clothe the earth,
is a simple job,

If once the spirit of man takes birth,
from formless mob,

If from the mills and mines and huts

We organize, and use our nuts,

Then the time has come when

We'll not be fools any more;

Yes, the time has come when

We'll not be fools any more!

LOUD LAUGHTER

(Tune: Little Brown Jug)

Is there a man that can be found
Who does not know the world goes round.
By Labor working might and main
And getting little for its pain?

CHORUS

Ha! ha! ha! he! he! he!

It's very funny, don't you see?

The workers live in poverty,

While the owners laugh ha! ha! he! he!

Printed by Socialist Party of America, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

Price 15c for 100; \$1.25 for 1,000.

Facsimile of Back Page of Official Socialist Party Song Sheet.

The Communist and Socialist "Internationale"

The official song of the Socialist and Communist Parties of the world is the revolutionary anti-religious "Internationale".

The words were written by Eugene Pottier, who, according to the sheet music edition put out by the Communist Party's "Workers' Music League", was a member of the communist Paris Commune, and "with the bloody defeat of the Commune in May 1871, he was convicted of conspiracy and forced to flee to the United States".

The music was written in 1888, by Pierre Degeyter. "In 1921, at the Socialist Congress in Tours, Degeyter was officially greeted as the composer of the 'Internationale'. In 1928, the Communist International invited him to its Sixth World Congress, where he was given a tremendous ovation. He was buried in red St. Dennis, near Paris."

The Socialist Party's official song sheet (see reproduction page 51) contains the "Internationale" with its anti-religious verse:

"We want no condescending saviors,
To rule us from a judgment hall.
We workers ask not for their favors;
Let us consult for all."

Norman Thomas, Mayor Dan Hoan, and a group are being pictured in the Red press at this time and in Literary Digest (6/6/36) singing the "Internationale" with clenched fists raised in the Red salute, habitually taken and held while the chorus is sung at Communist and Socialist Party meetings:

Chorus: " 'Tis the final conflict:
Let each stand in his place.
The International Soviet
Shall be the human race."

(The word "Party" is used instead of "Soviet", and the word "unites", instead of the words "shall be", in the Socialist Party edition.)

Red Atheist Hordes Doomed to Defeat

I always think when I hear the "Internationale" sung: "Yes, it will be the 'final conflict' when the Red atheist hordes who 'want no condescending saviors' go to 'war against the Lamb', but it will not be the International Soviet or Party, 'the scarlet coloured beast full of names of blasphemy', that shall triumph, but the forces of God!"

Note, also, on the Socialist Party's official song sheet the "Red Flag", "When the Revolution Comes", and "Solidarity Forever" (by Ralph Chaplin of the I.W.W., who served five years in the penitentiary for sedition and is still editor of the I.W.W. paper).

Right and Left Wing Differences

Along Rooseveltian lines, the so-called "right" or conservative wing of the Socialist Party emphasizes election of Socialists to government positions, step-by-step Socialist legislation, and the amendment of the Constitution to permit socialization of the United States with a minimum of violence. One of its leaders who is now protesting against the "left wing", or Norman Thomas, united-front movement with the Communist Party, is Louis Waldman (Russian-born), who

learned his lesson through being ousted from the New York Legislature in 1920 for his seditious and revolutionary utterances which were then openly sponsored by the Socialist Party. He, therefore, favors "soft pedaling" the open revolutionary talk and "getting places" first.

The Norman Thomas "left wing" point to the sweeping victories of the openly militant "Red-Front" Socialist and Communist parties in Spain and France.

However, all factions advocate camouflage, guile, and legislative and political action, as well as revolutionary violence to achieve Socialism-Communism, merely varying slightly in the degrees of their emphasis.

ROOSEVELT'S OUT-AND-OUT RADICAL SUPPORT

Upton Sinclair—Socialist, Communist, New Dealer

Upton Sinclair, who in 1936 is again supporting Roosevelt for the Presidency and who was supported by Roosevelt and Farley in 1934 when he ran for Governor of California as a "Democrat", has long been a world leader of the Socialist-Communist movement. He boasts that instead of his being a henchman of Moscow, the Russian revolution owes him much, because of the dissemination of his Red writings in Russia before the Communists seized power. When it is necessary to kick a little dust about for purposes of camouflage, he and the Communists do this; but Sinclair remains the faithful ally of his Moscow "comrades". He was one of the organizers in 1905 of the Socialist-Communist League for Industrial Democracy, which has been polluting the colleges with Marxism and breeding "brain trusters" since that time. Likewise, he helped organize the California branch of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, always the "tackle" on the Communist battle line.

Sinclair's services to the Red cause are endless and not unappreciated. He was elected to the honorary presidium, with Lenin's widow, of the Workers' Cultural Federation, comprising over one hundred Communist organizations in the United States. (See "The Red Network" for part of his long Red record.) Since its organization, his name has appeared on the Moscow-published magazine "International Literature—the literature of the world revolution", not only as permanent American contributor, along with leading Communist Party writers, but also as a member of the International Board publishing it. All during his campaign for the Governorship of California on the Democratic ticket, while he was writing plaintive sob articles telling the world how "Wall Street" representatives of entrenched greed were persecuting him by calling him a Red, anyone with two feet to carry him could drop into any one of the Communist Party book stores in the principal cities of the United States, including Los Angeles, where he was doing his bleating, and buy "International Literature", "The Organ of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers", printed in Moscow in four languages—a Communist Party

organ from cover to cover—with his name prominently displayed on it as part of the staff.

He lied glibly for the sake of his "cause", in his "I, Upton Sinclair, and How I Got Licked", and succeeded in fooling many.

Farley said to Sinclair, "Call me Jim". Harry Hopkins described him as "being on our side" and was photographed with him, wreathed in smiles (Chicago Tribune, 9/7/34). Roosevelt appointed Acret, a Sinclair man, to the unconstitutional socialistic Guffey Coal Board as a patronage recognition (Paul Mallon's Column 10/2/35).

"Red" Slogan—Another Roosevelt "Promise"

"Production for Use and Not for Profit" is the slogan of Communism-Socialism, whereas the capitalistic system, in which profit provides the incentive rather than a shotgun, stands for production for use AND for profit. In radical "Common Sense" magazine for August 1935, Sinclair suggests some typical slick Red tactics. To quote:

"Nearly a year ago, I received from Franklin Roosevelt the personal assurance that he would come out for Production for Use whenever the people made clear their readiness for it . . . and I believe that by mass pressure he can be induced to accept Production for Use for the unemployed as the leading feature of the New Deal. For that reason, I am opposing the getting up of a third party for 1936."

He urges "giving the unemployed access to land and machinery and permitting them to produce for their own use and benefit." He says: "If you give that opportunity to one in six of our workers, it will establish a colossal new system, an experiment-station on a scale never tried outside of Russia. Set up a cooperative commonwealth for twenty-five or thirty million people, and who can guess what will happen to the mentality of the remaining hundred million?"

Suggests Operating Under False Pretenses

"If you live in a State where the Republicans have drawn the Progressive element to themselves, there is no reason why you should not take possession of the Republican Party, and put up Production for Use candidates for state offices and for Congress on the Republican ticket, and at the same time swing your votes to Roosevelt for the Presidency. The same technique can be applied with the Progressive Party in Wisconsin and with the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota. We Epics of California . . . raided the Democratic primaries deliberately and systematically. . . . You cannot point to any faster political work in the entire history of our country, and the 879,000 Epic voters of California submit that record and ask that it receive due weight in all future discussions of our national problem."

Communist Strategy in Supporting Roosevelt

Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party U. S. A., has also announced his support of Roosevelt. To quote (Communist Party's "Daily Worker" 5/20/36): "'While we have abandoned the hope of a'" (Communist) "'Farmer-Labor presidential ticket, we consider the national and local organization of the Farmer-Labor

Party more necessary than ever. The Communist Party, therefore, will support any move in that direction that may be taken by the Chicago conference to be held May 30 under sponsorship of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party.' Browder indicated 'we would not do or say anything that would tend to turn Roosevelt support over to the Republican candidate'."

Again quoting Browder, the Daily Worker says (5/22/36): "However, in building a national Farmer-Labor Party this year to place local and Congressional tickets in the field, the Communists would not break off united front relations with those who will vote for Roosevelt. 'We must collaborate organizationally and politically with those who are committed to the support of Roosevelt in 1936. We must make use even of the activities of those organizations that support Roosevelt (like Labor's Non-Partisan League) to hasten the crystallization of independent political forms in the labor movement, which will contribute to the building of the Farmer-Labor Party.'"

Farmer-Labor Roosevelt Support

At the Communist-Socialist Farmer-Labor Party conference held May 30th in Chicago, referred to above, which Browder announced he would attend, Governor Floyd B. Olson's message was read. To quote the Associated Press despatch of 5/31/36:

"Although advocating formation of a national Farmer-Labor party, Governor Floyd B. Olson of Minnesota in a letter yesterday asserted it is not advisable to place a third party presidential ticket in the field this year.

"The Minnesota executive said a third ticket 'may defeat our liberal President and elect a Fascist Republican,' but he pointed out a third party could aid greatly 'in helping to elect liberals to Congress and in campaigning at the same time for state tickets.'

"'Little can be expected from the Democratic party. Were it not for the influence wielded by President Roosevelt, the Democratic majority in both Senate and House would have a decidedly reactionary tinge. Once this Roosevelt influence is removed, we can safely predict that the party will move towards the right.'"

PLOTTING RED POWER THROUGH THE C.I.O.

Need Man of Roosevelt's Sympathies

Says the New Republic, "advocate of revolutionary Socialism" (6/17/36):

"Mr. John L. Lewis and Mr. Sidney Hillman have become in effect the captains of the left-wing congressional bloc. . . . It is understood that Messrs. Lewis and Hillman believe that their first task is to organize the workers of the steel, automobile, rubber, and other mass industries. Only when this is done can political action on a national scale be contemplated. This analysis of the situation is accepted by the left wing members of Congress. Since the C.I.O.'s" (Com-

mittee for Industrial Organization) "chief energies for the next year or two must go into the work of union organization, most left wingers likewise approve of Messrs. Lewis' and Hillman's decision to support Mr. Roosevelt. . . . These left-wingers fully appreciate that the C.I.O. needs a man of Mr. Roosevelt's sympathies in the White House during the next four years."

Communist Party Backs Industrial Unionism

"Demonstrate for industrial unionism, for the immediate launching of organizing drives in steel, auto and rubber", says the "Party Organizer" (April, 1936), a manual of instructions to Party organizers, "issued by Central Committee, Communist Party U.S.A."

"Demand the passage of the American Youth Act!

"For a people's front against war and fascism! For a Farmer-Labor Party!

"Follow the example of the Soviet Union! **Forward** to a Soviet America!"

Earl Browder, Communist leader, in his 3/5/36 nationwide radio broadcast over the Columbia system (now printed), pleaded for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party, saying: "It would **not yet** take up the full program of socialism, of revolution, for which many are not yet prepared. . . . And here let me say one word about the C.I.O. headed by John L. Lewis . . . we support fully the fight for industrial unionism."

C.I.O. a "Progressive Movement", Says Communist Foster

Concerning the Roosevelt-supporting Committee for Industrial Organization, Wm. Z. Foster, national head of the Communist Party, who is writing front-page editorials for the communist Daily Worker, entitled "Foster Points Out Lessons of 1919 Steel Strike", says (7/6/36) that the C.I.O. is a "Progressive Movement":

"One of the elementary reasons for the success of the 1919 organizers in mobilizing the great masses of the steel workers for struggle against the steel trust was the progressive character of the movement. This progressivism explains (even as it does in the case of the C.I.O. now) why the 1919 organizers began in the first place, for never have the Right reactionaries of the A. F. of L. undertaken such a big and serious job of organization in the union.

"In a general sense, the forces that organized the steel workers in 1919 were similar to the present C.I.O.—that is, they constituted a progressive opposition movement in the A. F. of L., and did their organization work in the face of a growing sabotage by the reactionary right-wing controlling the A. F. of L. . . .

"The campaign of 1919 was carried through on the basis of a partial united front between the progressive and left-wing forces in the A. F. of L. John Fitzpatrick, Chairman of the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers, was the head of the National Farmer-Labor Party. As for myself, the Secretary of the National Committee, I was a Syndicalist." (I.W.W.)

"Gradually, the progressive and left forces in the A. F. of L. generally tended to rally around the steel committee. It was no accident, therefore, that the three Socialist-led, needle trade unions (**Amalgamated Clothing Workers, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Furriers**) contributed between them almost twice as much cash as was given by all the 24 cooperating unions together. Had the steel strike been successful, one of its major consequences certainly would have been the overthrow of the Samuel Gompers regime in the A. F. of L. by the gathering progressive, left forces." (These same Red unions are supporting Roosevelt today. The Furriers' Union received \$50,000 from the communist Garland Fund in 1926, and the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union \$100,000.)

"Naturally, the 1919 National Committee leaders chose, as far as possible, progressives and lefts to lead the organization work. For example, the General Organizer, J. G. Brown, was a prominent F.-L.P. leader and later became national secretary of that party; Joe Manley, an iron worker and key man in the work, and S. T. Hammersmark, a leading Youngstown organizer, were Syndicalists and later became Communists. J. Olchon, E. Gunther, J. Gent, F. Smith, and various other organizers were left Socialists."

Roosevelt Financing Promised for Red Strike

Nelson E. Hewitt, in his "Advisor" (7/8/36), says:

"Leo Krzcyki, an alien-born revolutionary Socialist and an Amalgamated Clothing Workers' organizer, is one of the chief organizers in the steel drive. This is typical of the leadership that is seeking to foist mob rule on industry in this country.

"Now comes word, from Pittsburgh that both the Pennsylvania State Government and the U. S. Government are standing by ready to aid and abet the Reds and revolutionaries by providing relief to strikers who strike against steel plants in Pennsylvania.

"That there will be bloodshed sooner or later is certain and Roosevelt and his gang will be accessories in the mob action. What can the American people be thinking of to tolerate such leadership. If it continues there can only be one outcome—civil war which will then become the Communist Revolution."

The LaFollette Sub-Committee Investigation

The A.C.L.U. and entire Red press echo with joy at the success of the Congressional pressure forcing an investigation, by the LaFollette Sub-Committee, of industries which employ "spies" to discover Reds plotting in their plants or to interfere with their strikes.

The revolutionary "Socialist Call" of 4/25/36 publishes part of a list of 439 firms revealed as found "guilty" of such practices by the LaFollette Committee. (See also article on "Red 'Reverends'" etc., page 268.)

Presumably, in the eyes of Roosevelt radicals and their "LaFollettes", it is legitimate that Communists should publish and distribute their booklet named after the Leninist Communist slogan

A PICTORIAL PANORAMA OF YOUTH IN AMERICA TODAY

AMERICAN YOUTH EXHIBIT

SPONSORED BY THE
AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS



NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH - 66 W 12 -

Facsimile of Poster of Communist "American Youth Congress" Exhibit Held at Mrs. Roosevelt's New School for Social Research.



Speakers at Communist "American Youth Congress"—See Page 246. (Left to right) Radical Stanley High (employee of the Democratic National Committee and head of its subsidiary, Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor League"), Communist Earl Browder (Communist Party candidate for President), William Hineley (chairman of the Congress), "Progressive" Republican Robert A. Taft, and Socialist Party organizer Roy Burt (Methodist minister-politician).



Radical Sinclair Lewis, Member of Presidium of World Red Anti-Fascist Committee and

"Every Factory a Fortress"; that Socialists, Communists and all revolutionaries should back the Committee for Industrial Organization (supporting Roosevelt), which, armed with an initial sum of a half-million dollars, is going forth to avowedly organize for the revolutionary general strike,—but illegitimate and illegal (they intend to make it so) for an employer to gather any knowledge of what his Red enemies are doing in the plant which he believes to be his business or to take any steps against its conversion into a Red fortress.

"To the Lions" with Employers!

The investigations of the LaFollette committee are expected to provide the Reds with a Roman holiday brightened by the entertainment of seeing employers devoured by the "lions", as part of the Marxian "class struggle".

If employer opposition can be thus halted, industrial organization go forward, Roosevelt be re-elected and his leftist laws enacted—Red events are expected to move forward rapidly.

The Ruin of Patriotic American Labor

Matthew Woll has warned again and again that if the A. F. of L. allows itself to come under Communist control, as it is rapidly doing, the ruin of patriotic American labor will result in American opposition to all organized labor because of its revolutionary un-American activities.

While Wm. Green verbally exiles the Communists, still one Communist union after another has been absorbed by the A. F. of L., thus radically altering its character.

WHAT DO THEY MEAN "AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM"?

For "War" and "Fascism", Substitute "Patriotism" and "Anti-Communism"

The mighty Red propaganda machine is turning loose, into nearly every section of the press, warnings about "war and fascism". Look closely at the personnel, organization and text. Substitute the words "patriotism and anti-Communism" for "war and fascism" and usually the true meaning will be made clear.

Of course, the Communists and Socialists are vociferously against anti-Socialism-Communism and patriotism, but they cannot admit this to outsiders, and so they use the pretext that anyone who is anti-Communist—anyone who opposes being robbed of his freedom, property rights, and religion (all guaranteed by the American Constitution) and being put under a Red dictatorship, the most vicious and brutal on earth, as an inmate of the Marxian state penitentiary system—is a wicked "fascist" trying to set up a government in America on the plan of the German or Italian.

The anti-Communist, anti-any-kind-of-dictatorship in America, American Legion, D.A.R., and Hearst Press, and individuals like myself who stand only for 100% Americanism, are labeled "fascists" by the Reds—meaning merely that they are **anti-Communists**.

Gorki, Shaw, Rolland, Lewis Head World Anti-Fascist Body

6/29/35
(By Cable to the Daily Worker)

PARIS, June 27.—As the International Writers' Congress here draws to a close the Congress as a whole is proving—in a practical and splendid spirit of class solidarity—its declaration to fight every manifestation of fascism wherever it appears.

On the initiative of the Communist and Socialist parties, representatives of the Communist, Socialist, Radical-Socialist, and Neo-Socialist parties called on Premier Pierre Laval yesterday and demanded the dissolution of the fascist leagues. Laval declared that he would assure order against both the right and the left and attacked the Communist Party. The delegation of writers nevertheless exacted a promise of Laval to forbid the

Croix de Feu, fascist veterans' organization, from holding semi-military demonstrations.

A large audience has been following the Congress with the keenest attention. The auditorium in which the writers convene daily is always crowded with visitors.

Discuss National Question

The discussion on nationalities and culture continued with reports by Anabel Williams Ellis of England, Mikitenko of the Soviet Ukraine, Lahouti of Soviet Turkestan, Anna Seghers, Kantorowicz and Rudolph of Germany, and Mousinac of France.

Michael Gold of the United States spoke on the love for America by the masses of people

(Continued on Page 2)

Concluding speeches were made by the great Soviet poet, Pasternak, the writer Babel, Wabya the Indian poet, by the Chinese writer Wang, who made a magnificent speech.

Malraux, Barbusse Hall Congress. In a closing speech Malraux pointed to the reverberations which the Congress had already created in literary circles throughout the world.

In his leave-taking remarks Henri Barbusse said: "This Congress is a great, new and courageous act. It is for you to make it a growing act, to make it effective and powerful."

One of the most practical results of the Writers' Congress was the formation of the International Writers' Association in Defense of Culture. It will be directed by a bureau comprising the representatives of all the countries represented at the Congress.

The presidium of this bureau is made up of Andre Gide, Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Thomas Mann, Heinrich Mann, Maxim Gorki, Forster, Aldous Huxley, Bernard Shaw, Sinclair Lewis, Salma Lagerlof and Valentin.

Will Prepare New Parley

The objects of the association will be the translation of works forbidden in their countries, the facilitation of relations, visits among writers, the spreading of works of quality, and the preparation of a second congress.

Noted Writers Hail Soviets On New Year

- January 4, 1936 -

By Sender Garlin

(Daily Worker Moscow Correspondent)

MOSCOW, Jan. 3.—The Soviet government and the people of the Soviet Union were greeted on the New Year and congratulated for their great achievements by leading American authors and writers, including Upton Sinclair, Waldo Frank, Sinclair Lewis, Michael Gold, Harry Elmer Barnes.

Sinclair cabled Pravda, daily newspaper of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as follows:

"During the past eighteen years I have maintained that the economic experiment carried out by the Soviet Union is the most significant in the history of humanity. Its success is the proof of the correctness of the arguments I have been advancing all my conscious life. The Soviet methods of production and distribution are destined to take the place of the methods of the rest of the world. I do everything I can in order to explain this fact in my country, although I am convinced that we will have to use other methods, adapted to the psychology and convictions of our people." (Retranslated from Russian.)

Sinclair Lewis cabled:

"Allow me on New Year's Day to express the hope that progressive America and progressive Russia will continue to defend the interests of world peace."

The message from Barnes read: "In my opinion the Soviet Union has achieved unusual successes in the construction of a great industrial state, in the creation of such a society as devotes itself to the interests of all citizens, as a social unit uprooting prejudices and religious intolerance, in developing civilized and enlightened attitudes toward sex problems and in the arranging of the first modernized system of criminal jurisprudence and pedagogy. I look upon the U. S. S. R. as the most genuine fortress against fascism. Progressive people of all countries must rally to and desire the future success of the Soviet Union."

Gorki, Shaw, Lewis Head Writers Body

(Continued from Page 1)

as against the America of the parasites. Solvemini of Italy also reported.

The evening session was devoted to the subject of problems of creation and thought, presided over by Solvemini and Mousinac. Heinrich Mann spoke on the necessity of struggling against fascism in the safeguarding of cultural values. The importance of the epigram of literature across the borders of all countries was stressed by Tikhonov. Feuchtwanger of Germany discussed the role of the historical novel.

A moving message from Germany was given by an "underground" writer who had come especially to greet the Congress and was returning to Germany immediately.

In his report Trifan Tsara, former surrealist, stated that true poetry can only live for the revolutionary movement.

At the closing session last night the subject was the defense of culture, led by Andre Chanson of France and Babel of the U. S. S. R.

The Congress had taught that the proletarian revolution defends true humanism, declared, Vaillant-Couturier of France.

At Left, Facsimile of Report in Communist "Daily Worker" Announcing That Sinclair Lewis Heads World Red Body, with Communists Gorki, Shaw, and Rolland. At Right, Facsimile of Daily Worker Report on New Year's Greetings of Sinclair Lewis and Other Reds to Soviet Fatherland.

The name of one "Red-Front" Communist organization, now claiming 3,000,000 members in the United States, is the American League Against War and Fascism. The name of its "pacifist" periodical (listed as an official Communist Party publication) is "Fight".

What do they mean by saying they are "against war"? They mean that they are against war in defense of one's own Government, but they advocate civil war and Red revolution. What do they mean by saying they are against "fascism"? They mean not only that they are against those dictatorships of Italy and Germany which were formed for the express purpose of keeping them from setting up infinitely worse dictatorships (and Reds rage to think how closely they came to seizing power in both Italy and Germany), but also that they are against any opposition to Communism in the United States.

Moscow's American League Against War and Fascism

The American League Against War and Fascism was set up at the order of Moscow's Comintern. "The Daily Worker, central organ of the Communist Party U.S.A. (section of the Communist International)"—as its masthead reads—gives this advice under the heading "Questions and Answers" (5/31/35):

"Question: 'At the outbreak of an imperialist war, what should be the role of the young worker or student who is class conscious and knows the capitalistic causes of war, but who is not a member of the Communist Party?'

"Answer: 'Your place as a class conscious worker is in the American League Against War and Fascism. This is a broad united front comprised of all groups who sincerely hate war and fascism, and who have taken the one road that will defeat these dangers—that of militant struggle.

"In the event of the outbreak of war, all workers who are not in contact with such united front bodies should immediately participate in the struggles they will wage against our own imperialists. There will be strikes and demonstrations and other methods of struggle, and under the guidance of the vanguard of the working class—the Communist Party, the masses must strive to turn these anti-war struggles into a REVOLUTIONARY CIVIL WAR for the overthrow of capitalism and the setting up of the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.' " (See "The Red Network" for the formation by the Comintern of the American League Against War and Fascism and page 168 of this book for the treasonable activities of its Congress.)

"The Party Organizer", a publication for Communist Party members only, continually refers to the necessity of building the American League Against War and Fascism.

Gorki, Shaw, Rolland, Lewis Head World Red Body

The communist "Writers' Congress" held in Paris (June 1935) appointed atheist-Socialist Sinclair Lewis to the World Presidium of its anti-fascist "International Writers' Association in Defense of Culture" (Red "culture").

"The presidium of this bureau was made up of Andre Gide, Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Thomas Mann, Heinrich Mann, Maxim Gorki, Aldous Huxley, Bernard Shaw, Sinclair Lewis, Selma Lagerlof and Valeinclin", said the communist *Daily Worker* (6/28/35) under the heading "Gorki, Shaw, Rolland, Lewis, Head World Anti-Fascist Body". (See reproduction, p. 60.)

Gide, Barbusse (deceased), Rolland, of France, Maxim Gorki (deceased), of Russia, Bernard Shaw of England (who now boasts of his Communism), are all "Permanent Contributors" of the staff of the Communist "International Literature—the central organ of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers . . . published in five languages: Russian, French, German, English, and Chinese, at Print shop number 7, Moscow."

Lewis' Book and the Roosevelt Red Front

Sinclair Lewis' book "It Can't Happen Here" is sold and recommended by the Communist Party book stores. It is, at any rate, anti-fascist and would seem to have been written to order for the uses of his Red committee. It is a clarion call to Communists, Socialists, and their sympathizers, the "Liberals", to unite to forestall "fascist" dictatorship, meaning to fight anti-Communism.

To make it appear to be a call in behalf of democracy (instead of Socialism-Communism) Lewis throws in a few mild warnings against Communist dictatorships, as well.

He reverts more than once to the idea of one of his Socialist characters who, occupying a prison cell with a Communist Party organizer after the fascist dictatorship wins, says, significantly (page 387):

"Well, you old Bolshevik, I told you so! **If you Communists had joined with me and Norman Thomas to back Franklin Roosevelt**, we wouldn't be here now!" (But they have joined now. Earl Browder and Norman Thomas both state that Roosevelt must not be defeated.)

Lewis' communistic moral ideas are portrayed in the admiring treatment he gives his hero, Doremus Jessup, who is represented as having a good and pleasant wife whom he likes, but unashamedly sleeps frequently with a young woman, a radical agitator, with the broad minded ("swamp broad") approval of his daughter. Her consideration of her mother's feelings is shown in that she does not mention her father's sex relations with the young agitator. He reads the communist *New Masses*, the revolutionary socialist *New Republic*, etc., and aids the principal Communist agitations, not because he is a Communist, but because, as Lewis says, he is just an average good American.

Nice adulterous Red-aiding hero! Nice sympathetic daughter! (As Karl Marx would say:)

The American Association for the Advancement of Atheism publicly rejoiced with all atheists and Reds, when Sinclair Lewis won the Nobel prize. His vitriolic attacks upon religion, as in "Elmer Gantry", delight them. His characters who profess any Christian

faith are always lying, sneaking, immoral hypocrites. His heroes are kindly unbelievers or atheists. He takes some of his customary jabs at religion in "It Can't Happen Here".

In appreciation, perhaps, for the ired "inspiration" my anti-communistic efforts had afforded Lewis, his publishers asked for my comment and sent me a free copy of "It Can't Happen Here", so that I might read all about the coarse, boozing, hypocritical, utterly revolting fascist villain, whom he names "Windrip" and touches up representing him as reading and admiring my writings. Poor benighted Windrip!—when he might have read the communist New Masses like the hero! Such taste would characterize such a despicable creature.

To Sidestep the Facts, They Invent Alibis

"Miss" Dorothy Thompson, Lewis' "anti-fascist" current wife, is also flatteringly unflattering about my work against Communism. She referred to me bitterly in a Los Angeles lecture as a "so-and-so" menace. (See reproduction of photograph.)

However, the favorite stunt among radicals now, when confronted with irrefutable facts from "The Red Network", is to dodge the issue by saying: "Oh, didn't you know? Mrs. Dilling is now in an asylum!" This falsehood is supposed to close the whole matter and to wipe out all the facts.

Following lectures by Norman Hapgood, J. Pierce Newell, Harry Ward, etc., I have received angry letters from friends about their reference to my supposed incarceration. According to one received this week, I am at this moment, they say, beating my head against some padded cell. Their wish is father to the thought. One is not incarcerated, as yet, for being "crazy" about Americanism and opposed to Communism.

My lawyer husband fails to see why I laugh so cheerily about this; but when facts they cannot refute "get under the hides" of radicals so sorely that they must turn to silly lies like that to combat the truth, it is not only amusing but amounts to flattery of a left-handed variety. And a "Rightist" must expect left-handed flattery from "Leftists" and not expect a "Leftist" to do right!

"Anti-Fascists" Greet the Soviet Fatherland

"Noted Writers Hail Soviets on New Year", is the caption of the Moscow report in the communist Daily Worker (1/4/36) which reprints these messages of American Reds to their Soviet "Fatherland". It is interesting to note the passionate support of Communism on the part of Roosevelt's strong henchman Upton Sinclair. To quote:

"Moscow, Jan. 3.—The Soviet government and the people of the Soviet Union were greeted on the New Year and congratulated for their great achievements by leading American authors and writers, including Upton Sinclair, Waldo Frank, Sinclair Lewis, Michael Gold, Harry Elmer Barnes." (Communist Michael Gold is on the Roosevelt payroll.)

"Sinclair cabled Pravda, daily newspaper of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as follows:

"During the past eighteen years I have maintained that the economic experiment carried out by the Soviet Union is the most significant in the history of humanity. Its success is the proof of the correctness of the arguments I have been advancing all my conscious life. The Soviet methods of production and distribution are destined to take the place of the methods of the rest of the world. I do everything I can in order to explain this fact in my country, although I am convinced that we will have to use other methods, adapted to the psychology and convictions of our people.' (Retranslated from Russian.)

"Sinclair Lewis cabled:

"Allow me on New Year's Day to express the hope that progressive America and progressive Russia will continue to defend the interests of world peace.'" Russia defends the interests of Red world revolution, giving opponents the "peace" of death. Lewis knows this as well as I do. (See reproduction, p. 60.)

COMMUNIZING THE INDIANS

Inspired by Communist-aiding A.C.L.U.

One of the most pathetic struggles in the history of America is being waged by a group of loyal American Indians without funds who have done their utmost to prevent being communized by the red American Civil Liberties Union program put over under the title of the Wheeler-Howard Bill as a Roosevelt Administration measure, under Secretary of the Interior Ickes and his Red aides. Ickes' Department controls Indian affairs.

Mrs. Alice Lee Jemison, Mr. Joseph Bruner, Mr. O. K. Chandler, and a few more cultured Christian Indian fellow-crusaders representing the patriotic American Indian Federation, existed in tragic poverty in Washington last year, and are still there, lacking decent food most of the time, in order to remain to fight for their poor people.

The Indians Protest

They addressed a protest to Congress (4/26/36) in which this appears:

"Under the direction of the American Civil Liberties Union group, Congress was hoodwinked in 1934 into enacting a law, the so-called Wheeler-Howard Act (Public No. 383, 73rd Congress, 2nd Session), which legalizes the establishment of Communism in the United States. Under the terms of this Act, 'all other persons of one-half or more Indian blood', whether citizens of the United States or not, can be established in government 'communes' on government land—all at the expense of the taxpayers of the United States. Through this loose or ADROIT wording of the Act, there is nothing to prevent the Secretary of the Interior from providing land for Indians of 'one-half or more Indian blood' from Canada, Mexico or any of the South American countries. . . .

"Under the terms of the so-called Thomas-Rogers Act (S.2047) for the State of Oklahoma Indians (Osage County excepted) now before Congress, it is proposed to further extend Communism into the United States. As few as ten Indians can be brought into a government 'commune' under the provisions of this bill, and they need not be adults nor residents of the United States or Oklahoma at this time. . . .

"Thus far, from direct appropriations and allocations of public moneys, \$138,991,453.41, of the American taxpayers' money has been used, since July 1933, to put this program into operation. The whole 'scheme' is only a part of a well devised plan to 'establish a new social order' in which the Indians may, according to a prominent and active member of the American Civil Liberties Union, 'point the way for ALL AMERICANS' into 'COMMUNISM', the 'GOAL' of Roger N. Baldwin, Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union. Communism in the United States would mean the destruction of Christianity, sanctity of the home and all American principles of freedom and 'equal justice under law'."

Ask Collier's Dismissal, Repeal of Act

Earlier this year (1/9/36), they presented resolutions passed by their all-Indian Federation beseeching President Roosevelt to dismiss John Collier, Indian Commissioner, and to repeal the Wheeler-Howard Act.

To quote from these resolutions, representing the will of many tribes and thousands of Indians: "We hereby condemn the Wheeler-Howard Act, so-called, but for which neither Senator Wheeler nor Congressman Howard took responsibility, but introduced the said Bill 'By Request'. We condemn the said Act for its segregating and communistic features and its continuance of the American Indian under a more autocratic Bureau control than has ever before been set up, making those Indians who have voted to accept its provisions 'voluntary' instead of 'involuntary' wards and destroying whatever rights they may possess or hope to possess as free citizens of the United States and placing them in the position of tenants, and very restricted tenants, upon the land of their forefathers and subject to removal at the pleasure of the Commissioner or any of his subordinates. We hereby further and most emphatically condemn the said Act because of the fact that it originated in and was sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union.

"We hereby condemn the program of the said Commissioner because it has enlarged the aims and authority of the Indian Bureau and has imposed upon American Taxpayers additional expense which is totally useless and is a direct detriment to the Indian people. . . .

"We hereby condemn his program" (Collier's) "because of his introduction into Indian affairs of many foreign ideas and especially a foreign personnel . . . one Estref Shevsky whom he persuaded to take out first citizenship papers that he might be given employment in the Indian Land program where he will have great influence, if not actual control of the expenditures of vast sums of money for the

purchase of Indian lands under the Wheeler-Howard Act. . . . he is continually seeking advice for the administration of Indian affairs from anthropologists and ethnologists and other impractical theorists who regard the Indian people as curiosities to be 'preserved' in their natural habitats and not as human beings entitled to the same rights as other free-born and naturalized citizens.

"We hereby condemn the system of 'cooperative medicine' which is being practised at his direction in certain of the Indian reservations.

Condemn Teaching of Communism

"We hereby condemn the teaching of communism in the schools maintained by the United States Government for the education of Indian children, and for other communistic theories which are being forced upon the Indian people.

"We hereby condemn the introduction into free America of the Mexican 'ejita' school system of which Mr. Collier has stated that he thoroughly approves and considers 'almost the most perfect system in the world.'" (Collier admitted at the hearings that he had brought Dr. Saenz of the Mexican school system here at a cost of \$1,500, to give advice on Indian affairs, and that he himself had spent two summers in Mexico studying the Socialist system now in effect in the Mexican schools, under which teachers have to take an oath to fight religion and uphold atheism. There, children are even stripped for the teaching of Marxian sex education. The result is to be noted in the American press, which, from time to time, reports that irate parents have killed a public school teacher of the Socialist education system Collier admires.)

To quote (I.N.S. 10/11/35): "Sex education over which religious leaders and civil officials have fought bitterly for the last two years has caused most of Sonora's troubles recently. Catholic leaders charge children in their early teens are undressed in order that the students may study living models." The Mexican press reported that the complaints of irate parents whose young girls had been detained over night by some Mexican officials were answered by one official who said that the parents' ideas on sex were a part of the old bourgeois religious ideology that Socialism must eradicate. The girls would have sex experience some time—why not now, under Government supervision?

Teaching of Christianity Discouraged

Quoting again from the Indian Federation resolutions:

"We hereby condemn and denounce in the strongest terms possible Mr. Collier's continuous and subversive attempts to discourage the teaching of Jesus Christ among the Indian people, which has resulted in some instances of missionaries being forced to give up their work among the Indian people. More particularly do we condemn this program which is being carried out within the boarding schools which are maintained for the education of Indian children who are thus without the benefit and guidance of their parents.

"We hereby condemn the program of land-buying which is being carried forward to establish communistic communities within the United States and which will give communistic government a sure and firm foothold. . . .

"We hereby condemn the program of Mr. Collier which is being carried steadily forward to remove the tribal funds of the Indians from the Treasury of the United States and use them for the establishment of 'cooperatives' subject to the autocratic and arbitrary control of Mr. Collier and his subordinates, and all over the protests of the Indian people."

The Hearings Air Embarrassing Facts

The hearings before the Congressional Committee at Washington (Feb. 1935) brought out some very striking facts. Not only was the red American Civil Liberties Union authorship of the Wheeler-Howard Act shown (the A.C.L.U. official reports boast of it), but also the interlocking relationship of the Indian Bureau of the Government, the American Civil Liberties Union and its Indian Committee, and the American Indian Defense Association, a Garland-Fund-aided organization of white radicals, headed by John Collier as the paid Secretary from 1923 until "Honest Harold" Ickes appointed him head of the U. S. Indian Bureau. (See official Government Report covering Hearings, page 655.) Collier's place was then taken by Allan G. Harper, head of the Pennsylvania branch of the red American Civil Liberties Union.

Nathan Margold, former head of the Indian Committee of the A.C.L.U., became chief law officer of the Department of the Interior under Ickes, and Robert Marshall of the A.C.L.U. was made Director of Forestry of the Department of the Interior. Walter Wilkie, Dr. Steindel, Mrs. Rachel Barker, Miss Lydia Bode, etc., of the American Indian Defense Association, secured jobs in Collier's Governmental department.

Collier himself enthusiastically praised the A.C.L.U., its fight against sedition laws and other activities, said that he was a close friend of its Director, the Communist penitentiary-alumnus, Roger Baldwin, and said that he had contributed funds for its work, but refused to either confirm or deny the charge that he is a member along with Secretary and Mrs. Ickes. He did say that they all approved and supported the A.C.L.U. heartily. His poem in honor of atheistic, radical Isadora Duncan was introduced into the record, and his citation on the 1933 honor roll of "The Nation", "advocate of revolutionary socialism", and the free radical advertising in his propaganda magazine "Indians at Work", published at Government expense, were also aired.

The Red Garland Fund Supports Collier's Indian Work

Mr. Sloan, a lawyer member of the Omaha Indian tribe, made a significant statement (Page 1025):

"During the last session of Congress I was assisting Mr. F. G. Collett, executive representative of the Indians of California, Inc.,

with legislation for the California Indians in the form of a jurisdictional act. After I had been working a month or two, Mr. Allan G. Harper, executive secretary of the" (radical) "American Indian Defense Association, came to me and said very decidedly, 'You will never get anywhere working with Mr. Collett. If you expect to do anything you will have to do otherwise; because the attorneys of the American Indian Defense Association wish to take that case and handle it for the Indians.' The latter part of his remarks was made in a threatening manner. I was surprised at the time and made no reply.

"When I got to San Francisco during the hearings held . . . with respect to California Indians, the president of the San Francisco chapter, or the representative, of the American Indian Defense Association in that city was present. He took the stand; he had the opening, and he declared that no attorneys were necessary for the California Indians. . . . Since returning and considering the matter, particularly the rivalry that has arisen between the American Indian Defense Association" (radical whites) "and the American Indian Federation," (patriotic Indians) "it has grown upon me that the domination of the American Indian Defense Association amounted to considerable, because it seemed to have friends who were supporting Mr. Collier in a manner that I am sure was not either honest or fair or just to the Indians in respect to their property rights."

Mr. Sloan's words about support were wiser than he knew. Before me is the official report of gifts of the communist Garland Fund, issued Nov. 1934, in which this item appears: "American Indian Defense Committee, Washington, D. C.—toward expenses of litigation in behalf of Pueblo Indian titles to lands (1930-31) . . . \$500". That was when Collier was the paid head of the American Indian Defense Committee. Roger Baldwin, Collier's admired friend, is president of the red Garland Fund.

Indian Bureau Bullying

Mr. Sloan, continuing his testimony, went on to relate his experiences with Mr. Cohen, one of the Frankfurter "Hot Dog" boys, of the office of Nathan Margold, Solicitor of Ickes' Department of the Interior, and Allan G. Harper, Collier's successor as head of the radical American Indian Defense Association:

"I speak particularly of their" (Indians') "allotments, which are inheritable estates. In this committee room, Mr. Harper took occasion to criticize my stand in respect to the law; . . . he then called upon Mr. Cohen, and Mr. Cohen . . . said 'I have here a decision which authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to make leases of Indian allotments.' I replied, 'You are mistaken; there is no such decision. The latest announcement of the Supreme Court of the United States is that the Secretary of the Interior cannot initiate Indian leases.' . . . After I had met Mr. Cohen's assertion, he said 'We got a law through which makes the decision of the Secretary of the Interior final in heirship and will cases.' I replied, 'Yes, you sneaked it through

quietly when you did not need it.' . . . I told him that it showed they were particularly unfair, unjust, and did not wish the Indian to have a fair opportunity to protect his right to property. The more I spoke the more angry I became and I made what I said emphatic, and what I said was to the effect that they were a dishonest, crooked bunch and they might all just as well go to hell because as far as I was concerned they were not treating the Indians fairly. . . . I have been prosecuting a case before the Indian Office and the Department of the Interior for 3 years, and when I spoke to a lawyer in the Indian Bureau about the record I had made in reference to the evidence, he said, **'We do not observe the rules of evidence, we give it administrative consideration.'** That same process is followed all the way through the Indian Bureau, the office of the Solicitor of the Department of the Interior, and the Department itself."

Another Indian testified that he thought the (communist-Garland-Fund-supported) American Indian Defense Association and the Government Indian Bureau had merged, as he had received the bulletin of the former as though it were a Government publication.

Some Officials of the American Indian Defense Association

The president of the radical American Indian Defense Association, according to its 1934 letterhead, is Haven Emerson, M.D., of the communist American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia, and its executive secretary Allan G. Harper of the communist-aiding A.C.L.U., who led the fight in Pennsylvania to keep Frank Borich of the communist National Miners Union from deportation. On the board of directors are Blanche Cole Lowenthal, member of numerous Communist organizations (see "The Red Network"), and William Allen White (see "The Red Network"). White's encouragement to communistic enterprises is illustrated by the circular letter sent out (1926) by the Communist magazine, "New Masses", previously barred from the mails as lascivious matter, which resumed mailing privileges and ran blasphemous cartoons of Christ being "sold" as a business racket by his Apostles; the circular letter contains the following:

"I don't know that I agree with you people altogether," wrote William Allen White. "But I want to see you express yourselves. Go to it, you bums, and may the devil give you his blessing, along with these ten fair bucks."

"Well, somebody must have been pulling for us, because within a month we had raised the money on which the subsidy of the American Fund for Public Service" (the misleading formal name of the communist Garland Fund) "was conditioned and the publication of the magazine was assured for a year's experiment."

Father John A. Ryan (of the national committee of the Communist-aiding A.C.L.U. and a very long list of similar organizations), James P. Warbasse (head of the Garland-Fund-supported Cooperative League of the U. S. A., member of the Cooperative Club of Moscow, etc.), Moises Saenz (whom Collier paid for advice on Mexi-

canizing the American Indian school system), etc., are among members of the board of directors.

A.C.L.U Program Taken Over by Democratic Party

The constant references to the red American Civil Liberties Union evidently "got under the hide" of Harper, who (page 1038), underestimating the wide information of the cultured Indian, Mrs. Jemison, gave credit to "The Red Network" as the source of her information concerning his connections and proceeded to boast of his association with such prominent radicals as are listed in it. He said something which should be written on a great billboard illuminated with flood lights for every loyal American Democrat to see and realize with horror:

"The work of the Pennsylvania Civil Liberties Committee was largely one of securing the enactment of a program of legislation such as the abolition of the notorious un-American coal and iron police" (made necessary by the riotous activities of the Communist miners' union which he protected), "the abolition of company towns, the curbing of the State courts in their issuance of labor injunctions" (holding Red terrorists in check), "the curbing of the deputy-sheriff system" (by means of which loyal citizens can help out inadequate police forces), "the repeal of the State's sedition act" (permitting "bigger and better" sedition against the State and Federal Government). "I think that if you will go up to Pennsylvania you will be told that our little group was instrumental in securing in Pennsylvania three laws bearing on labor injunctions, counter-part of the Norris-LaGuardia legislation and part of the program on deputy sheriffs. **WHEN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY TOOK OVER THE PROGRAM OF THE CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, WE FELT THAT WE HAD LAUNCHED THE MOVEMENT WHICH WILL ULTIMATELY RESULT IN ALL THIS LEGISLATION BEING PASSED.**" (Emphasis supplied.)

"When the Democratic Party took over the program of the Civil Liberties Union!" That statement by the executive of its Pennsylvania branch, who ought to know, expresses the very essence of the reason why all Democrats must choose between loyalty to Party label or loyalty to Americanism, for the American Civil Liberties Union is the deadly enemy of Americanism and the handmaiden of Communist dictatorship.

Senator Guffey an A.C.L.U. Member and Supporter

Harper also said (page 1038) that Congressman Ellenbogen "received his first prominence in Pittsburgh as a lawyer representing the Civil Liberties Union." "And", said Harper, "if you go over to the other House of Congress, you will find **Senator Joseph Guffey who was a member and contributed to the work we did.**"

It was Guffey who introduced the Bill "sovietizing" the coal industry, "despite reasonable doubts of its constitutionality", for his master, Roosevelt.

What the Indians Think of Collier

The record of 1052 pages indicates that Collier was more than a little peeved to have damaging evidence brought out concerning the lumber deals of his department and the fact that his American Indian Defense Association, through his control over the trading posts, had secured the contracts to sell all Indian products at a 10% commission. The Navajo rug business alone, in 1929, had amounted to \$1,200,000.00. His scorn and resort to lies against the honest Indians opposing his autocratic power, lies which are later refuted in the record, bear witness to the truth of Mr. Bruner's testimony, as President of the patriotic American Indian Federation, concerning this A.C.L.U. "free speech" advocate:

"Mr. Bruner (Mrs. Jemison reading): And while the Commissioner is constantly parading his 'Indian self-government' ideas before both the public and the Indian, a more despotic, domineering, repressive man has never heretofore held the office of Indian Commissioner. If your ideas do not conform to the Commissioner's ideas, he stoops to any level and stops at nothing in his efforts to destroy you, Indian though you be. He is loud in his defense of 'free speech', free press, and free assembly; the rights of minorities to be heard, providing it is the Commissioner's 'crowd' who is assembling, speaking and going to press, particularly in the Commissioner's personal publication, 'Indians at Work' . . . It is our opinion that no high official of the Government has heretofore equalled the present Indian Commissioner in public statements derogatory of the Government. He is head of a great department of government, influencing distinctly the lives of more than a quarter of a million people, with property values in excess of a billion dollars, yet he has never been known to say to these people: 'This is your country, your institutions, your flag, your government, and you should support it, love it and defend its free institutions.' . . . The Commissioner's whole scheme is Communistic. He lives and breathes in a Communistic atmosphere. . . . Examine that record and see who his close associates have been for the past 20 years; examine his writing during that time; read any of his 'Indians at Work'; read any of his speeches in a public place, before Indian audiences or white; read his testimony before the Appropriations Committee of the House; . . . he has two women who have been trained in old Mexico, one for a period of 10 years, now in Arizona, organizing 'community centers'."

Collier Eulogizes Anarchist Ferrer

The communist Garland Fund formerly financed the Anarchist school at Stelton, N. J., and New York City, started by Anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, called the Ferrer School in honor of Francesco Ferrer, who was executed by the Spanish Government in 1909 for Anarchist terroristic revolutionary activities. Collier's rhapsody entitled "Francesco Ferrer" taken from his "Indwelling Splendor" appears in the record. To quote from it:

"They shot him down, far off in ancient Spain,
A gentle man, soft-voiced and spirit clear,
A man like you and me, greater through pain,
Holier, and happier far through conquered fear.

"He was an anarchist. Well, and so are we
Who scourged Spain from the Caribbean shore.
He fought at home, alone and terribly,
What we drove from this west forevermore.
And we, who cry because they shot him down—
We are less happy; we have not conquered fear.
Subtler, stranger our war which is not won.
Oh, that we had his epic chance and clear!"

There is more in the same vein. Well, Collier, as head of the U. S. Indian Bureau, has his chance now, "epic" and "clear", to carry on his "subtler, stranger war".

"Honest" Harold's Department Counts Indian Votes

Supposedly, the Indians themselves were to have the privilege of deciding whether or not they wished to be communized according to the American Civil Liberties Union plan incorporated at Administration request in the Wheeler-Howard Act. To quote Section 18 of the Act:

"This act shall not apply to any reservation wherein a majority of the adult Indians, voting at a special election duly called by the Secretary of the Interior, shall vote against its application."

Instance after instance is given by the opposing Indians showing that reservations that voted overwhelmingly AGAINST the Act were listed as voting FOR it. Inquiry on this point brought out the unique admission from Margold that he, as lawyer for Ickes' Department, had "interpreted" the Act to mean that those who did not vote at all could be listed as voting FOR the Act!

To quote from the official report of the Hearings (Page 78):

"Mr. Murdock: By a majority do you mean a majority of the votes actually cast or a majority of the entire reservation or tribe?

"Mr. Margold: The latter.

"Mr. Murdock: And not of the vote actually cast?

"Mr. Margold: That is correct."

"Dead", "Sick", and "Absent" Voters—New Deal Style

So they counted dead Indians, sick Indians, absent Indians, Indians who had moved away years ago and been lost track of, who had not voted at all, as voting IN FAVOR OF the Act.

In the case of the Santa Ysabel Reservation (pages 62-64), the spokesman for the reservation reported that 43 voted against the Wheeler-Howard Act and 9 voted for it. To quote:

"Mr. McGroarty: . . . Therefore the Bill was defeated.

"Mr. Burdick: No; it was not.

"Mr. McGroarty: They counted 122 that did not vote as being for the Bill.

"Mr. Couro: (Spokesman for the Indians) "And that dead man we buried him a week before the election.

"Mr. Burdick: Mr. McGroarty wants to know how many eligible voters who did not vote were recorded as being for the measure.

"Mr. Couro: One hundred sixty-one.

"Mr. Burdick: By whom was that done?

"Mr. Couro: By the Office of Indian Affairs. The matter was submitted to the Washington office.

"Mr. Burdick: How many of the votes they counted as being for the measure were votes of dead persons?

"Mr. Couro: I do not know; but 44 of them had been gone from 2 to 45 years, and they are still absent. Many of those on the eligible list were not known to us and they did not live on the reservation.

"Mr. Hill: And at the same time members of the tribe living on the reservation were not allowed to vote?

"Mr. Couro: "Yes, Sir.

"Mr. Hill: How many?

"Mr. Couro: Fourteen of the eighteen. . . . On the list submitted to me was the name of this dead man. At the time the list was submitted to me the office knew the man was dead, because it had to buy a coffin to bury him in."

Report of Hearings Suppressed?

Case after case of such conduct of the affairs of "Honest" Harold's Department are set forth in the Report of the Hearings, which may explain why others have claimed that it was impossible for them to secure a copy of this Government document. On its cover appears the following: "Indian Conditions and Affairs. Hearings before the Sub-committee on General Bills of the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, 74th Congress, First Session, on H.R. 7781 and Other Matters, February 11, 1935. United States Government Printing Office: 1935, 139128."

Communist Writer Is Indian Bureau Publicity Director

It is therefore not surprising to read ("National Republic", Feb. 1936) that the Communist writer, Mary Heaton Vorse, receives a salary of \$3,000 per year from the U. S. Department of the Interior under Ickes, as Publicity Director of the Indian Bureau. Like all women Communist leaders, she goes by the name of "Miss" Vorse, whether married, as she was, to the Communist Party leader, Robert Minor, or to some one else. She is on the staff, as American permanent contributor, of the Communist magazine printed in Moscow in four languages, entitled "International Literature—The Literature of World Revolution, Organ of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers." Its staff is composed of the outstanding Communist Party writers of each country, who send their contributions to the Communist "fatherland" for publication by the Soviets in this official Communist publication. One of her fellow staff members on "International Literature" is Upton Sinclair, who is again supporting Roosevelt for the Presidency, as he did in 1932.

THE ROOSEVELT REGIME AND THE "NON-INTERVENTION" MOVEMENT

Communist "Hands Off" Agitation Similar

In line with the "Hands Off" call of the Communist Parties of the World, two organizations were formed in 1927 to swell the propaganda against the Monroe Doctrine and to agitate against U. S. interference with the communization of Latin America through protection of the guaranteed rights of American citizens. These were: The "National Citizens' Committee on Relations with Latin America" and the "Non-Intervention Citizens' Committee", of which Mrs. Roosevelt herself was a member.

The headquarters of the National Citizens' Committee on Relations with Latin America was with the People's Legislative Service, the LaFollette-Manly-Norris agency lobbying for socialization of utilities. Senator Norris served as its honorary president. Roosevelt has named the town of Norris, Tenn., and the TVA "Norris Dam" in honor of this radical so-called "Republican" Senator.

Nat. Citizens' Committee on Relations with Latin America

Members of this Committee included: Basil Manly, director of the People's Legislative Service and a radical with a scarlet record, who is now Roosevelt's vice chairman of the Federal Power Commission. (He was on the I.W.W. defense committee; he was treasurer of the Washington Bureau of the American Civil Liberties Union, working with Communists, etc.). Henry Wallace, Roosevelt's Secretary of Agriculture. Donald Richberg, socialistic lawyer, of the communist-Garland-Fund-supported "Committee on Coal and Giant Power", which was formed by the socialist League for Industrial Democracy to fight for socialization of utilities; he at one time was called "Acting President" in the Roosevelt regime. The radical wife of radical Senator Costigan. Senator Burton K. Wheeler and Senator Gerald P. Nye, who now support Roosevelt measures. (Norris was also a member of the communist-Garland-Fund-supported Committee on Coal and Giant Power with Richberg, and the secretary of this Committee was H. Stephen Raushenbush, who was directly paid thousands of dollars by the communist Garland Fund for pamphlets he wrote for the Committee; Raushenbush is chief investigator for the 1935-36 Nye munitions "inquisition", which Nye is carrying on for the communist-Garland-Fund-supported Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, as they claim, in an effort to secure legislation desired by the radicals.) Frank P. Walsh of the communist Labor Defense Council and the American Civil Liberties Union, organizer of the communist First American Trade Union Delegation to Russia, etc., etc., etc.; has been a consistent advocate for Anarchists and Communists; with Felix Frankfurter, on the National Popular Government League, Walsh waged the fight to strip the U. S. Department of Justice of anti-Communist powers, which is largely responsible for our present condition; Roosevelt, when Governor, appointed Walsh to head the N. Y. State Power

Authority and the Commission on Revision of Public Utility Laws. Others prominent in the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union and in other organizations of which Mrs. Roosevelt was a fellow member were members of this National Citizens' Committee on Relations with Latin America (see "The Red Network" for complete list).

Mrs. Roosevelt's Non-Intervention Citizens' Committee

Mrs. Roosevelt herself was a member of the Non-Intervention Citizens' Committee, an organization similar to the above. To quote from the Daily Data Sheets (3/9/27) of Fred R. Marvin, patriotic authority (the comments in parentheses are mine):

"The 'center' organization in the city of New York engaged in propaganda against the United States in favor of the Socialist-Communist scheme to Sovietize Mexico and all Central American States is easily located in what is called the Non-Intervention Citizens' Committee. Through the members of this committee the work ramifies into more than one hundred organizations. . . . Those dominating and controlling, as will be shown, are Socialists or Communists. . . . The inspiration for this organization came from Moscow, via Mexico. Because of its nature and purposes one is forced to ask the question: Who is doing the financing for the nationwide propaganda scheme now being carried on in the interests of Mexico and its Socialist-Communist controlled bodies and against the foreign policies of the United States? . . . In the 'center' or controlling group of the Non-Intervention Citizens' Committee, we place the following: Joseph Schlossberg, B. C. Vladeck, Max Zuckerman, Rose Schneiderman" (Roosevelt's National Labor Board member), "Stephen S. Wise, A. I. Shiplacoff" (convicted during the war of issuing and distributing seditious propaganda), "Oswald Garrison Villard" (at the "Red Network Dinner" given by the socialist League for Industrial Democracy in honor of those listed in my book for radicalism, a wire from Villard was read saying of me: "I really think she omitted the reddest one of us all—Franklin D. Roosevelt."), "Fannia May Cohn" (a leader of the socialist Intl. Ladies Garm. Wkrs. Un., for whom the communist Daily Worker, 4/7/34, reported Mrs. F.D.R. to be broadcasting gratis), "Lillian Wald" (vice president of the communist American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia and Mrs. Roosevelt's close friend), "Morris Hillquit, A. J. Muste, A. Castro, Robt. Dunn" (Communist leader), "Louis Budenz, L. Hollingsworth Wood" (a founder and committeeman of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union and president of the communist-Garland-Fund-supported National Urban League, which Mrs. Roosevelt honored with a recent address), "August Claessens" (revolutionary Red expelled from the N. Y. Legislature for sedition), "Norman Thomas" (Socialist Party leader, communist Garland Fund director, American Civil Liberties Union committeeman, etc.), "John Nevin Sayre" (brother of Francis Bowes Sayre, who endorsed the communist-Garland-Fund-subsidized Lane Pamphlet and is Roosevelt's Assistant Secretary of State; John Nevin Sayre has an extensive Red

record, including membership on A.C.L.U. national committee, and he was named in the Congressional exposure of radicals), "Max Danish, S. E. Beardsley, Joshua Lieberman, John Haynes Holmes" (who omits no possible Red affiliation, it would seem), "Abraham Beckerman, Morris Ernst, J. M. Budish, Paul U. Kellogg." (See radical affiliations in "The Red Network".) "Here we have the dominating, controlling and directing forces—26 out of the total of 75 names presented as making up the entire Nat. Citizens Committee."

Many of Its Leaders Foreign-Born

Of those members whom Marvin considered the controlling "center" of this organization, the following are Russian-born Jewish Reds: Rose Schneiderman, Fannia M. Cohn, Max Danish, Jos. Schlossberg, B. C. Vladeck, Max Zuckerman, J. M. Budish, and Morris Hillquit. The following are also foreign-born Reds: Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, A. I. Shiplacoff, Abraham J. Muste, Abraham Beckerman, and August Claessens. The following were members of both of these "non-intervention" organizations: Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit, Oswald G. Villard, Samuel Guy Inman (of the communist Garland Fund Committee on American Imperialism agitating the same propaganda), Felix Adler, W. Russell Bowie, Edw. M. Earle, Paul U. Kellogg, and Stephen S. Wise.

THE ROOSEVELTS AND THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Founded by "Near-Bolshevik Intelligentsia"

The New School for Social Research was founded in 1919, according to the New York State Legislative Report on Seditious Activities (1920), "by men who belong to the ranks of the near-Bolshevik Intelligentsia". The Communist and Socialist press continually carry notices of the Red meetings, debates, lectures, and other events held there, such as the "Spartakiade" of the communist New Dance League, an affiliate of the International Union of the Revolutionary Theatre with headquarters at Moscow and branches wherever the Comintern agitates. The closed sessions of the communist American Artists' Congress were held there (2/14, 15, and 16/36), with the leading Communist artists in attendance. Resolutions were adopted denouncing the arrest of Mrs. Roosevelt's "peace" associate, Vito Marcantonio, while he was leading a Communist demonstration of 15,000 (2/15/36), and his immediate release from jail was demanded. The communist American Writers' Congress, affiliated with the International Union of Revolutionary Writers of Moscow, was held there the last week in April, 1935, addressed by Communist Party writers and closed with the singing of the Communist "Internationale". The American Youth Exhibit of the communist American Youth Congress is being held there June 1st to July 31st. The foremost Communist

and Socialist Party leaders have lectured there since the school was founded.

Ousted German "Reds" on Teaching Staff

The 1935-36 catalogue of the school lists among its teachers a number of ousted German Reds. Hanns Eisler, composer of Communist songs, one with the refrain "We Must Be Ready to Take Over!", and honored for them at great Communist mass meetings in the United States since his arrival, is teaching there. Fritz Wittels, associate of Freud (sex fanatic and supporter of the communist World Congress Against War, 1932), is scheduled for some fifty-two lectures, a great number of them being groveling dissections of the most morbid and vicious phases of sex degeneracy, so prominently featured by the communistic-minded. Some of his listed topics are: Masturbation. Repression. Libido. Dream Interpretation. Bisexuality. Incest, Parricide and Cannibalism. Illegitimate Children. Erotic Training (three lectures on this). Occultism. Intoxication of Love. Property and Family. Homosexuality. Oversexed and Undersexed People. Initial Pleasure and Final Pleasure. Sublimation of Perversions. Autoeroticism. The Child-woman and the Man-woman. Marxism. Monogamy Versus Free Love. Unfaithfulness. Etc., etc. But these fifty-two lectures on such topics were evidently not enough to satisfy the demand, for sex lectures on similar topics by other teachers are also listed.

Many lectures are scheduled on Revolutions and Counter-Revolutions, Communism, Socialism, Russia, "Planning" including the TVA, Housing, atheistic "Theories of Historical Materialism", and also fifteen lectures on Karl Marx by Sidney Hook (who served on a Communist Party campaign committee in 1932), and lectures by others on Red revolutionary drama, art, and dancing.

Some of the Other Instructors

Among the instructors are: Sidney Hook and Henry Cowell, who served together on the same Communist Party campaign committee in 1932 (see "The Red Network"); Horace M. Kallen of the communist American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia (A.S.C.R.R.); Joseph Wood Krutch, also of the A.S.C.R.R. and of the revolutionary Socialist magazine "The Nation", who was a Roosevelt appointee on the Theatrical Code Authority of NRA; Bernhard J. Stern, who was delegate from the communist John Reed Clubs of the United States to the communist World Congress Against War, 1932; Communist James Rorty; Harry Overstreet, listed in the Congressional exposure of radicals; Harry Elmer Barnes, honorary vice president of the atheist Freethinkers Society, author of blasphemous writings, a national director of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, and head of the communist Garland Fund's own heavily financed "Committee on American Imperialism"; and others whose interlocking affiliations are cited in "The Red Network".

Mrs. Roosevelt's Connection with the School

In 1931, Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt was a member of the official advisory committee of the New School for Social Research. Alvin Johnson was then president, as he still is, and some of the same teachers were on the staff, including: Fritz Wittels, the Freudian lecturer on sex degeneracy; Harry Elmer Barnes; Horace Kallen; Sidney Hook; Henry Cowell, recently arrested for sex perversions (Pacific Weekly 6/1/36); Harry Overstreet; and Bernhard J. Stern. At that time, the following also taught there: Communist Waldo Frank; Freda Kirchwey (Mrs. Evans Clark), a director of the communist Garland Fund; J. E. Spingarn, president of the Garland-Fund-supported National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (for which Mrs. Roosevelt has been recruiting members); Harold Laski, Marxian teacher, now of England; and Socialist David Saposs, recent Roosevelt appointee to the National Labor Board and educational director of the left-wing socialist Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, headed by Sidney Hillman.

Sidney Hillman (see "The Red Network" for his long Red record), a former director of the communist Garland Fund and Roosevelt's appointee on the NRA National Labor Board, served on the advisory committee of the School with Mrs. Roosevelt. Leo Wolman, also a former director of the communist Garland Fund and Roosevelt's appointee on the NRA National Labor Board, was on the board of directors of the New School for Social Research in 1931 and is still on it.

Another of Mrs. Roosevelt's "Red" Pals

Another director of the New School, now and in 1931, is Mrs. Daniel O'Day, who is vice president of Mrs. Roosevelt's Val-Kill Furniture Shop. Mrs. Roosevelt campaigned for her and helped elect her to Congress from the State of New York at large, as did also a "flying squadron" of the W.I.L.P.F. Mrs. O'Day lives in Washington with "Miss" Frances Perkins, Roosevelt's Secretary of Labor. She backed the American Civil Liberties Union fight for the Costigan-Wagner Federal anti-lynching Bill, which Mrs. Roosevelt also ardently supported. Mrs. O'Day appealed for the release from prison of Chas. Krumbein, New York District Organizer of the Communist Party, according to the communist Daily Worker (9/6/35). She is a fellow member with Mrs. Roosevelt of the communist-Garland-Fund-supported National Women's Trade Union League, which is now fighting the anti-Communist sedition Bills in Congress.

More of Her "New School" Associates

One of Mrs. Roosevelt's fellow committee members was Mary Simkhovitch, who heads the socialist League for Industrial Democracy's National Housing Conference organization which conducted a National Housing Conference in Washington (Jan. 1936) with the blessings of Roosevelt, in conjunction with Roosevelt's Federal Housing Administration chiefs, for the purpose of mapping out a campaign for socialistic housing and the enactment of the Wagner housing Bill.

Another of Mrs. Roosevelt's fellow committee members was Mary Van Kleeck, associate with Communist Party leaders on various committees and author of a Communist Party pamphlet in conjunction with Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party; another was Russian-born Jacob Billikopf, active in Jewish organizations, trustee of "The Nation" (revolutionary Socialist magazine) and "The Survey" (socialistic magazine), trustee of Howard University (censured for its communistic trend and Government-supported), vice president of the socialistic American Association for Old Age Security, and now according to the communist Daily Worker (5/6/36), chairman of Roosevelt's National Labor Relations Board. The Daily Worker reported that he was to preside at a meeting of the communist Friends of the Soviet Union, 5/8/36, at which James Waterman Wise (son of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise) of the communist People's Press was to speak on the subject "The Jew in Soviet Russia".

Among other radicals who served with Mrs. Roosevelt as fellow advisory committee members or directors of the New School in 1931 were:

Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont, who, with her husband, of the capitalistic firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., serves as an official of the Foreign Policy Association, one of those subtle intellectual organizations which distributes outright communistic propaganda under the guise of liberalism and culture. Their son Corliss is a Communist writer who specializes on atheism and now heads the communist Friends of the Soviet Union and was a board member of the communist-Garland-Fund-supported National Urban League for Negroes and whites, whom Mrs. Roosevelt addressed at its anniversary celebration.

Mrs. Gerard Swope, former resident with her husband of Hull House, another of the capitalistic element supporting the Red movement, who (1935) is vice chairman of the board of directors of the communist-Garland-Fund-supported Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, an affiliated section of the communist American League Against War and Fascism, which agitates Red revolution and treason.

The late Arthur Lehman, brother of Herbert, the Roosevelt supported and supporting Governor of New York.

Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach (Agnes Brown Leach) of the national committee of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union.

Maurice Wertheim, director of the revolutionary Socialist magazine "The Nation".

Walter Lippmann, Too, Pseudo-Conservative of Today

Walter Lippmann, former active Socialist who has supposedly become conservative but who "smoke screens" for Roosevelt under fire as a Socialist, declaring him to be a country gentleman and not a Socialist as his program would indicate. He derides the Congressional and New York State investigations of Communism and praises radicals. He says (to quote from "Social Action", issue of 1/15/36): "I am convinced that a permanent eradication of the liquor problem

is impossible except by taking the path which leads to the eradication of private profit." He praises the Socialists' delight, the TVA, as "by all odds the best vision of the New Deal" (Chgo. Daily News 2/25/36).

Glenn Frank, former protege of socialistic Edward A. Filene. He lectured for the socialist League for Industrial Democracy (1935 Report), was a member of the American Civil Liberties Union Mooney-Billings Committee (to liberate Communist-anarchist dynamiter Mooney from prison), and awarded an honorary degree to Harry F. Ward for his activities as head of the A.C.L.U. in aid of Communism and treason. Frank was blamed by the Wisconsin Legislative Investigating Committee for communistic conditions at Wisconsin University (1935). Radical "Republicans" hoped that his recent speeches for the Constitution and for Americanism might win him the 1936 Republican Presidential nomination.

Wm. F. Ogburn, U. of Chicago professor, whose pamphlet for the CCC camps was at first opposed as too radical; who was a member of the American Civil Liberties Union "Committee of 100", formed to prevent Red teachers from being ousted from the public schools; advisory board member of the communist-Garland-Fund-supported Pioneer Youth of America; etc.

One Reason for Smith College Radicalism

Wm. Allan Neilson, president of Smith College and president since 1929 of the communist American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia (see also "The Red Network"). Neilson was at the same time (and still is) a fellow vice president with Mrs. Roosevelt and Felix Frankfurter of the communist-Garland-Fund-supported National Consumers' League, under Florence Kelley (Wischnewetsky), Communist Engels' translator and correspondent, now deceased. Since her death, the National Consumers' League has been headed by her son, Nicholas Kelley, as chairman of the board; John G. Winant, Roosevelt appointee, is now its president. At the same time (1931), Nicholas Kelley was treasurer (as he still is) of the Am. Assn. for Old Age Security, of which Mary Simkhovitch, Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach, Glenn Frank, and Wm. Allan Neilson, all of the New School, were officials.

John B. Andrews, secretary of the socialistic Am. Assn. for Labor Legislation.

Bruce Bliven of the editorial board of the revolutionary Socialist magazine "The New Republic" (interlocked with and aided by the communist Garland Fund).

John Lovejoy Elliott, exposed by the Congressional investigation of radicals, member of the atheist Freethinkers Ingersoll Committee and of Norman Thomas' Socialist campaign committee, etc.

Felix Frankfurter

At present, one of the most influential of Mrs. Roosevelt's 1931 associates in the New School for Social Research, National Consumers' League, etc., is Felix Frankfurter, one of that clique of

foreign-born Jewish revolutionaries so strongly behind Roosevelt and so powerful in his Administration. Frankfurter was denounced by Theodore Roosevelt for his "Bolshevik-like" attitude years ago. He is a national committeeman of the American Civil Liberties Union, whose powerful and concentrated fight for every phase of Communism, including its atheism and obscenity, is reflected throughout the Nation. He was one of the twelve lawyers of the National Popular Government League (see "The Red Network") whose fight against U. S. Department of Justice powers to investigate seditious activities and to arrest Red revolutionaries resulted in the momentous and tragic taking away and keeping away of all funds from the Department of Justice for such work, from 1925 to the present time. As a result, the United States has been weakened and hampered by the lack of any Federal information and protection in this respect. It is a pathetic situation when officials have to turn to a small compilation like my book "The Red Network" to secure information on subversive activities in the United States, for want of any Government source of such information.

Roosevelt Following Frankfurter Technique

But Roosevelt has matched Frankfurter in his stifling of investigation or coercion of the Reds. When the Navy Intelligence Section issued a report (4/1/35) on Red subversive activities, President Roosevelt gagged them with the order that they should make no comments on any civilian organization or its policies without his specific consent! (N. Y. Times 12/7/35; also Congressional Record 9/10/35.) Red Maury Maverick followed up with the demand that the Navy and its "activities with organizations run by professional patriots" be investigated with an eye to punishing them for their performance of patriotic duty.

Consequently, since 1925, the Red movement in the United States, uncharted, uninvestigated, and unopposed by American authorities, has grown enormously, until now, instead of being jailed, barred or deported for treason, Red revolutionaries are entertained at the White House and given Government positions dispensing millions of dollars collected from loyal American taxpayers.

No less an authority than General Hugh Johnson, Roosevelt's NRA chief, states that Frankfurter's "comings and goings are almost surreptitious. **Yet he is the most influential single individual in the United States.**" (The emphasis is his.)

"Last summer Professor Felix Frankfurter was an unannounced White House guest for weeks", reported Columnist Paul Mallon (11/2/35).

The Frankfurter "Hot Dog Boys"

In Frankfurter's capacity as Professor of Law at Harvard U., he trains his willing proteges, facetiously called "Hot Dog Boys", and works closely with Supreme Court Justices Brandeis and Cardozo, who have taken Frankfurter proteges into their employ as law clerks. To quote General Johnson again: "His 'boys' have been insinuated

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WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA



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NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

"THE WORKER"
OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN
10-15 PER YEAR

EDITORS
J. LOUIS BRIDGES
W. F. BROWN

March 30 1923.

F H Merrick
35 Miller St.
Pittsburg Pa

Dear Comrade:

The Executive Committee of the Party acted upon your ~~own~~ communications suggesting opening a fight to establish the right of Workers Party members to assemble and carry on their Party activities and I was directed to see Roger Baldwin and take the situation up with him especially regarding the advisability of making the fight at this moment. The Executive Committee felt that it would not be a good policy to have our own members directly engaged, especially yourself, with the probability of arrest and incarceration for several months which would only be injurious to the important work which you are carrying on at the present moment. The Civil Liberties Bureau, by sending in some attorneys or others, would not be in that position.

Baldwin thought that this was not the moment to make this fight since they have received the assurance of Pinchot that he would very shortly release the four class war prisoners in Western Pennsylvania and it would be best to wait until this was done. The effect of the release would be considerable upon those arrested recently as well as create a favorable atmosphere for making the free speech and free assemblage fight should it still be necessary.

He thought that for this moment a good attorney should be secured in the case of the Croatian Comrades who should try to delay the case until the Governor acts. He suggested the attorney by the name of Stambaugh, that had been recommended by Felix Frankfurter, the prominent Liberal of Harvard University.

I have reported back the opinion of Baldwin to the Executive Committee and they agree that it would be best to concur in his viewpoint. Much as resentment on the conduct of the Steel Trusts would make us wish to take up the fight at once, I believe prudence would suggest that we go along with the suggestion of Baldwin's. We should like to receive from you a complete statement regarding the arrests, persecution and so forth, that the local authorities have been putting up against our activities as well as those of the Progressive Miners and kindred organizations. Also let us know what is the present situation of the three Croatian comrades - has bail been raised and what are the present aspects of the cases.

Fraternally yours,

William W. Weinstein

WWM:PEB
QWJ

Asst. Exec. Secretary

Facsimile of letter from Wm. Weinstein, Assistant Executive Secretary of the Communist Party (then called "Worker's Party"), to Communist Party district organizer Merrick. Shows cooperation of Communist Party with the American Civil Liberties Union, Felix Frankfurter, and "Progressive" Governor Pinchot.

into obscure but key positions in every vital department—warders of the marches, inconspicuous but powerful. Wherever to know, check, influence or control what goes on in Government it would be a good thing for a Big Happy Dog to have a Little Happy Hot Dog planted, there is one there, alert and quietly active. . . . Two or three infest Henry Wallace. The area in and about the Federal Trade Commission literally writhes with them. The Justice, Interior, Labor and Treasury Departments harbor their quotas. Other hosts for them are PWA, AAA, FERA, TVA, and SEC.

"They have had a guiding hand in the drafting of nearly all legislation . . .

"To them the Constitution is just a foil for clever fencing—an antediluvian joke to be respected in public like a Sacred Cow and regarded in private somewhat as Gertrude Stein probably regards the poet Tennyson or any other Victorian." (Saturday Evening Post 10/26/35.)

Is There a Baruch-Frankfurter Feud?

There are those who, knowing that General Johnson is the loyal "Stooge" of Barney Baruch, the "President-maker", attribute this release of revealing information concerning Frankfurter to a break between Baruch and Frankfurter on grounds of "professional jealousy" over Governmental guidance. Others, noting Baruch's continued entertainment at the White House, believe that merely a mock rumpus was being stirred up to take advantage of the rising opposition to Roosevelt policies and aid the nomination and election on the Republican ticket of some radical of Roosevelt's caliber who would continue the same socialistic program under the control of the same forces. It was interesting to note that General Johnson, after his outburst concerning the Roosevelt regime, came out with words of praise for the radical, so-called "Republican", Senator Borah.

A Significant "New School" Meeting

The following report from the New York Times (3/29/27) is interesting in view of the interlocking leadership of those present at the meeting described, at the New School for Social Research, in the Red movement and the Roosevelt regime. It will be noted that Borah, Baruch, and other leading radicals had a little closed session.

"BORAH AT UNIQUE MEETING.

"Tells 40 Men His Views on Foreign Affairs in a Basement Room.

"In a small room back of a basement bookshop at 465 West Twenty-third Street, the home of the New School for Social Research, Senator Borah last night informally discussed foreign relations, the Chinese and Nicaraguan situations and other such topics with about forty men. The latter had been gathered together by Alvin Johnson, director of the school, who previously had been the host at an informal dinner at which Senator Borah was the guest of honor.

"The discussion was of an extraordinary sort inasmuch as the Senator sat smoking with his back to the fireplace while Mr. Johnson

and others plied him with questions. The understanding was that nothing said was to be published.

"It was announced that those present included John Haynes Holmes, Harry A. Ward, Leo Wolman, Sidney Hillman, Oswald Garrison Villard, Bruce Bliven, Bernard M. Baruch, Herbert B. Swope, Arthur Krock, Felix Adler, Thomas W. Lamont, E. R. A. Seligman, Everett Dean Martin, Samuel A. Lewisohn, Judge Julian W. Mack, Judge Learned Hand, Charles A. Beard and several others. It was said on behalf of Mr. Johnson that the affair had no political significance whatever."

BORAH, A "PROGRESSIVE"

Lauded Roosevelt at "Progressive" Conference

As President Roosevelt has truly said, the measure of our sincerity is in how we do things, rather than in how we say things. He made fine orations before his election in 1932, pledging himself unequivocally to carry out the American Democratic platform of his Party. He proceeded after election to carry out the Socialist Party platform instead, despite its known unconstitutionality.

While Borah's record is of timely interest because of his recent fight for control of the Republican Party and the Presidential nomination on the Republican ticket, it is primarily of interest as a typical example of the activities of that group of socialistic "Progressives" of whom Roosevelt is one, who have for years been "stealing" nominations on conservative tickets for radicals, who have been getting Socialist legislation enacted "piece by piece", and who backed and are credited with having had the most to do with nominating and electing Roosevelt on the Democratic ticket.

Borah, in fact, while presiding with Roosevelt's radical "pet", Senator Norris, read the messages sent by Roosevelt to the 1931 "Progressive" Conference and praised Roosevelt's expressions of sympathy with "Progressive" socialistic principles. (N. Y. Herald-Tribune, 3/12/31.)

Borah and "Progressive" Gifford Pinchot, according to the press, have both boasted that the "Progressives" hold the balance of power and must be bartered with by any Party that wishes to win an election.

What Is a "Progressive"?

The word "progressive" is used in the Communist press to indicate a person of communistic or leftist tendencies who is part of a non-communist organization. The Chicago Tribune editorially described them aptly as "members of the progressive bloc" in Congress "more accurately described as assistant Communists" (3/6/33).

Borah makes glorious speeches about the Constitution; yet, when a section of the Socialists' pride, the TVA project, was upheld by the Supreme Court, though its constitutionality was not passed upon, he expressed satisfaction that our Constitution is an "expanding" one.

He voted for the unconstitutional AAA and its amendments, which included the Soviet-like Potato Control Act, which he commended (Congressional Record, 8/22/35, page 12,013, quoted below) and voted for the next day (page 12,131). He has since had the effrontery to deny this. Likewise, he voted for the radical Wheeler-Rayburn Bill and the socialistic Roosevelt Social Security Legislation, urging, moreover, an amendment to make the Federal contribution to old age pensions \$30 per month instead of \$15.

Borah and Soviet-like Potato Control

The Chicago Tribune (Nov. 16, 1935), reporting an interview with Senator Borah, quotes him as saying: "Some people seem to labor under the delusion that I supported the potato bill. I did not. I was opposed to it and made my position clear."

To quote the Congressional Record for July 22, 1935 (page 12,013) regarding the AAA Amendment, of which the potato control provision is a part:

"Mr. Borah: 'Mr. President, how many pages are there in this Amendment?' Mr. Bailey: 'There are about 30 pages in the Amendment.' Mr. Borah: 'I do not care to take time to read it, but I would like to ask some questions.' Mr. Bailey: '... Certainly we cannot afford to limit the number of farmers producing cotton ... going into tobacco, peanuts or other crops and drive them all over to the potato field. So that is the argument for the Amendment and I hope the Senate will adopt it.' Mr. Borah: 'I quite agree with the Senator that the effect of crop control legislation has centered largely on potatoes, and that it seems necessary, if other control acts are to continue, that potatoes should receive the protection which it is assumed they will have under this proposal.'"

The next day, the fact is recorded (page 12,131) that Borah voted for the AAA Amendment with Soviet-like provision for jailing one year and fining \$1,000 any buyer or seller of potatoes not licensed by our "Commissar" of Agriculture.

Borah Proposed for President

Borah was proposed as a candidate for President of the United States by the delegates from Moscow who bore instructions to the illegal Communist Party convention raided at Bridgman, Michigan, according to documents seized. (See N. Y. Times report, 3/22/23, of the trial of Communist Wm. Z. Foster, one of those arrested, citing how Frank P. Walsh, Foster's attorney, fought to keep this evidence out of the record.) These documents were verified by Whitney, author of "Reds in America", who had access to them, and by Fred R. Marvin, who covered the case as a newspaper man.

Borah was an endorser, and featured as such both on the cover and inside, of the notorious Lane Pamphlet, subsidized by the communist Garland Fund with \$5,400.00 as part of the campaign to oppose all military training in schools and colleges in the United States. He opposed proposals for strengthening the United States Navy (New York Times 1/24/28). He has opposed radical demands

for U. S. participation in the League of Nations, but his own proposal for "an international tribunal modeled on our Federal Supreme Court in its jurisdictions over controversies between our sovereign States" would necessarily be a body along the same lines (U. S. Daily 12/14/27).

"Moscow's Hope" for Recognition

"Borah Idol of Moscow", was the heading of the Chicago Tribune despatch (2/17/25), saying: "Senator Borah, whose efforts to force America to recognize the Soviet Government has made him one of the Bolsheviks' international heroes, is again being idolized by the Moscow press."

According to international press despatches sent out from Berlin, Oct. 3, 1926, Tchitcherin, Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., in an interview with the press there, said: "I rely on American business and banking interests, together with the influence of Senator William E. Borah, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, to change the attitude of the United States government toward the Soviets."

The Soviet Russian Pictorial, the publication of the communist Friends of Soviet Russia, in March, 1924, devoted two pages to rejoicing over Borah's efforts to secure publicity for reports by pro-Soviet propagandists whitewashing the Red regime.

The Bureau for Cultural Relations (VOKS, as it is called in Russia) is the Soviet bureau which set up the communist American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia, and similar branches in other countries. To quote the Chicago Daily News despatch by Edgar Ansel Mowrer (10/22/26): "The Bureau for Cultural Relations in refusing to assist Edwin S. Vale, a student of Stanford University, to continue his research work in Moscow, explained that Americans desiring to enter Russia must first secure a letter either from 'Eddy or Borah'." (Sherwood Eddy.)

Ellery Walter, who entered Russia as a Red and taught at the Moscow University but emerged thoroughly "white", said that his letter from Borah was worth more to him than his passport. Normally, passports are visaed by consuls and are not outranked by letters from radical Senators.

Borah has not hesitated to lie in behalf of Soviet Russia, for he is not so ignorant as to believe what he said at a meeting urging Soviet recognition (Symphony Hall, Boston, Dec. 1922): "**Life is as safe under the Soviet government tonight as it is in Boston. Property is as secure as in any other country.**" The Soviets themselves at that very time were slaughtering opponents and boastfully confiscating private property, as they have done throughout their entire regime.

Borah Aid to Foreign Reds

When Shapurji Saklatvala, Indian British Communist, was denied admission to the United States to attend the Interparliamentary Union for the purposes of Communist agitation, it was Borah who protested against his exclusion to Senator Wm. B. McKinley of

Illinois, who presided over the Interparliamentary Union sessions. The protest was backed by the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union.

When red Count Karolyi, who turned Hungary over to the Bolshevik reign of terror on a silver platter with actual words of welcome, was being barred from this country as provided by law, Borah protested and said: "I hope the Congress will hasten the next session to wipe out the last vestige of these laws from the statute books" (New York World, 4/8/25). And he introduced a Bill for this purpose, backed by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mathias Rakosi was one of the terrorists who conducted the Red slaughter of the Hungarian Bolshevik regime under Bela Kun (Cohn). According to pictures in the possession of officials, nuns were baked alive in an oven; homes were sacked nightly and the bodies of their owners thrown in the river. When Rakosi returned to Hungary in 1925, after his previous escape when the "whites" regained power, to stir up a new Red revolution, he was jailed by the Horthy government, and the whole Communist world set up a howl of protest, as they habitually do when one of their leaders is corraled. The Communists appealed to Borah for help and received a telegram from him at the communist International Labor Defense headquarters, 23 S. Lincoln St., Chicago, 10/16/25, stating that he would "act in the matter when I can determine how I may be **effective**." The Communists hailed this with delight and announced officially: "The influence of Senator Borah, head of the Senate's most powerful committee, is expected to lift the veil of silence that until now has shrouded the latest orgy of terror inaugurated by the notorious butcher Horthy" ("De Jure Recognition of the Soviets" by Harry Curran Wilbur, 1929).

Borah and Communist Weisbord

The Passaic strike of 1926 was called by the Communists the "first lesson in revolution". It was led by Communist Weisbord and the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, supported by the communist Garland Fund, was organized at this time by the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union and the socialist League for Industrial Democracy to support it. The communist Daily Worker (8/31/26, page 2) printed the record of the conferences held by Borah and Weisbord, and (on page 3) the telegram Weisbord sent to Borah offering to allow him to mediate this Communist-directed and led strike.

Private Correspondence with Calles

When Communist-supported President Calles of Mexico was enacting statutes to squeeze out American oil companies, instead of securing information through the proper channel (from Secretary of State Kellogg, who had presented a mass of documents before the Senate Committee showing the Communist plottings against the United States in the South and Central American countries), Borah sent a cable direct to Calles (1927) asking him what oil companies

were or were not toeing the mark, and Calles' reply was signed "Affectionately, Calles". Honorable Martin W. Littleton, in his "Radicalism in Washington" (1924, page 9), commenting on the private correspondence between Calles and Borah over State matters outside of regular diplomatic channels, says that in George Washington's Administration "a man by the name of Logan did the same thing and they passed a statute making it a crime for a man to do a thing like that."

The Communist press was at this time (to quote) calling on "the people of Mexico, Nicaragua, and wherever American imperialism has its tentacles, to unite with the American workers and farmers in the fight against Wall Street imperialism" and saying "The Workers' (Communist) Party does not deny that it is part of its program to carry on the fight against American imperialism" (Daily Worker, 1/14/27). The communist Federated Press admiringly headed its report on Borah's cable to Calles, "Borah Checks on Kellogg Lies" (3/9/27).

When Red revolutionaries were causing havoc and bloodshed under Communist-supported Sandino in Nicaragua, "The Communist" (magazine) reported the following call from Moscow: "The Executive Committee of the Communist International issued an appeal against the acts of American imperialism in Latin America, particularly in Nicaragua.

"Senator Borah openly denounced the administration's Latin-American policy. This followed several tilts between Borah and the administration on the question of the interchange of correspondence between Borah and Calles." (From "The Communist", organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party U. S. A., May, 1927 issue.)

Borah had made a speech in the Senate attacking U. S. protection of Americans in Nicaragua (1/13/27) and franked this to all parts of the country. Like the Red propagandists, he pretended that money was the motive back of our intervention. "Wall Street greed backed up by Government warships" is the favorite theme still used to malign opposition to Communism.

Borah Opposes Chinese "Home Rule"

While Borah, in 1926, vigorously protested against the landing of U. S. marines in Nicaragua to protect American lives and property from Communist-directed revolutionaries who were opposing religion and the private property right, yet, in 1932, in company with Communist Einstein and other radicals, he attempted to interfere in the affairs of the Chinese Government by protesting its right to execute a pair of European Communists, Paul and Gertrude Ruegg, for their revolutionary activities on Chinese soil! (See 1932 American Labor Year Book.)

When Borah addressed the American Jewish Congress at Washington, D. C. (2/20/27), the press reported him as saying: "Our policy should not rest solely upon mahogany and oil or depend for its

execution upon warships and marines." (The good old Wall Street theme so useful and overworked by radicals.)

Borah, who was in a position to know exactly what was going on in Mexico, not only because of his official position, but also from his association with the instigating and supporting radicals, at a meeting in New Haven, Conn. (3/20/27), was reported as insisting that Secretary Kellogg's dread of Bolshevism in Mexico was unfounded. The "pooh-pooh" method of throwing people off the track thus preventing their opposition to Communism has probably been the most useful of all Red weapons and it is still working well, even with Socialism at the very gates. As a matter of fact, at that time, the movement was well under way to carry out in Mexico the Red program, now almost achieved.

Borah Speech Soviet Movie Prologue

Harry Curran Wilbur, in his "De Jure Recognition of the Soviets", reports that he personally (12/6/27) attended a showing in Chicago of the Soviet Government propaganda film entitled "Breaking Chains", which eulogized Lenin and the Bolshevik revolution; that following the showing on the screen of the hammer and sickle, emblem of Soviet Russia, came the printed prologue of the picture; and that **this prologue was taken from a speech made by Senator Borah in the Senate.**

More Borah Misrepresentation

Although Borah has attempted to try to prove that the Comintern and the Soviet Government, which are parts of the same Communist organization and ruled by the same men, are separate and that therefore the Soviet Government cannot be held responsible for its well known Comintern-directed activities to overthrow the U. S. Government, yet the most superficial reading of the Communist press will show, out of the mouths of the Communists themselves, that this farce is perpetrated by Red protectors only to deceive the most uninformed. To quote a characteristic statement of the Comintern (in its official organ, "International Press Correspondence", or "Inprecorr", Volume 8—No. 30, 6/6/28):

"The proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R. is an important component part of the international social revolution; it is the vanguard and the base for its development."

The communist Daily Worker (12/27/28) printed the report of the sessions of the central executive committee of the American section of the Comintern, which is the Communist Party U. S. A., stating: "That the plenum of the Central Executive Committee accepts all the decisions of the Comintern without reservations. . . . The statutes of the Communist International are obligatory upon any member without any reservation."

The Communist International, or Comintern, states again and again: "The ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of Communism" (Inprecorr 6/6/29).

Communist "New Masses" Rates Borah

The communist "New Masses" (5/26/36) credits Borah with having worked for the recognition of this international murderer, the Soviet Government, with its world-wide Comintern stirring up bloody riots and plotting violent revolution, murder and pillage, from 1920 to 1933. It was he who introduced Senate Resolution 44 (12/12/27): "Resolved, That the Senate of the United States favors the recognition of the present Soviet Government of Russia." It remained for his good friend Roosevelt, with whom he lunches and on whom he calls to say "Good Bye" at the close of sessions of Congress, to actually carry out this resolution.

The same issue of communist "New Masses" raises some points against Borah but credits him with the following:

"1920. Helped secure release of political prisoners after war.

"1923. Proposed Bill to curb Supreme Court.

"1930. Opposed 'keeping military heel on helpless people' in Haiti.

"1914, 1922, 1925. Opposed intervention in Nicaragua.

"1927. Opposed intervention in Mexico and use of Monroe Doctrine as cloak for imperialism.

"1921. Helped force Harding to call disarmament conference.

"1936. Showed sympathy for aims of Townsend." (Note: Communist leaders favor Townsend strongly. They say his plan will wreck the capitalist system, which is just what they want done.)

Borah and the Communist-Aiding A.C.L.U.

For Borah's cooperation with the infamous Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, see Whitney's "Reds in America". A speech he delivered before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, April 20, 1935, cleverly pleading in typical Civil Liberties Union style for "free speech" for Communists and against loyalty oaths and all sedition Bills, was reprinted and is now being distributed by this legal aid society for Communists, the American Civil Liberties Union, as propaganda.

This notorious Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, whose director in urging "civil rights" for Communists says "Communism is the goal", in Sept. 1926 issued a statement praising Frank P. Walsh, Senator Wheeler and Sam Untermyer for their efforts to air before Congress "denial of civil rights to the strikers" in the Passaic Communist-led "first lesson in revolution" and said:

"Our further efforts will be directed primarily to: . . . (2) Repeal of the Passport Control Law" (Bill introduced for them by Borah) "(3) Senator Borah's bill to punish officials interfering with civil liberties."

Under the heading "Bills Which the Union Supported", the same report says:

"Repeal of the Passport Control Law (S. 1091 Borah).

"This bill repeals the war-time statutes to prevent departure from and entry into the United States 'contrary to the public safety'. . . . It would make impossible another Karolyi case. . . . Secretary Kellogg

... strongly opposed it, alleging that its passage would upset the administration of the immigration law. Senator Borah, who is keenly interested in it, may be able to bring it out at the next session."

"Protection of Civil Rights (S. 1427 Borah).

"This bill heavily penalizes civil, military and naval officers who interfere with individuals in the free exercise of their constitutional rights, who try to prevent lawful discussion and agitation of political questions, who institute search and seizure without warrant, or try to obstruct or break up meetings" (of revolutionaries). "... Next year, with Senator Norris as chairman of that committee, it may get attention. Already the National Patriotic Council has passed resolutions against it."

Other American Civil Liberties Union Bills, listed, introduced by "Progressives", included: S. Res. 88 by Senator Wheeler ("Industrial Espionage"); S. 2969 by Senator LaFollette; S. 3746 by Senator Frazier (against "Compulsory Military Training in Schools and Colleges"); etc.

An American Patriot on Borah

Francis Ralston Welsh, venerable patriotic expert of Philadelphia, reported (7/5/28): "The American Civil Liberties Union is perhaps the agency that does more for Communism than any other in this Country, not even expecting the Workers' (Communist) Party itself. Its leading light is Wm. Z. Foster. Its teachings are destructive of our Constitution and free institutions, including our courts. This organization, as I know, planned a Borah meeting, at first for Boston and then for Chicago, and supplied funds for it in large part at least, with the assistance of its Philadelphia committee. Borah spoke at this meeting, gotten up for him by the American Civil Liberties Union, and among other things stated that the law under which various subversive criminals he and Anarchist Berkman and the American Civil Liberties Union, etc., called 'political prisoners' had been convicted, had been repealed, and that its provisions had been found un-Constitutional, and that therefore these 'political prisoners' should be released, which was what the whole Communist gang was striving for. This was excellent Communist agitation propaganda coming from a Senator of the United States and a lawyer of some note. Borah's statements were the direct opposite of the truth, and it is quite impossible to believe that he did not know that they were the direct opposite of the truth. The Supreme Court of the United States **had found the law Constitutional, and it had not been repealed.** At the time, I sent out a notice of this to quite a number of people including Borah himself, and to other Senators. It was headed 'Senator Borah versus the Truth'. I cited the particular case in which the Supreme Court upheld it, but Borah let his mendacious Communist propaganda continue in circulation to the advantage of the Communists and the disadvantage of the United States.

"When Communist agents met Rambouillet sheep owners in Chicago, Borah sent a telegram of felicitation to the Chicago Communist agents." Etc., etc., etc.

The Hearst "Mexican Official Documents"

A Congressional committee composed of their colleagues cleared Senators Borah, Heflin, LaFollette and Norris of charges that they received money from Communist-supported Calles in return for their non-intervention activities. To quote the New York Times of 12/15/27: "The names of four United States Senators whom the Government of Mexico desired to reward, according to the alleged Mexican official documents in the possession of the Hearst newspapers, were revealed today as Borah of Idaho, Norris of Nebraska, Heflin of Alabama and LaFollette of Wisconsin.

"Mr. Borah was named in one of the documents to receive \$500,000, Mr. Norris and Mr. Heflin to receive \$350,000 each, and Mr. LaFollette was to get only \$15,000, according to an alleged letter from President Calles to Arturo M. Elias, his half-brother and Consul General in New York. . . ."

The New York Times of 12/16/27 said: "The investigation of the authenticity of the alleged official Mexican Government documents which appeared serially in the Hearst papers throughout the country and which purported to show the creation of a fund of \$1,215,000 for the benefit of the United States Senators Borah, Norris, Heflin and LaFollette will continue. . . ."

Hubert C. Herring of the American Civil Liberties Union and head of its protegee, the "Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America", and author of a recent book on Mexico highly praised by the communist Daily Worker, and Oswald Garrison Villard also denied receiving any money. To quote further from the New York Times of 12/15/27: "A minister, the Rev. Dr. Herring, who was referred to as a 'good-will missionary', was also mentioned in a way to indicate that he had received \$60,000. . . . Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the Nation, was also mentioned. He was alleged to have received approximately \$25,000, according to a document in which his name appeared."

To quote from Senator Norris' denial of the charges implied by the publication of these documents (New York Times 12/20/27): "The Senator, continuing, said it was peculiar that President Calles would spend his hard cash to bribe Senators who were **already advocating** non-interference, a policy that he himself was anxious to carry out. 'We may disagree as to the kind of a man Mr. Calles is, but even his enemies never charge him with being either an ignoramus or an idiot.

" 'What is your motive, Mr. Hearst? You have testified before the committee that you have very valuable properties in Mexico. It is almost common knowledge that you were in favor of the overthrow of the present government. You evidently believed that if a revolution could be started it would mean financial benefit for your investments in Mexico. You are willing and apparently anxious to do something that would cause our government to intervene in Mexico. . . .'"

And so on, in the same vein, Norris employed the good old "bait-the-rich" tactics so successfully employed by Reds to agitate the Red

movement, to cover any skullduggery they aim to perpetrate, and to glorify and excuse any act in their struggle for power. The terrorism and wholesale butchery of peasants by the Soviets today, as always, is represented as necessary repression against greedy "Kulaks" animated by just such motives as Norris attributed to Hearst.

Senators Cleared by Committee

Again, a year later, the Senate committee cleared the same Senators Borah and Norris of further charges of receiving bribes from the Soviets. To quote the New York Times of 1/10/29: "In glowing words the members of the committee testified to the unquestioned integrity of Senators Borah and Norris, who, it was stated, went through the formality of swearing the accusations wholly untrue . . . the committee heard of the new documents when it was working on the investigation of the Mexican documents a year ago. . . ."

The committee report described the documents in their hands as: "1. Eight photographs of letters or receipts purporting to show that Senators Borah and Norris had received \$100,000 each from the Soviet Ambassador in Paris, either directly or through the interposition of Dudley Field Malone, an American lawyer who maintains an office in Paris.

"2. Two typewritten documents pretended to be the statements of the substance of an order for the payment of money from Soviet accounts in Paris to Senator Norris, and the substance of a letter pretended to have been written by Senator Borah in September or October, 1927, to the Soviet Ambassador in Paris.

"3. A receipt pretended to have been signed by Senator Borah for the payment to him of a large sum of money by the Mexican Government. This paper appears to have been sent by American Ambassador Sheffield from Mexico to Under Secretary Olds of the American State Department. So little regard was there given to it that it was destroyed without being submitted to our committee or to the Senate, but it has been described to us. . . . This committee has exhausted every effort both in America and Europe to discover corroboration of the charges carried by these documents. . . . The originals of the documents of Group 1 have been offered to us by a person in Europe at a price of about \$50,000, but the person offering them states that he has no evidence to show their genuineness. He delivered to us the documents of Group 2 as 'corroboration' but states that he cannot find the originals of such documents. Senator Norris and Senator Borah have voluntarily come before this committee, have asked to be sworn and denied very emphatically the charges carried by these documents."

And so the Committee, expressing the belief that the documents must be forgeries, cleared the Senators again.

It would not make the slightest difference in history whether these radical Senators actually received the money for their services in aid of the Communist cause or not. In fact, fanatics probably do more effective agitational work than paid propagandists. The fact remains that the current history of Mexico has been greatly affected

by their propaganda efforts and the resulting "Hands Off" policy of the United States, which has permitted the advancing communization and atheization of our neighbor country.

"Hands Off" Policy Communist Agitation

Not only these radical Senators but also the official organs of the Comintern and the Communist Party U.S.A. were at this time shrieking for a "Hands Off" policy on the part of the U. S. Government, in order that the Communist revolutionary movement, well under way in Mexico, Nicaragua and China, might be unmolested, even though rights and property of Americans in those countries were being violated.

The official Communist Party newspaper, "The Daily Worker", asked for propaganda aid for the Calles government (10/8/27) and printed a telegram then received from the Communist Party of Mexico, saying: "Reaction has launched revolt. We request agitation on behalf of the Mexican proletariat in its struggle jointly with the government." (Signed) "Mexican Communist Party."

From Moscow came the call of the Comintern to organize committees to agitate a U. S. "Hands Off" policy toward revolutionary activities in Mexico, Nicaragua and China, and about 250 of these committees were thereupon formed to carry on this propaganda.

Some Chinese and Mexican Results

Today, from a sixth to a fourth of China is actually Sovietized and under Moscow rule, while other sections are seething with Red armies supplied and officered from Soviet Russia. (The Socialist-controlled League of Nations keeps very quiet about this.)

The steamship company owning the boat on which we traveled to Mexico formerly had 70,000 acres of land in a fine state of cultivation, which is now uncultivated since it was seized by the Government. In whole States, the churches have been closed. In the State of Tabasco, the Governor had recently conducted a search of the homes to confiscate any hidden picture of Jesus Christ discovered there and to punish the owner. He told this himself with pride. I visited one church in Mexico City which had been turned into a library, of what sort of books one may well imagine. The attendant sat in a grimy rocking chair inside the altar rail. His cat was parading the altar, which was stacked as a book shelf. Advertisements of lurid motion picture dramas decorated the walls. The Ministry of Education building, the Government headquarters at Cuernavaca, and the President's palace in Mexico City are decorated with Communist frescoes. Many of them by Communist Diego Rivera are signed by him with the hammer and sickle of Soviet Russia after his name. I met a woman in Mexico who saw people shot while kneeling in prayer in a church, when a Red band came to kill the clergy.

Religion, in any form, is the first "enemy" which satanic Communism-Socialism attacks when given power.

Strange Case of Hamilton Fish

In spite of the Red abuse formerly heaped upon Congressman Hamilton Fish because of the anti-Communist report of his Congressional Committee with its scathing denunciation of the American Civil Liberties Union, as soon as he switched politically to the support of Borah, the Red press changed its tune.

The communist *Daily Worker* announced (1/22/36): "Hamilton Fish, Jr., Eastern campaign manager for the Idaho Senator, declared that he intended to appear at the Congress during its sessions in Chicago February 14, 15 and 16." The "Congress" referred to was the Communist-Party-organized American Negro Congress, to finance which Party members sold stamps. I have one bought at New York Communist Party headquarters.

Fish was endorsed as a candidate for Borah delegate to the Republican Convention by Vito Marcantonio, pet and mouthpiece of the Communist Party in Congress, who introduced a Bill to take over industries, natural resources, etc., under Government ownership (Communism-Socialism), who was arrested leading a New York Red riot (A. P. 2/15/36), and who released Mrs. Roosevelt's "peace" pigeons (N. Y. Times 4/22/36).

In reply to some Red protests that a Red should endorse a former "Red-baiter" like Fish, the communist *Daily Worker* said (3/27/36):

"Congressman Vito Marcantonio, Progressive Republican, today issued the following statement to the *Daily Worker* regarding his endorsement of the candidacy of Congressman Hamilton Fish as a delegate to the Republican National Convention and of the candidacy of Senator Borah for the Presidency: 'My endorsement of Hamilton Fish was agreed to two months ago at a dinner at the Harvard Club of friends of Senator Borah. . . . At all times I have felt that the real solution was an all-inclusive Farmer-Labor Party.'" (Now being organized by the Communist Party; but Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party and ostensibly its "Presidential candidate", has announced that the Communists wish to do nothing to defeat Roosevelt, for fear that a conservative Republican might be nominated and elected.) "In the event there is no Farmer-Labor Party, I consider Mr. Borah the lesser of the two evils.' . . .

"In a long distance telephone conversation with the *Daily Worker*, Congressman Marcantonio repeated his statement regarding his attitude toward Borah and Fish. When it was pointed out to him that Fish is a notorious Red-baiter, he said that this was true years ago, but no longer the case."

The same issue editorially praises Marcantonio but warns against putting faith in "so-called progressives in capitalists' parties."

Borah Against "Little Red Rider"

Under the heading, "Washington's Anti-Communist Teaching Law Stirs Educators and Congressmen", a N. Y. Times report (5/17/36) discusses the anti-Communist "Little Red Rider" attached

to last year's appropriations act for the District of Columbia providing:

"That hereafter no part of any appropriation for the public schools shall be available for the payment of the salary of any person teaching or advocating communism."

The Times report says: "When a newspaper reporter called the attention of Senator Borah to the rider, the Senator said:

"That will never be passed so long as I am in the Senate."

"To which the reporter replied that it already had been passed."

THE PRESENT "PROGRESSIVE" MOVEMENT

Aim: Radical Control of Major Parties

The present "Progressive" political movement backing President Roosevelt on the one hand and striving to seize the Republican Party on the other, and responsible for the "Progressives", "Insurgents", or "Sons of Wild Jackasses", as they have been called, in Congress, was formally launched in 1922 as the result of a predetermined Socialist plan.

Idea Born in Socialist Party

In 1921, the Socialist Party passed the resolution proposed by the Socialist Party leader, Morris Hillquit (real name Misca Hilkowicz and born in Russia), which was printed in the socialist New York Call (6/28/21), announcing that Socialist objectives "can be accomplished only through a united and concerted action of all progressive, militant and class-conscious workers" and that the Party national executive committee should "make a careful survey of all radical and labor organizations in the country with a view of ascertaining their strengths, disposition, and readiness to cooperate with the Socialist movement upon a platform not inconsistent with that of the Party and on a plan that will preserve the integrity and autonomy of the Socialist Party."

First Conference for Progressive Political Action

And that was exactly what was done. Early in 1922, a call was issued for a Conference for Progressive Political Action, meaning a conference to plan political action leading progressively toward Socialism. On 2/20/22, a motley crowd of radicals of all hues assembled in Chicago and lambasted the United States Government and the capitalist system and praised Soviet Russia.

The call for this conference was issued by Wm. H. Johnston, secy.-treas. of the LaFollette-Norris "People's Legislative Service" directed by Basil M. Manly (Roosevelt's appointee as vice chairman of the Federal Power Commission). Johnston's leadership in subversive groups ideally qualified him to call, and act as "perpetual" chairman of, this Conference, which held sessions in Chicago, Cleveland and St. Louis. He was a one-time Socialist Party candidate for Governor of Rhode Island. He served on the national committee of the

Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union along with Communist jail-bird Wm. Z. Foster, Jane Addams, Morris Hillquit, and leading Communist and Socialist Party agitators; on the national council of the socialist League for Industrial Democracy; and as vice president of the People's Lobby (under its former name). All three of these organizations are communist-Garland-Fund-supported agencies. Further, he was a radical union leader, having been president since 1912 of the International Association of Machinists and national committeeman of the National Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with and Recognition of Russia. His executive officer of the International Association of Machinists since 1913, Robert Fechner, in 1933 became Roosevelt's head of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC camps).

A "United-Front" Radical Movement

As this was intended to be a broad united-front coalition movement, the Socialist Party, as such, kept in the background at the first Conference, although its leaders, present as delegates, are fraternally referred to in the Conference records in Red fashion as "comrades Morris Hillquit, Thomas, Victor Berger, Otto Branstetter, Bertha Hale White and Daniel W. Hoan."

Johnston opened the Conference with a Marxian "class struggle" attack on the Supreme Court for its checks on radicalism, saying: "The United States Supreme Court and the lower courts are depriving the workers of their weapons of defense, one by one, and seeking to bind them with chains so that their masters may, with impunity, scourge them into submission." In conformity with this attitude, the late Senator LaFollette (6/21/22) announced his intention to introduce a Constitutional amendment which would enable Congress by the re-passage of an Act held unconstitutional, to make that Act the supreme law of the land.

"Committee of Fifteen"

The Committee of Fifteen elected to conduct the affairs of the coalition until the next conference included: Johnston; Benjamin C. Marsh (director of the communist-Garland-Fund-supported People's Lobby); Morris Hillquit (Socialist Party head); and Jay G. Brown, then national secretary of the red Farmer-Labor Party and a former I.W.W. organizer and director in Wm. Z. Foster's communist Trade Union Educational League (Brown served two terms in the Walla Walla, Washington, penitentiary for burglarizing with a gun, once under the name "J. G. Brown" and another time under the name "Harvey Williams"—Pamphlet by Martin W. Littleton).

Whitney's "LaFollette Socialism-Communism", published 1924, contains the following concerning the Conference for Progressive Political Action:

"The affairs of this movement are directed by a committee nearly every one of which is a prominent Socialist. The chairman, Wm. Johnston, is a fair sample. The guiding spirits, in addition to Johnston,

are Morris Hillquit, Eugene V. Debs and Victor Berger, all of whom are Socialist leaders.

"The membership of the Conference for Progressive Political Action is made up of the members of a number of affiliated unions. These unions are largely those now in the hands of radical leaders who have been 'sold' to communism. Among them are the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers, both shown by the Lusk Committee to be directed by the Communist International from Moscow, Russia; the United Mine Workers, the character and activities of which are too well known to require comment, and certain radical railroad organizations."

Roosevelt Ties with Same Red Unions

In line with the above, one notes the appointment by Roosevelt of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' head, Sidney Hillman, and its research chief, Leo Wolman, Mrs. Roosevelt's reported broadcasting services for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (communist Daily Worker 4/7/34), and the thunderous support of Roosevelt shown by the United Mine Workers in convention (Washington, D. C., Jan. 1936), who, led by John L. Lewis and supported by the Communists, are fighting the loyal American element in the American Federation of Labor for the revolutionary weapon of "industrial unionism", the organization of unions by whole industries instead of by crafts. The anarcho-syndicalists, the I.W.W.s, and the Communist Party have long advocated this as the most effective means in the "class struggle" of preparing for the "general strike" as the prelude to Red revolution.

Red Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, and Socialist David Dubinsky (who served eighteen months in prison in Russia and was exiled to Siberia for revolutionary activities), president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, are leading the newly-formed "Labor's Non-Partisan League" to help reelect Roosevelt. As a gesture, Dubinsky "resigned" from the Socialist Party.

Union Assessments Finance Conference

To continue the quotation from Whitney: "The Conference for Progressive Political Action is financed by an assessment on each of the members of these affiliated unions, and, whether the members like it or not, they are compelled, through a sort of 'check off' system, to come across. Something of just what this movement is and the character of its backing, together with the nature of its financial support, can be gathered from a news story in the New York Times, July 22, one paragraph of which reads as follows:

"Representatives of 300,000 Jewish Trade Unionists and Socialists, meeting at Forward Hall yesterday, indorsed the LaFollette-Wheeler ticket, and pledged themselves to devote their energies and money to the campaign. Four hundred and fifty delegates from the United Hebrew Trades and the Jewish Socialist Alliance adopted

resolutions from their organizations and expect to raise more than \$500,000 for the LaFollette campaign.'

"The Conference for Progressive Political Action carries on its publicity through a weekly paper printed at Washington called 'Labor'. This paper is edited by one Edward Keating, once a Congressman from Colorado. Keating was elected by the support of the United Mine Workers. They wished to have him in Congress because the leaders had planned when he was elected, a campaign of 'force, violence and acts of terrorism' in Colorado in 1913-14, to jam the closed shop on the bituminous coal operators."

Second Conference

The Conference for Progressive Political Action, after its first conference, went on gaining strength and power and held its second conference in Cleveland, 12/11/22. There, its national committee reported that by reason of their efforts in the 1922 Congressional elections ninety-three "undesirable" members of the 67th Congress were defeated and thirteen withdrew or resigned their seats, and that approximately 140 representatives in Congress were elected who "are either unqualifiedly representative of the desires of the conference or are men whose past record or declarations class them as **progressively minded** in the people's interest." (Meaning, in the Socialists' interest.)

An imposing accomplishment, indeed. Yet people, otherwise brilliant, babble about the impossibility of Socialism ever "getting anywhere in this country" and blindly attribute opposition to Hoover and acquiescence to Roosevelt mainly to the personal leadership of the two men, rather than to the radicals "planted" in Congress itself. As stated by "The Awakener" in January 1935: "Owing to the number of radicals among the Republicans, there is no hope of mustering a majority against the President on any major issue."

Like the socialistic New Dealers, including Cabinet members, the second conference again declared for the abolition of Supreme Court powers to nullify Socialist legislation, but, for political advantage, no doubt, this was omitted from the platform drawn up. To quote the jubilant socialist New York Call report from the Conference, dated 12/12/22:

"The Conference for Progressive Political Action late today adopted a platform which was embodied in the minority report of the committee on platforms and resolutions by James O'Neal, Socialist delegate."

In other words, the Conference adopted the platform prepared by the Socialist Party.

Third Conference and Its Offshoot

The next conference, held in St. Louis, 2/11/24, was characterized by its eulogy of LaFollette and the plans for running him for President of the United States. A special conference was called for the purpose of endorsing him and the platform on which he was to run with Burton K. Wheeler as Vice Presidential candidate, which met

in Cleveland July 4, 1924. LaFollette and Wheeler were formally nominated here, and a sample ballot for the ensuing Presidential election shows that their names appeared in the "Socialist Party" column as Socialist Party candidates and also in the "Progressive Party" column as Progressive Party candidates.

The LaFollette-Wheeler Socialist-drafted platform declared for public ownership of railroads and "the nation's waterpower and the creation and development of a national super-water-power system, including Muscle Shoals, and strict public control and permanent conservation of all the nation's resources including coal, iron and other ores, oil and timber lands in the interests of the people." While the Socialist program for political power is always represented as a program in the "people's interest", already the Roosevelt regime in its attempts to carry out the Socialist program has demonstrated the sickening political corruption always involved in the administration of vast powers by political appointees.

1931 "Progressive" Conference

We see the same names on the founding committees of the radical People's Legislative Service, People's Lobby, Public Ownership League, National Popular Government League, and Conference for Progressive Political Action as are on the registry roll of those attending the 1931 "Progressive" conference which supported Roosevelt for the Presidency in 1932. We see many of those same leaders now honored by Roosevelt. Senator Norris of the People's Legislative Service, which issued the first call for the Conference for Progressive Political Action, has received (although he still calls himself for convenience "Republican") the greatest honor of all, perhaps, in having the TVA dam and the town, Norris, Tennessee, named in his honor by Roosevelt.

On the letterhead of the Conference for Progressive Political Action in 1924 will be seen the name of Basil Manly, Roosevelt's vice chairman of the Federal Power Commission; Frederic C. Howe, notorious radical, also a Roosevelt appointee and fellow organizer with Mrs. Roosevelt of "cooperatives" (the Socialist favorite wedge against the capitalist system); Wm. Mahoney and W. W. Fitzwater, socialist Farmer-Labor leaders; Morris Hillquit and James H. Maurer, Socialist Party leaders; B. C. Vladeck, of the Jewish Socialist "Forward"; Benjamin C. Marsh, of the People's Lobby; numerous radical union leaders; D. C. Dorman; etc.

"Progressive" Activities of Dorman

The record of D. C. Dorman is typical of those of many of his "Progressive" associates. The following is part of the evidence in a trial involving the I.W.W., tried in the District Court of Ada County, Idaho, and refers to Arthur LeSueur and Dorman (part of an affidavit by Judge L. J. Palda in the case of Ray McKaig and Frank Gooding, 1919-20). To quote: "... he did many years ago state to me in a conversation . . . that he had a plan whereby they

would finally get control; that he had come to the conclusion that he would not get the people to use force; that what they were going to do was organize and steal the prevailing parties in the various states, and steal the organizations in the various states, and in that way get their ends. . . .

"Dorman swore that he did not believe in the Constitution and was opposed to the flag of the United States; that the flag was nothing but a rag, or words to that effect, and that the government was no government at all and should be destroyed.

"Question. Mr. Dorman was on trial at the time as a joint defendant with Arthur LeSueur, was he?

"Answer. Yes, Sir. I also saw Mr. Dorman and LeSueur when they were in the city jail.

"Question. Describe their actions at that time.

"Answer. Why, they acted like wild men. They would cut up at all times. I saw them at late hours or during the day throwing these co-defendants—the I.W.W.s—almost into a frenzy, advising them not to eat, advising them to make all the noise they could to disturb the peace of the community, as much as possible. I saw them singing out of the I.W.W. books, songs that were unfit for human ears, and heard them exhorting them to acts of insubordination throughout."

Dorman, whose home was Minot, N. D., was district organizer and member of the national board of the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

"Songs to Fan the Flames"

The I.W.W. song book, "Songs to Fan the Flames of Discontent", seized from Dorman and LeSueur while in the Minot jail and introduced into evidence, contains such songs as:

"Christians at War"

By John F. Kendrick (Tune "Onward Christian Soldiers")

"Onward Christian soldiers, rip and tear and smite,

Let the gentle Jesus bless your dynamite.

Splinter skulls with shrapnel, fertilize the sod;

Folks who do not speak your tongue, deserve the curse
of God.

Smash the doors of every home, pretty maidens seize,

Use your might and sacred right to use them as you
please.

"Onward Christian soldiers. Eat and drink your fill.

Rob with bloody fingers, Christ O.K.s the bill.

Steal the farmers' savings, take their grain and meat;

Even tho the children starve, the Saviour's bums must eat.

Burn the peasants' cottages, orphans leave bereft;

In Jehovah's holy name, wreak ruin right and left.

"Onward Christian soldiers, blighting all you meet,

Trampling human freedom under pious feet.

Praise the Lord whose dollar sign dupes his favored race,

Make the foreign trash respect your bullion brand of grace.

Trust in mock salvation, serve as pirates' tools;

History will say of you: 'That pack of G—D—fools.'"

Other of the songs suggest the sabotage of machinery and wheat fields, for which the I.W.W. were notorious. One, to the tune of "Tipperary" has the lines:

"It's a long way across the prairie, and to hell with Farmer John,

Up goes machine or wages and the hours must come down."

Another, to the tune of "Ta-Ra-Ra Boom-De-Ay", has the lines:

"One moonlight night, I hate to tell, I 'accidently' slipped and fell,

My pitchfork went right in between some cog wheels of that thresh machine."

Chorus:

Ta-ra-ra Boom-de-ay!

It made a noise that way,

And wheels and bolts and hay

Went flying every way.

That stingy rube said 'Well,

A thousand gone to hell.'

But I did sleep that night;

I needed it all right." Etc., etc.

Another to the same tune has the lines:

"If the old Farmer John don't please us,

His machine will visit Jesus,

Down in harvest land."

I.W.W.s Artists at Sabotage

The I.W.W. boldly declared in their publication entitled "Sabotage" (by Walter C. Smith): "In the social war, sabotage is the best kind of a flank movement upon our enemy, the employing class", and an illustration given tells how some I.W.W.s planted 1,000 young trees upside down, the roots waving in the breeze, ruining the trees, "as a mute evidence of solidarity and sabotage" against their employer. There are endless admissions of sabotage of machinery and destruction of fields and property among the Government exhibits in I.W.W. trials.

It was not strange that the farmers opposed the attempt by the Non-Partisan League's I.W.W. and Socialist leaders to put through an agreement binding the farmers to employ none but I.W.W.s. In fact, two months after pressure was put on for this purpose, a Vigilante Committee hung Frank Little of the I.W.W. executive board in Butte. Thereupon, Lynn J. Frazier, the Non-Partisan League Governor of North Dakota (now in the U. S. Senate introducing radical Roosevelt Bills), issued a proclamation protecting the I.W.W.s in his State, the details of which appear in the official I.W.W. paper "Solidarity" (8/18/17):

Frazier's Proclamation Aiding I.W.W.s

"The Governor has issued a proclamation to all peace officers, prosecuting attorneys, sheriffs and marshalls that they must not search men who are passing through the state. . . . Under no circumstances will vigilante committees be tolerated. . . . The Governor says the men have a right to stay in town and raise wages if they can . . . while he is Governor of North Dakota these rights of the men who come to the state to harvest the crops will and must be respected." Etc.

In this same issue of "Solidarity", the I.W.W. declared: "It is a mistake to think that the I.W.W. is a loosely knit and easily intimidated organization. . . . Red card men are shrewd, determined, valorous and loyal to the cause they love. If they are hounded to desperation they will be a hard proposition to handle. There would not be soldiers enough in the country to round them up for arrest nor jails enough to hold them once arrested. The I.W.W. is so deeply rooted in America and the world that it **can afford to take the chances of an open war a whole lot better than the powers that oppose it.**" (Bold defiance of the Government!)

D. C. Dorman, sweet jail singer of I.W.W. songs and a national director of the Conference for Progressive Political Action in 1924, was, 1919-20, the national manager of the Non-Partisan League and conducted its training school for organizers.

Lemke Non-Partisan League Red

Wm. Lemke, co-sponsor of the Frazier-Lemke Bill, was then one of the three executives of the Non-Partisan League, according to their articles of association dated Jan. 1, 1917 (published by the League), and, according to his own data in "Who's Who in America", he remained as such until 1921 and at the same time was chairman of the Republican State Committee (1916-20).

Frazier was a member of the Liberty Defense League formed in March 1918 to defend and liberate the imprisoned I.W.W.s. This "Liberty Defense League" was formed by the notorious People's Council organized in imitation of the Soviet "Soldiers and Sailors Councils" of the Russian revolution. (See "The Red Network"; also the New York State Lusk Report.)

Some of the members of that League were themselves imprisoned, and many are as active in radicalism today and have been honored by Roosevelt. Some of Frazier's fellow members were: Frank P. Walsh, Eugene V. Debs, Lillian Wald, Owen R. Lovejoy, John Lovejoy Elliott, Jane Addams, Herbert S. Bigelow, Harry Ward, Victor Berger, Meta S. Lilienthal, Lincoln Steffens, Abraham Epstein, Sidney Hillman, James H. Maurer, Agnes D. Warbasse, Abraham I. Shiplacoff, Frederic C. Howe, Florence Kelley (translator of Engels), Jackson Ralston, Dudley Field Malone, Gilson Gardner, Arthur LeSueur, Kate Richards O'Hare (a founder of communistic Commonwealth College which is supported by Roosevelt), Prof. H. W. L. Dana, James W. Dillard, Paul Douglas, Zona Gale, Sara Bard Field, Max

Hayes, Bishop Paul Jones, Daniel Hoan, Solon De Leon, Edwin Markham, Ludwig Lore, Wm. Bross Lloyd, Geo. R. Roewer, James O'Neil, Chas. Erskine Scott Wood, Seymour Stedman, Winthrop D. Lane, Geo. E. Kilpatrick, Jos. Schlossberg, Algernon Lee, Anita C. Block, Wm. F. Cochran, Chas. P. Steinmetz, etc. (New York Evening Call 3/8/18.) There is a radical history for every name listed there.

Rabid Red "Progressives" Aid LaFollette

The "Progressives" had as State of Washington executive committeeman of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, J. N. Belanger, an I.W.W. and one of the five ring leaders of the great violent Seattle general strike, which was aimed at the overthrow of the government by violence. Belanger and his committee bent every effort to elect LaFollette and Wheeler in 1924.

Facsimile reproductions of the Hotel LaFayette register and of affidavits appearing in "The Revolution Against American Government" by Littleton would show that John Schwartzkopf, second in command of the LaFollette-Wheeler campaign headquarters (25 W. 43rd St., N. Y. City), registered and stayed with the unofficial Soviet envoy, Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, and his secretary, Nuorteva, 11/13/19, and 1/9/20, the hotel bills being paid by the Soviet envoy's secretary. To quote from Littleton: "There is no manner of doubt that Schwartzkopf was working with Martens and Nuorteva prior to this time, at this time and subsequent to this date."

Communist Party Supported LaFollette

A facsimile reproduction of the secret orders issued by Ruthenberg, then head of the Communist Party, also appears and shows that while the Communist Party did not consider LaFollette's election to head our capitalistic Government as a substitute for or an achievement of complete Communism but merely as an advancement toward it, yet, the Party orders stated: "We will unquestionably support La Follette in the election campaigns." (Workers Party Press Service, 1009 N. State St., Room 214, Chicago, Ill., 4/3/24.)

The Communist Party is giving Roosevelt much the same sort of support now. Likewise, they supported the more mild Socialist, Kersensky, until he ripened the "masses" for his ousting and replacement by bloody Lenin and Trotsky, who then got down to the business of expropriation, butchery, and Red terror.

"LaFollette Revolution" by Communist Pogany

Another reproduction in the Littleton booklet is that of the Oct. 1923 issue of the Communist "Liberator" with its article on the "LaFollette Revolution", which might easily apply to the "Roosevelt revolution" as well, for the "Roosevelt revolution" is, in fact, the successful achievement of the same group which backed LaFollette. They failed to elect LaFollette, but elected Roosevelt eight years later. This article is by John Pepper, alias Jos. Pogany, a representative of the Comintern sent with instructions from Moscow to the 1922 Bridgman, Michigan, underground Communist convention, which was

raided by the Government, yielding barrels full of incriminating documents.

"At all meetings and conventions Pepper speaks in the name of the Communist International." (From report of Secretary of State Hughes to Senate Committee on Foreign Relations of 68th Congress.) Communist Pepper (or Pogany) said then in the Communist "Liberator" almost exactly what Reds are saying now:

"The great political crisis, the first period of which we see now beginning, brings with it very complicated tasks for the revolutionists in the United States. We have a two fold task: First, to support the real people's movement—the LaFollette revolution, against big capital and against the big capitalist parties. Second, to criticize pitilessly the half-measures and hesitation of the LaFollette movement and employ every means to organize the workers and exploited farmers . . . into the Federated Farmer-Labor Party. We must support the LaFollette revolution in spite of its petty bourgeois character, for it is of paramount interest to revolutionists to transform the United States Government from a virtual monarchy into a real democracy."

Recent Roosevelt Radical Confab

The press on 5/21/36, carried the following headline "Roosevelt's Night Meeting Big Mystery" over a United Press dispatch which stated: "Political observers were puzzled today over President Roosevelt's four-hour evening 'mystery' conference with seven liberal senators." Senator LaFollette (son of the 1924 Presidential candidate—"Progressive," Wis.), Senator Sherman Minton (Dem., Ind.), Senator Henrik Shipstead (Farmer-Labor, Minn.), Senator Robert F. Wagner (Dem., N. Y.), Senator Lewis Schwellenbach (Dem., Wash.), Senator Geo. W. Norris ("Republican", Neb.), Felix Frankfurter (radical "inside man" of the Roosevelt regime), and Senator Burton K. Wheeler (Dem., Montana, and LaFollette's 1924 running mate), who has long been used to having little private "Progressive" conferences, were listed as those present in the White House with Roosevelt.

Communists and I.W.W.s Help Elect Wheeler

When the Conference for Political Action secured the nomination and election of Burton K. Wheeler as Senator in Montana on the Democratic ticket (1922), Wm. F. Dunne, former I.W.W. (later and now, a prominent Communist Party organizer), and D. C. Dorman, the I.W.W. jail singer, were most active in bringing about Wheeler's election.

The "Labor World", a Pittsburgh publication, under the title "A Radical and Proud of It" (9/18/24), said: "Senator Burton K. Wheeler was in Pittsburgh last Tuesday and made a speech at Carnegie Music Hall. 'I am a radical and proud of it,' declared Senator Wheeler."

Wheeler Called Socialist, I.W.W., Pacifist

The paper went on to describe the Communists who occupied the platform with him and said: "What drew this admission from Mr.

Wheeler? On April 3rd The Labor World carried an editorial entitled 'Reds in the Saddle' which we reproduce in this issue. Mr. Wheeler was requested by The Labor World before its publication to give his side of his past. We offered him a chance to refute the allegations; he was silent. Then he was asked to reply to this editorial, a copy of which was sent to him with this request: 'We now request you, Senator Wheeler, to explain in Pittsburgh at Carnegie Music Hall, your connection with the I.W.W. movement while a dishwasher in Chicago, and later in Montana as a pro-German. Also why do you charge idle coal miners 50 cents each to hear you speak?' . . . There was a good crowd in the hall. About one-third were Russian-Jewish Socialists, and the balance of the audience was made up of Socialists, workers and business men. . . . Mr. Wheeler did not tell his hearers that he and other radicals in the Senate destroyed business in 1924. . . . We need only point to the late Democratic administration in which he—then a Socialist—but posing as a Democrat—occupied the important position as U. S. District Attorney in Montana under U. S. Attorney Palmer. . . . (He) was forced out of office during the war by Woodrow Wilson, who refused to re-appoint him, at the suggestion of the Council of Defense, because Wheeler was a Radical, I.W.W., a Pacifist, against the Government's war program. Much more could be said concerning Senator Wheeler's tenure of office that would not look good to a true American or one of the boys who went across . . . he had worked with the Socialists against the war . . . was in cahoots with Foster, Debs and Bill Haywood." Etc.

Wheeler Resignation "By Request"

Littleton, in "The Revolution Against American Government", says: "Wheeler was United States District Attorney in Montana and, according to his own statement, was called to Washington and requested to resign as U. S. District Attorney because he refused to institute prosecutions against those who were interfering with the Government in the prosecution of the war, and accordingly did resign."

LaFollette and Wheeler polled a great vote in 1924 but not great enough. The "Progressive" movement had to wait until 1932 to actually elect their man to the Presidency.

Manly, Now New Dealer, Then Leading Red

Says Fred Marvin ("Radicalism in Washington"): "A point to be noted is that during the entire campaign to assist the Socialist Party in destroying the Supreme Court and the Constitution of the United States, Basil M. Manly and his People's Legislative Service were at the head and front of the whole proceeding.

"Before each session of Congress Mr. Manly is accustomed to call together the members of the People's Legislative Service and their supporters and agree on what Radical legislation they can put through Congress at the ensuing session. Such a meeting was called on Dec. 1, 1922, for example, and appropriately enough that session

was held in the Senate Office Building in the rooms of the Committee on Agriculture of which Senator Norris was chairman. Those who attended that 1922 meeting included:

"Senator Borah	Senator Norris
Senator Frazier	Senator Howell
Congressman Huddleston	Basil M. Manly"

A facsimile reproduction of the proceedings of that conference, by Basil Manly, shows that Senator Brookhart, Capper, McNary, Owen, Sheppard, and Wheeler, and Governor Blaine of Wisconsin, and numerous other Congressman were also present. "Representative LaGuardia of N. Y. was not able to be present until the afternoon session," Manly reported.

"Five years later, March 11, 1927, we find another assemblage called by Basil M. Manly to consider legislation. This time the meeting was held in the Judiciary Committee of the Senate of which Senator Norris is now chairman. And again those present and supporting the Socialistic program included:

"Senator Borah	Senator Norris
Senator Frazier	Senator Howell
Congressman Huddleston	Basil M. Manly"

The New York World, 3/12/27, reporting this meeting headed by Senator Norris, for which the invitations were issued by Basil Manly of the People's Legislative Service, listed among those attending: "Senators Borah (R., Idaho), Johnson (R., Calif.), Nye (R., N. D.), Norbeck (R., S. D.), Howell (R., Neb.) and Harris (D., Ga.), together with Representatives Swing (R., Calif.), Huddleston (D., Ala.), Basil Manly (R., Wis.) of the La Follette organization, Judson King of the Popular Government League and H. S. Raushenbush of the N. Y. State Committee which has been cooperating with Governor Smith."

Paving the Way for Socialism

"Senator Norris and others who were in the meeting . . . announced the scheme was to launch a general campaign to carry the issue to the public before the next session of Congress emphasizing the importance of legislation for Muscle Shoals and the Boulder Dam project on the Colorado river." The heading of this report was, "Power Trust Foes Combine in Capital" (N. Y. World 3/12/27).

The Socialist press also published a jubilant account of this same meeting, ending with: "THE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION OF THESE TWO GREAT PROJECTS WILL SPLIT THE POWER TRUST WIDE OPEN AND PAVE THE WAY FOR THE PRACTICAL REALIZATION OF SOCIALISM AS NOTHING ELSE WILL" (From the "American Appeal, the national organ of Socialism in America, founded by Eugene V. Debs," Chicago, 3/19/27).

And this has been accomplished!

Note "Borers from Within"

It will be noted that the meeting consisted of representatives from, or rather borers from within, both Democratic and Republican parties. H. S. Raushenbush, one of those reported as present, was at the very time writing for the socialist New Leader (N. Y. City) on the "Problems of American Socialism" (3/5/27), under the heading, "How Shall Socialists Attack the Problem of Winning the Ultimate Abolition of the Profit System", "A Program of Gradual Socialization of Industry", "The Vulnerable Spots in Trust Control", "Railroads, Power and Coal—How They May Be Attacked."

The last mentioned article had this interesting statement: "If we" (Socialists) "don't bite off more than we can chew, we may have a good deal to chew on in the coming years." ("Check and double-check", one might say.)

Raushenbush was paid large sums of money directly by the communist Garland Fund for his writings and he was busy "investigating" the munitions "trusts" for his fellow radical, Senator Nye, in the last Congress. State ownership of munitions conveniently disarms the populace for the benefit of those wielding a Socialist dictatorship.

Radicals Work While Patriots "Sleep"

While the most industrious and able men in American life were building up the American standard of living by improving their own services to the public, they were wrapped in a false sense of security and, if warned, "pooh-poohed" any possible threat of Socialism. Meantime, the radicals, organized intensively with key persons in strategic positions on newspapers, in political, church, civic and legislative bodies, financed by the communist Garland Fund, other Funds and Foundations, wealthy humanitarian dupes, and more subterranean sources, defended legally by the aggressive white-shirt-front-for-the-Communist-movement, the American Civil Liberties Union, well installed in the colleges and able to "hullabaloo" any desired propaganda by a red network system of connections reaching every corner of American life, have stuck to their knitting, eyes on determined objectives in conformity with the fixed Marxian program, ready to work and to wait a century if necessary to overthrow the American system.

Intelligent, Organized Opposition Needed

The busy American business man is only beginning to wonder whether or not he will be allowed to stay busy at his own business if the Government continues its present program. Not one in a thousand even yet has any conception of the nature, power, driving force, organization, or financing of the movement opposing him and determined to ruin and put him out of business forever. If business men were informed, it is to be hoped they would help to organize as intelligent and enthusiastic an opposition, which as yet has not been done. Many feel simply that if Roosevelt is beaten their troubles are over. Others gloss over what they fail to understand by saying that Roosevelt is "crazy". If Roosevelt and his fellow conspirators

are not beaten and their program halted, may God help us all! But even if he should be defeated, pro-American anti-Reds will have to get on their toes to prevent a radical return coup from the determined enemy, and to fight the "borers from within".

THE 1931 "PROGRESSIVE" CONFERENCE AND ROOSEVELT

On 3/11/31, the "Progressives", as usual headed by Senator Norris, assembled to get ready for the 1932 Presidential and Congressional elections. Now at last success was at hand. Roosevelt was to measure up to their standards as the chosen man and be elected. Tugwell was at last to be given power to joyfully "roll up his sleeves to make America over" on Soviet lines. Mordecai Ezekiel was to be turned loose to use his logarithms to estimate the ratio of the squeal of a hog to his young divided by the square root of the price of bacon, and from the resulting figures to hand forth the "tablet of the law and commandments" for farmers to obey.

At this Conference, we see the familiar group of radicals and their sympathizers assembling with the same old "Down with the Power Trust!", "Swat the Rich!", class struggle speeches to agitate and becloud the real objective—the socialization, by the politicians, of the United States, all the way through from the so-called "Power Trust" with its several million actual owners, the stockholders, to the American "peasant", whom they aim to control so thoroughly that he may allow his pig to "marry", or may raise a bag of potatoes, only "as, when and if" "planned" by "Commissars".

Cry of "Emergency" Cloaks Skullduggery

With the dramatic closing of the banks, the cries of "Emergency!" and "The Revolution is Coming" and "You Will Get Hurt If You Don't Do As We Say", it was hoped, and probably counted on by Felix Frankfurter, close associate of radical Supreme Court Justice Brandeis, that Justices Brandeis, Cardozo and Stone of the U. S. Supreme Court would vote, and carry the majority with them, to declare constitutional the socialistic legislation pushed through as "Emergency" measures but really intended as permanent Socialist revolutionary laws.

Senator Watson Looks Ahead

That the real purposes of the 1931 conference for "Progressives" were well understood by seasoned politicians is shown by the press reports of the conference, including the list of questions directed at the Conference leaders by Senator James E. Watson asking (in anticipation) whether or not they stood for the policies which the Roosevelt regime has since stood for. Among these questions were: "Should Russia be recognized?"; "Should we liberalize our immigration laws?"; "Should the Constitution be amended to give Congress power to override decisions of the Supreme Court?"; "Should the government take over and operate the electrical power of the country?"

Attempted "Unmasking" Ires Norris

Ired at being pinned down by Senator Watson with these questions, wishing only to stand forth in the press as the noble defender of the forgotten man "oppressed" by the "Power Trust", "Mr. Norris' eyes shot forth what the old time novelists used to call a 'baleful gleam'. In phraseology that was humorous but in a spirit that had no humor whatever, Senator Norris spoke of the Republican Senator as 'little Jimmy Watson' and informed him that 'this is not a kindergarten.'" (N. Y. Herald-Tribune, 3/12/31.)

Radical Beard Selected to Beard Watson

And it was Charles A. Beard, supporter of the red-Garland-Fund-subsidized revolutionary socialist Rand School, who admiringly called Communist Karl Marx' "Das Capital" the most influential book since 1885 (Daily Worker 3/15/35), who was delegated to prepare the cagey "yes and no" answers, well barbed with defensive sarcasm, in reply to the questions. The Marxian must have always ready in his tool kit the essential weapons of camouflage, deception, derision of opponents, and denial of the very existence of the Marxism they **must** smokescreen, lest its raw nudity be seen and checked by opponents. Beard, who was very active in this conference, is praised by the Communist and entire Red press for his writings deriding patriotic concepts of American history and the Constitution and for his bitter attacks on those who oppose Communism. And it was this man whom President Roosevelt appointed to the commission to arrange for the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Constitution in 1937! Ironically, the Chicago American said of this appointment: "If Dr. Beard why not Mr. Browder?" (Secy., Communist Party) "Or is that appointment to follow in due course too?" (1/6/36.)

Roosevelt Fawns Upon the Conference

The N. Y. Herald-Tribune (3/12/31) said: "Those who seek subtle ties of political significance in the conference might find a suggestion that the Democratic Party in the next campaign is likely to take the 'progressive' side. It is evident that Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt has taken pains to show exceptional kindness toward this conference and its leaders. In answer to the invitation extended to him he made three separate replies. In an early telegram he said he would attend if he could. In a long distance telephone conversation with **Senator Norris** he expressed regret that he could not come because of having the New York legislature on his hands. In a final telegram he suggested comparison between the program of the conference and his own policies in New York State, **especially his policy about water power.**

"The power question is the one issue most close to the mind and heart of Senator Norris as chairman of the conference. It seems evident that Senator Norris' objective on this issue is **complete government ownership and operation.** 'Regulation', he said, 'has proven a failure'. This is the familiar phrase of those who wish to justify demanding government ownership and operation."

Radical Glenn Frank Also "Regrets"

Senator Norris read telegrams of regret from several persons invited but unable to be present. One from Glenn Frank, president of the University of Wisconsin at Madison, often referred as "Little Moscow", said that "matters before the Legislature detained him and expressed 'all good wishes for constructive results.' . . . In the afternoon Senator Borah who presided over the round table on agriculture, read a further message of regret from Mr. Roosevelt in which the Governor called attention to the programs covering water power, agriculture, land utilization and unemployment which he outlined to the recent conference of seven Governors in Albany.

"A burst of applause greeted the name of Governor Roosevelt.

One of Roosevelt's "Regret" Messages

"The Governor's telegram was read in the afternoon by Senator Wm. E. Borah, Republican, of Idaho. It was greeted with warm applause. The message, addressed to Senator George W. Norris, Republican insurgent, of Nebraska, follows:

"'Albany, March 11, 1931.

"'Senator George W. Norris,

"'Washington, D. C.

"'I am much disappointed that I cannot attend the conference today and tomorrow. I need not tell you of my **real interest in the subjects which you will discuss**. It is absolutely impossible for me to leave Albany, as the Legislature is in session. I hope that you will be good enough to send me the report of the conference. May I call your attention particularly to the water power policy of this state, to our agricultural program and new land utilization policy which I have outlined; also to the conference of seven Governors held in Albany on unemployment and industrial stabilization. I am mailing several messages and reports by special delivery today.

"'Franklin D. Roosevelt.'

Senator Borah Baites the "Rich"

"Before reading today's final message from Albany, Senator Borah, in a reference to Mr. Raskob during the course of this speech on farm relief, emphasized the contrasting positions assumed by the Democratic chairman and the Democratic Governor in the minds of 'progressives'. While a telegram from the Governor **expressing a mutuality of interests with the conferees** was lying on the desk to be read later by the Senator, the latter characterized Mr. Raskob's platform of last week as a 'special plea for the rich and for the capitalist.'" (This is the good old Marxian line, but it is to be noticed that wealth is seldom criticized unless it be the wealth of an opponent. While Roosevelt fulminates against the greed of men in "comfortable, well-stocked clubs", the Social Register for 1936 shows that he holds membership in sixteen clubs all listed in that book, all of which one assumes are both well warmed and well "stocked", although he himself has so many luxurious homes, well staffed with servants, that he has little need for any club. What millionaire goes

yachting in more luxury, more frequently, or with more wealthy associates than he?)

"Governor Roosevelt's overtures may now place him in a position once occupied but at present vacated by ex-Governor Smith in 'progressive' eyes. Mr. Smith's stand on the power issue won him the support of Senator Norris in 1928 and the sympathy of other insurgents. Governor Roosevelt now bids to assume the same role without the handicap of a Tammany origin or of a too pronounced wet background."

A New "Sin" Laid to "Power Trust"

"Mr. Norris in his opening speech implied strongly that 'this monopolistic power trust' is deliberately putting forward prohibition in order to keep the people from thinking about power . . . 'to fight the campaign on a false issue'. . . . One feels that Senator Norris would have difficulty in putting his hands upon proof that the electric power trust interests are responsible for thrusting prohibition forward."

"The prohibition question intruded into the conference for all the efforts of the leaders to avert it. The stand of 'progressive opinion' against repeal of the 18th Amendment . . . followed a proposal by John J. Raskob to the Democratic National Committee meeting here last week, that the Democratic Party take a stand for a 'home rule' liquor plank in 1932."

"Power Trust" the "Big Bad Wolf"

One sees how cleverly Norris persuaded his dry "Progressives" to wink at the wet plank of the Democratic Party they hoped to capture, for the sake of Socialist progress. He simply blamed even the public discussion, pro and con, of prohibition, on the Marxians' big bad wolf, the "Power Trust". The radicals find it convenient to blame practically every evil excepting so far, possibly, babies' teething and colic pains, on the same useful monster. The woman who irons, washes, curls her hair or makes waffles through the efforts of that same "big bad wolf" needs much agitation to feel as hostile against its services and accomplishments. Our grandmothers who heated flat irons on wood stoves in their sweltering kitchens suffered from no "power trust" oppression. The Socialists would have us believe that political control of utilities would spell holy virtue and supreme service, despite all American experience with political corruption to the contrary.

Conference Speeches a Re-hash of Senate Oratory

To again quote from the same source concerning the 1931 Progressive Conference: "In the room are about 225 persons from various parts of the country. They are of the 'progressive' type of mind. They meet Senator Norris' definition of those for whom the conference was called. . . . As for the speakers, the leading ones are 'progressive' Senators whom Washington heard virtually every day when the Senate is in session. The speeches of Mr. Norris, Mr. Borah

and the others do not differ materially from what they have often said in the Senate."

"The Conference was called by a self-appointed committee consisting of Senators Norris, as chairman, Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin and Cutting, Republican insurgents, and Senators Costigan and Burton K. Wheeler, Democrat, of Montana.

"Such members of Congress as attended were largely from the insurgent or independent wings of the Republican and Democratic parties. . . .

Government, Unless Radical, Not "Representative"

"Before adjourning tonight's meeting Senator Cutting announced the following membership of the committee on a return to representative government which will meet tomorrow morning and report at the final night session:

"Senator Cutting, chairman; Dr. Beard, Bruce Bloom, Miss Gertrude Ely, Prof. Edwin M. Borchard, John Gaus, Arthur Garfield Hays, Richard W. Hogue (People's Legislative Service), Representative George Huddleston, **Harold L. Ickes**, Representative Fiorella H. LaGuardia, Senator Gerald P. Nye, Robert L. Owen, Amos Pinchot, Prof. E. A. Ross, David Wallerstein, Mrs. Arthur C. Watkins and Senator Burton K. Wheeler."

Note in the above committee the old timers in the "Progressive" (toward Socialism) conferences, the heavy representation from the Communist-fronting American Civil Liberties Union, Roosevelt's present Cabinet member Ickes, etc.

"Further committees are to be formed to prepare a **legislative program to be pressed in the next Congress.**" (There is nothing half-way about these radicals. They lay their plans in advance.)

"Although the leaders of the conference seemed to have no fixed idea of what their meeting would lead to, it was considered plain that they hoped to develop enough strength to **hold the balance of power in the 1932 Presidential campaign as well as in the next Congress.** . . . In this respect they would seek to force the major parties to take a stand on some of the issues pressed in the present conference which is dealing primarily with the questions of public utilities, the tariff, farm relief, 'the return of representative government' and unemployment and industrial stabilization."

Late Radical Senator New Deal "Advance Agent"?

"Senator Cutting urged the conference to consider seriously a need for **changes in the present form of the American Government.**"

"J. S. Wannamaker of South Carolina advocated nation wide organization of the 'progressives'."

Borah Indulges in Fiction and Introduces Radical Reno

"Introduced by Senator Norris, Senator Borah in concluding his own address" (in which he used the old Socialist fiction that "3% of the American people own 75% of its wealth"—though the figures vary as widely as the moods of the speakers, none have any basis

for their statements) "called on Milo Reno of Iowa", who attacked the Republican administration and its policies. Reno since then, until his death recently, has been the leader of the Farm Holiday Association's Red farm marches and riots.

A Radical "Dream" Now Come True

It should be noted that the Communist Party has long worked for Philippine independence from American protection. Both Communist and Socialist Parties included such a plank in their platform of 1932. Likewise, the "Progressives" toward Socialism in this 1931 conference demanded Philippine independence (since granted by the Roosevelt regime), and radical Senator Costigan and two Filipinos invited for the purpose made speeches in its behalf.

Rudolph Spreckels, Anti-Capitalist Capitalist

At first thought, one might surmise that the sole interest of Rudolph Spreckels, sugar magnate, a participant and speaker at the conference and a member of its tariff committee, lay in the hope of benefitting his own Hawaiian sugar products through increased tariff on, or barring of, Philippine sugar, after independence. But after reading the flamboyant account he gives himself in "Who's Who in America," one is inclined, instead, to place him with those numerous and amusing hybrids who combine the activities of fighting for capital with fighting against capitalism. In one part of his "Who's Who" data, he boasts of the huge profits he has made, tells of his success with every corporation he has managed, after others had failed, and lists the great capitalistic corporations that he heads, and in another, boasts of his exploits as a "trust buster" and describes himself as a "civic reformer". The crowd he was "playing with" at this conference would either make him a "Commissar" or "reform" him of owning any corporation at all, if they had their way. How real Reds must chuckle at their capitalistic supporters!

W. T. Rawleigh, Freeport, Ill. manufacturer, is another example of the employer (always the Marxian's "villain") aiding the Marxian Socialist program of public ownership.

Spreckels and Rawleigh on Tariff Committee

The conference committee on the tariff announced by Senator Costigan included the following: David J. Lewis, Rudolph Spreckels, of New York; Senator David I. Walsh, Democrat, of Massachusetts; Fred Brenckman, of Washington; Clare Wilcox and Dr. Mercer G. Johnson, of Washington; W. T. Rawleigh, of Freeport, Ill.; Representative Miles C. Algood, Democrat, of Alabama; Senator John J. Blaine, Republican insurgent, of Wisconsin; Miss Elizabeth G. Hauser of Girard, Ohio; and Senator Costigan.

Headlines—The Conference at a Glance

Conference headlines ranging entirely across two pages of the N. Y. Herald Tribune (3/12/31) were:

"POWER AND TARIFF DRIVES RENEWED AS 'PROGRES-

SIVES' OPEN CONFERENCE AT WASHINGTON"; "BORAH PLEADS FOR AID TO FARM"; "NORRIS ACCUSES 'POWER TRUST'"; "BEARD ANSWERS WATSON."

Sub-headings included: "CAPITOL UNABLE TO GAUGE EFFORT OF PROGRESSIVES"; "MARK SULLIVAN FINDS FAMILIAR TONE IN SENATORS' SPEECHES AT WASHINGTON CONFERENCE"; "DEMOCRATIC TIE FORECAST"; "ROOSEVELT INDICATES '32 ATTITUDE TO NORRIS AND GROUP"; "ROOSEVELT NOTE APPLAUDED"; "TELEGRAMS OF REGRETS READ TO SESSION IN WASHINGTON"; "INDEPENDENCE PLEA MADE BY TWO FILIPINOS"; "DEMAND IS SOUNDED DURING COSTIGAN'S SPEECH ASSAILING PRESENT TARIFF LAW"; "WATSON ASSERTS NORRIS FEARED TO ANSWER POINTS, SAYS 'PROGRESSIVES' RIDICULE WAS EVASION OF QUESTION."

"Progressive" Conference Registrants

"Registered as present at the 'progressive' conference here today were the following" (Despatch from Washington Bureau of N. Y. Herald-Tribune, dated 3/11/31):

"Dr. Peter Ainslie*, Baltimore, clergyman"; nat. coun. socialist Victor L. Berger Nat. Foundation; vice-chmn. National Council for Prevention of War, "a clearing house for Socialist-Communist pacifist propaganda"; etc.

"Representative Miles C. Algood, Alabama."

"Mary Anderson, Department of Labor, Washington"; born Sweden 1872; former organizer Nat. Boot and Shoe Wkrs. Union; dir. Women's Bureau, U. S. Dept. of Labor; mem. exec. com. socialistic American Association for Labor Legislation; organizer 8 years for Nat. Women's Trade Union Lg. and mem. of Nat. Consumers' Leg., both communist-Garland-Fund-supported agencies and in both of which Mrs. Roosevelt is prominent; spkr. at Hull House 80th birthday celebration for Mary McDowell (Communist-supporter and former Garland Fund director).

"Representative W. A. Ayres, Wichita, Kan."

"J. M. Baer, Washington"; former member of Congress; cartoonist for "Labor" and other radical publications; People's Legislative Service agitating for Socialist public ownership; mem. nat. exec. com. of original Conference for Progressive Political Action.

"Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, Washington."

"Miss Lydia Banning, New York."

"Dr. Charles Beard*, New York, professor and authority on constitutional history"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Mrs. Mary Beard*, New York; his wife and collaborator in radical writings.

"Walter Bemis, Chicago, utility expert"; son of the late E. W. Bemis, vice-president of the socialist Public Ownership League; the Bemis Company founded by his father and carried on by him and his brother advertise in the Public Ownership Lg. bulletin as "a pioneer

*Listed in "The Red Network".

organization of engineers representing the public side in public utility matters" and as having "been identified with most of the leading public utility rate cases throughout the United States."

"Jesse Lee Bennett, Jr., Arnold, Md."

"Senator John J. Blaine, Wisconsin"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Mrs. John J. Blaine, Wisconsin".

"Bruce Bliven*, New York, editor of 'New Republic'" (revolutionary socialist); dir. socialistic Edw. A. Filene's Twentieth Century Fund; protested Rockefeller's dismissal of Communist Diego Rivera when Rivera insisted upon painting Lenin conspicuously in Rockefeller Center murals; signer of note urging recall of Caffery, Ambassador to Cuba, when the Reds thought Caffery was interfering with Communist activities there (Daily Worker 6/26/35); signer of petition to President Roosevelt asking for radical program and redistribution of wealth; on committee for trial of socialist-communist Consumers' Research chiefs charged by Communists with "exploiting" their Red employees.

"Gerald J. Boileau, Wausau, Wis."; radical LaFollette Congressman from Wis.; lawyer; member nat. coun. socialist Victor L. Berger Nat. Foundation.

"Professor Edwin M. Borchard*, of Yale"; American Civil Liberties Union nat. com.; communist Garland Fund Committee on Imperialism; spkr. at communist Nat. Student Lg. meeting at Yale 3/16/33.

"Jonathan Bourne, Washington"; ex-Senator; served as pres. National "Progressive" Republican Lg.

"Fred Brenckman, Washington, legislative representative of the Grange."

"Frank S. Bright, Washington, lawyer."

"Former Senator Joseph L. Bristow, Fairfax."

"Senator Smith W. Brookhart*, Iowa; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Representative Edward E. Browne, Wisconsin"; mem. bd. of Regents of radical Wisconsin Univ.

"Senator Robert J. Bulkley, Ohio."

"Mrs. Anna Dennis Bursch, Washington, home economist."

"Representative Edward H. Campbell, Iowa."

"Stuart Chase*, New York, economist"; see under Roosevelt Appointees and Advisors.

"Representative Clarence Cannon, Missouri."

"Representative Victor Christgau, Minn.; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Miss Adele Clarke, Richmond, Va., representative League of Women Voters."*

"William F. Cochran*, Baltimore"; formerly on exec. com. American Civil Liberties Union; exec. com. Church Lg. for Industrial Democracy; very red Nat. Religion and Labor Foundation; etc.

"Mrs. Walter Cope*, Philadelphia"; active in communist-Garland-Fund-supported Women's International Lg. for Peace and Freedom; vice chmn. Pa. Committee for Total Disarmament.

*Listed in "The Red Network".

"Senator Edward Costigan*, Colorado; see under Roosevelt Appointees and Advisors.

"Mrs. Edward Costigan*"; wife of the Senator; listed in the radicals' Am. Labor Who's Who; chmn. Woman's Division LaFollette-Wheeler campaign 1924; author of "Cooperative Societies—A Way Out for the Consumer"; endorser of the Communist propaganda book "Professional Patriots"; vice-pres. with Mrs. Roosevelt of communist-Garland-Fund-supported Nat. Consumers' League headed by Florence Kelley, 1931-1936; member with Mrs. Roosevelt of Garland-Fund-supported Nat. Women's Trade Union Lg.; People's Legislative Service; Lg. of Women Voters; Nat. Citizens Com. on Relations with Latin America aiding Red agitations, 1927; etc.

"Representative Robert Crosser, Cleveland."

"Fred Cummings, Fort Collins, Col., Beet Sugar Growers Association."

"Michael Francis Doyle, Philadelphia"; American counsel for Irish revolutionary movement and leaders; dir. Lg. of Nations Assn.; chmn. Democratic Presidential electors at the inauguration of Roosevelt, 1932; signer of note urging recall of Caffery, Ambassador to Cuba, when he was opposed by the Reds (communist Daily Worker 6/26/35).

"Herman Ekern, Chicago, former Attorney General of Wisconsin"; consulting com. Nat. Popular Govt. Lg. (with Felix Frankfurter, etc.).

"Miss Gertrude Ely, Bryn Mawr, Pa.;" see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Mrs. Elizabeth Glendower Evans,* Brookline, Mass.;" a leading radical; was radical "pacifist" during war; advocate of Russian recognition; nat. com. American Civil Liberties Union; nat. coun. League for Industrial Democracy; People's Legislative Service; Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom; Sacco-Vanzetti Nat. Lg.; etc.

"Robert Fechner, Wollaston, Mass.;" see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Professor Charles G. Fenwick, Bryn Mawr College."

"John Fitzpatrick*, Chicago Federation of Labor"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"F. H. Fljzodal, Detroit, president Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees" (since 1922) and its representative on edtl. bd. of Edward Keating's "Labor"; born Iceland; mem. bd. communist-Garland-Fund-supported People's Lobby.

"Mrs. Rose Yates Forrester, Washington"; wife of James Joseph Forrester, labor leader and active in Wilson administration, now Roosevelt appointee (see); former member bd. of dir. Bryn Mawr College, where radical summer school for women in industry is held; vice chmn. Democratic Nat. Com. for women in industry 1920, 1924, 1928.

"Senator Lynn J. Frazier*, North Dakota"; see under Roosevelt Appointees and Advisors.

"Gilson Gardner, Washington"; A.C.L.U.; Sacco-Vanzetti Nat. Lg.; Nat. Mooney-Billings Com.; mem. editorial board Scripps newspapers.

"John Gaus, Madison, Wis., professor University of Wisconsin."

*Listed in "The Red Network".

"Dr. John Gray, Washington"; treas. and bd. dir. communist-Garland-Fund-supported People's Lobby; candidate for bd. dir. Lg. for Industrial Democracy 1931; connected with socialist Continental Congress of Workers and Farmers, Wash., D. C., March, 1934, as member of economics commn. hearing delegates' reports; former pres. American Economics Assn.; delegate to socialistic Intl. Cooperative Congress, England, 1902; active for many years in "investigation" of public utilities.

"William Green, Washington, president American Federation of Labor"; see under Roosevelt Appointees and Advisors.

"P. Guevara, Philippine Island delegate"; resident Philippine Islands Commissioner at Washington 1923-35; ardent advocate of Philippine independence from the United States, granted by Roosevelt administration.

"C. O. Hardy, Washington"; member research staff on economics Brookings Institute, Wash., since 1924.

"Mauritz A. Hallgren*, New York City, staff of 'The Nation' " ("advocate of revolutionary Socialism"); pro-Soviet sponsor of Communist Henri Barbusse meeting in Washington; now associate editor Baltimore Sun; author of "Seeds of Revolt", 1933, in which it is alleged that "the only hope lies with the Communists"; "apparently he wants revolution, and a genuine blown-in-the-glass proletarian revolution at that" (Saturday Review of Literature 9/23/33); signer of Nat. Com. for Defense of Political Prisoners' demand for release of Scottsboro boys, whose case is used as current Communist Party propaganda to incite Negroes.

"Miss Helen Hall, Philadelphia"; former head of University House; now Head Worker of radical Lillian Wald's Henry Street Settlement; favors the communist-socialist-sponsored National Child Labor Amendment; loud in praise of unconstitutional NRA; signer of petition to Pres. Roosevelt for radical program and redistribution of wealth.

"Wm. Hapgood*, Indianapolis"; nat. coun. Lg. for Industrial Democracy; pres. of the Socialist cooperative Columbia Conserve Co., which had an amusing row involving charges of capitalistic "exploitation" of employees on the part of its Socialist president (see p. 96, "The Red Network"); Conf. for Progressive Political Action 1924; treas. and exec. com. very red Nat. Religion and Labor Foundation 1933; etc.

"G. M. Harrison, Cincinnati"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, Girard, Ohio."

"Arthur Garfield Hays*, New York, attorney"; a nat. dir. American Civil Liberties Union; wherever Red treason, obscenity, blasphemy, rioting, murder, etc., is under fire from the law, he is "on the job" fighting in the Reds' defense; was chmn. of the Progressive Party State of N. Y. campaign 1924, when LaFollette and Wheeler were candidates of both Progressive and Socialist Parties; sponsor with Mrs. Roosevelt of first American Youth Congress (Communist-controlled), N. Y. City; signer of memorandum to Pres. Roosevelt asking him to sponsor red "Civil Rights" legislation; appeared at

*Listed in "The Red Network".

Wash. in support of Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching Bill; signer of note urging recall of Caffery, Ambassador to Cuba, when opposed by Communists.

"M. H. Hedges, Washington, Electrical Workers' Union"; research worker for Intl. Electrical Workers' Union since 1924; speaker at red American Civil Liberties Union conference in Washington on "workers' rights"; mem. radical Farmer-Labor Party; contrib. to revolutionary socialist "Nation" and communist-Garland-Fund-supported "World Tomorrow"; on com. of 24 labor leaders formed by the communist-Garland-Fund-supported Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom to enlist in campaign for 50 million signatures to "People's Mandate to Governments . . . to end the economic anarchy which breeds war" and to disarm.

"Sidney Hillman*, New York City, Amalgamated Clothing Workers"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"William Hirth, Columbia, Mo., farmer."

"Miss Irma Hochstein, Washington"; chmn. Madison, Wis., com. Women's Trade Union League (Garland-Fund-supported) since 1920; member Stenographers and Office Workers Union; member communist-Garland-Fund-supported Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom; librarian Wis. Legis. Ref. Library since 1914.

"R. W. Hogue, Washington, People's Legislative Service"; exec. secy. Church League for Industrial Democracy 1918-1922; mem. communist-Garland-Fund-supported American Fed. of Teachers; dir. dept. of education, since 1923, Pa. Federation of Labor, headed by Socialist James H. Maurer*; ex-Episcopal minister (1900-16); hon. member Intl. Assn. of Machinists (Wm. H. Johnston of the Conf. for Prog. Political Action being pres. and Robert Fechner, exec. officer); organizer of the infamous People's Council, modeled after the Soviet councils, during the war; in N. Y. State Lusk report his radical "pacifist" activities are cited; I.W.W. General Defense Com. 1922.

"Representative George Huddleston, Birmingham, Ala."; organizer of previous similar socialistic "Progressive" conferences with Norris, Manly, Wheeler, etc.; now under attack as not being radical enough and for failing to support the entire New Deal.

"Harold L. Ickes*, Chicago"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Rabbi Edward L. Israel*, Baltimore"; nat. exec. com. communist Am. Lg. Against War and Fascism and announced spkr. at their joint Madison Square Garden rally with the American Civil Liberties Union 4/3/35 (Daily Worker 3/29/35); coun. of communist-Garland-Fund-supported People's Lobby; exec. com. and book editor of very red Nat. Religion and Labor Foundation 1933-4; nat. coun. Lg. for Industrial Democracy; etc., etc.

"Mercer G. Johnson*, Washington, People's Legislative Service"; nat. coun. of socialist-communist Lg. for Industrial Democracy; etc.

"Edward Keating*, Washington, editor 'Labor'"; radical "Labor" was the original organ of the Conference for Prog. Political Action, now of various railroad unions; supporter of LaFollette-Wheeler ticket 1924; People's Legislative Service; Nat. Popular Govt. Lg. (with Felix

*Listed in "The Red Network".

Frankfurter, etc.); Nat. Citizens' Com. on Relations with Latin America, with numerous Roosevelt administration radicals.

"Dexter Keezer, Baltimore"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Mrs. Florence Kelley*, New York, Consumers' League"; translator and apostle of Communist Engels (co-author with Marx of the Communist Manifesto); correspondent of Lenin; closely associated with Jane Addams and, with her, organized, coordinated and stimulated the leading intellectual radical societies for the furtherance of communistic doctrines, including the Lg. for Industrial Democracy, Nat. Consumers' Lg., Nat. Women's Trade Union Lg., and Nat. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, all communist-Garland-Fund-supported, Mrs. Roosevelt being active in the latter three, as vice-pres., leading member, and recruiter of members, respectively; was a member of the Liberty Defense Lg. formed to free the jailed I.W.W. terrorists, organized by the infamous People's Council; her son Nicholas, also a radical leader, is a Roosevelt appointee; Public Ownership Lg.; People's Legislative Service; etc., etc.

"Paul Kellogg*, New York, editor 'Survey'"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Judson King*, Washington, National Popular Government League"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Professor D. O. Kinsman, American University, Washington"; prof. Economics at American Univ., Wash., D. C., since 1926; mem. socialistic Am. Assn. for Labor Legislation; drafted Wis. Income Tax Law, 1911, "the first successful law of its kind in the U. S."

"Miss Anita Koenen, Milwaukee."

"Theodore Kronshage, Jr., Milwaukee, chairman Wisconsin Railroad Commission."

"Senator Robert M. LaFollette*, Wisconsin"; see under Roosevelt Appointees and Advisors.

"Mrs. Robert M. LaFollette."

"Dr. Harry W. Laidler*, New York, League for Industrial Democracy"; exec. dir. with Norman Thomas of the "Red Front" socialist-communist, Garland-Fund-supported League for Industrial Democracy (since 1910); mem. Social Service Commission, Federal Council of Churches since 1924; Nat. Advisory Coun. on Radio in Education, which broadcasts speeches of radicals, including Roosevelt "brain trusters"; dir. radical People's Lobby; was mem. economics commn., with Dr. John H. Gray, of the socialist Continental Congress of Workers and Farmers, Wash., D. C., March 1936; spkr. at Communist Herndon Action Conference (Daily Worker 10/16/35); etc., etc.

"William Jett Lauck*, Washington"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Representative David Lewis, Cumberland, Md."; see under Roosevelt Appointees and Advisors.

"Walter Locke, Dayton, Ohio"; editor Dayton Daily News since 1927; lecturer at socialistic Antioch College headed by radical Arthur

*Listed in "The Red Network".

E. Morgan (Roosevelt appointee).

"Lewis L. Lorwin, Washington, economist"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Dr. Isador Lubin, Washington, economist"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"J. G. Luhrsen, Chicago, president American Train Dispatchers' Association"; delg. Conf. for Progressive Political Action 1922.

"Senator George McGill, Kansas"; Democrat; voted to confirm Roosevelt appointment of ultra-radical Rex. Guy Tugwell, stating "they have found nothing against this man", although Tugwell's own writings, introduced in evidence and suppressed, showed Tugwell's communistic principles.

"James McGill*, Valparaiso, Ind."; vice-pres. socialistic Public Ownership Lg.; Nat. Popular Govt. Lg.; People's Legislative Service; bd. dir. People's Lobby; communist-Garland-Fund-supported Committee on Coal and Giant Power of the Lg. for Industrial Democracy, opposing private ownership of utilities.

"The Rev. R. A. McGowan*, Washington, National Catholic Welfare Council"; member of amnesty delegation to Wash., D. C., of the I.W.W. General Defense Com. petitioning for release of I.W.W., Communist, and other revolutionary Reds imprisoned for activities against the U. S. Government; was member bd. dir. Cooperative League of U. S. A.; exec. bd. National Council for Prevention of War; active with A.C.L.U.; also see p. 268.

"Miss Louise McGuire, Washington".

"James Maloney, Philadelphia"; pres. Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. and Canada.

"E. J. Manion, St. Louis, president Order of Railroad Telegraphers" (since 1919); represents that union on editorial bd. of Edward Keating's radical paper "Labor"; vice pres. socialistic Public Ownership Lg.; nat. advis. com. People's Lobby.

"Basil M. Manly*, Washington"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Benjamin F. Marsh*, Washington, People's Lobby"; exec. secy. communist-Garland-Fund-supported People's Lobby; toured the Pacific Northwest in the Fall, 1921, seeking to collect money to prevent the recall of Frazier as Gov. of N. Dakota; was on exec. com. Conference for Prog. Political Action; his radical "pacifist" activities during the war listed in N. Y. State Lusk Report; contributor to "Survey" and other radical publications; candidate for bd. dir. Lg. for Industrial Democracy; sponsor of appearance of Tom Mann, British Communist, and Henri Barbussee, French Communist, in Wash., under the auspices of the communist Com. for Struggle Against War 10/8/33; People's Lobby delegate to communist Lg. Against Imperialism Congress at Frankfort-on-Main; spkr. at People's Lobby luncheon 1/12/35 on "Socialization of Banking and Credit"; etc.

"William Mauthe, Fond du Lac, Wis."

*Listed in "The Red Network".

"Prof. Herb. A. Miller*, Ohio State University, Columbus"; ousted from Ohio State Univ. for radicalism 1931; now at Bryn Mawr College; advis. com. communist Am. Society for Cultural Relations with Russia; very red Nat. Religion and Labor Foundation, 1933; endorser Communist propaganda book "Professional Patriots"; chief of division on immigrant heritages, Carnegie Corporation; former investigator Russell Sage Foundation; leader of Open Road (affiliate of Soviet Government's Intourist) tour to Russia, 1935; in speech before Institute of Human Relations, Williamstown, Mass., 8/27/35, he asserted "that Russia has resolved the conflicts of human relationship by substituting communism for religion and equality for nationality" and predicted that the world-wide spread of Communism was "inevitable" (N. Y. Tribune 8/28/35).

"Fred J. Miller, Center Bridge, Bucks County, Pa."; industrial engineer; mem. Manhattan Single Tax Club, N. Y. City.

"Felix Morley*, Washington, Brookings Institute"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Frank Morrison, Washington, secretary American Federation of Labor"; born in Canada; mem. exec. com. Federal Council of Churches; Nat. Popular Govt. Lg.; he and Geo. M. Harrison (also of this "Progressive" Conference) the only two members of the A. F. of L. exec. council opposing suspension of 12 unions affiliated with the communist-supported Com. on Industrial Organization (Chicago Tribune 7/15/36).

"W. E. Mosher, Syracuse, professor Syracuse University"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Mayor Frank Murphy* of Detroit"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Wilbur A. Nelson, University of Virginia."

"F. H. Newell, Washington, Reclamation Service"; died 1932.

"David K. Niles*, Boston"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Ed. Nockles, Chicago, Chicago Federation of Labor"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Mrs. George W. Norris"; wife of the radical Senator.

"John F. Nugent, Washington, former Senator."

"Senator Gerald P. Nye*, North Dakota"; see under Roosevelt Appointees and Advisors.

"Camilo Osias, resident commissioner from the Philippines"; trustee Union Theological Seminary, nicknamed "the Red Seminary"; Roosevelt has given the Philippines independence from U. S. A. as desired by Osias.

"Mrs. Mary K. O'Sullivan, Medford, Mass."

"Miss Marguerite Owen, Washington."

"Robert L. Owen, Washington, former Senator"; advis. com. socialistic Public Ownership Lg. and named in its bulletin (12/23) as supporter in the Senate of their "measures providing for the public superpower system", along with radicals Lynn Frazier, Henrik Shipstead, Fiorella LaGuardia, C. C. Dill, all then members of Congress and all Roosevelt supporters now; was pres. of Nat. Pop. Govt. Lg.

*Listed in "The Red Network".

"Representative Claude Parsons, Illinois."

"Representative Lafayette L. Patterson, Dadeville, Ala.;" see under **Roosevelt Appointees.**

"Amos Pinchot*, New York, lawyer"; nat. com. Communist-aiding A.C.L.U.; nat. coun. Berger Nat. Found.*; on radio program of Socialist-Communist L.I.D.; v. p. Public Ownership Lg.; etc.; brother of Gifford, former "Progressive" Gov. of Pa. (see letter from Communist Weinstone to Communist Merrick, p. 82; supported F.D.R. in 1932 and the New Deal until 8/35, when he wrote a critical letter to Felix Frankfurter.

"Mrs. Louis F. Post*, Washington" (Alice Thacher Post); vice-pres. communist All-America Anti-Imperialist Lg.; communist-Garland-Fund-supported Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom; radical Peace Patriots; widow of Louis F. Post, the close associate and aid of Felix Frankfurter in Nat. Pop. Govt. Lg. attack which removed anti-Communist funds from the Dept. of Justice.

"Jeanette Rankin*, former Representative"; nat. com. Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union; nat. coun. socialist Victor L. Berger Nat. Foundation; assoc. secy. and lobbyist in Washington for radical-pacifist Nat. Council for Prevention of War; her affiliation with the wartime infamous People's Council exposed in N. Y. State Lusk Report; listed by Socialist-Communist Meta Berger as one of the women enlisted to aid the communist-Garland-Fund-supported Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom "peace" program (socialist Milw. Leader 3/8/34); Atlanta Post of American Legion demanded her dismissal (charging her with communistic associations and seditious utterances) as "Chair of Peace" lecturer at Brenau College, Gainesville, Ga. (N. Y. Tribune 12/19/34).

"Representative John E. Rankin, Mississippi"; ardent "New Dealer"; socialistic "baiter" of public utilities; spkr. before socialistic Public Ownership Lg.; led the fight in the House for the Bill creating the TVA (Cong. Record 3/9/35, p. 3286); etc., etc.

"Dewitt Rath, daughter of Senator Norris."

"Gordon Rath, son-in-law of Senator Norris."

"W. T. Rawleigh*, Freeport, Ill."; manufacturer; pres. of W. T. Rawleigh Co.; vice-pres. socialistic Public Ownership Lg.; was chmn. of LaFollette for President Committee, treas. Nat. Joint LaFollette-Wheeler Com., and delg. to Cleveland Progressive Conf., 1924; mem. exec. com. People's Legislative Service; etc.

"Milo Reno*, Des Moines, Iowa"; deceased; was radical agitator of farm marches and riots as leader Nat. Farm Holiday Assn.; nat. coun. socialist Victor L. Berger Nat. Foundation; Conf. for Progressive Political Action; favored radical Mayor LaGuardia of N. Y. City as "third party" candidate for President (N. Y. Tribune 1/4/34).

"D. B. Robertson, Cleveland"; labor leader; pres. since 1922 Bro. of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; People's Legislative Service; was on Program and Resolutions Com. of Dec., 1922, Conf. for Progressive Political Action; vice pres. socialistic Public Ownership Lg.

"Mrs. Hazel N. Robertson, daughter of Senator Norris."

*Listed in "The Red Network".

"John P. Robertson, secretary to Senator Norris."

"Daniel C. Roper, Washington, former Internal Revenue Commissioner"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"William F. Rosenblum, New York", Rabbi of Temple Israel; one of four ministers leading a meeting of 200 Jewish and Christian ministers in N. Y. area who saw service in World War in "Christian" Socialist Harry Emerson Fosdick's Riverside Church "in the denunciation of war and the pledge of non-cooperation in the event of another war" (which is "peace time treason"); advocated typical radical "pacifist" plea at this meeting that men and women should be "ready to go to jail for their convictions for peace instead of to the trenches against their convictions" (N. Y. Tribune 5/3/35).

"Professor E. A. Ross*, University of Wisconsin"; author of Communist-recommended books on Russia; boasts of his high standing with Soviet Govt.; spkr. at dinner honoring Soviet Ambassador Troyanovsky, 4/20/34; advis. coun. People's Lobby; tour conductor to Soviet Russia 1934; denounced with Pres. Glenn Frank (invited to this "Progressive" Conference) for aiding Communism at Univ. of Wis. by State Senatorial investigators; Nat. Popular Govt. Lg.; nat. com. American Civil Liberties Union 1931; etc., etc.

"The Rev. John A. Ryan*, Washington, National Catholic Welfare Council"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Martin F. Ryan, Kansas City."

"William F. Sands, Washington"; educator; member Commn. on Relief of Prisoners of War in Russia 1916-17.

"Fred W. Sargent, Chicago"; pres. C.&N.W. Ry.; supporter and has been public defender of his ultra-radical minister, E. F. Tittle; mem. exec. com. Chicago Round Table of the Conf. of Jews and Christians, along with S. O. Levinson, Mrs. Chas. W. Gilkey, John Fitzpatrick, Louis L. Mann (all listed in "The Red Network"), the exec. secy. being the active Communist-supporter James M. Yard.

"Representative George J. Schneider, Wisconsin"; radical LaFollette "Progressive"; exec. bd. Wis. Fed. of Labor since 1921; signer of Communist petition for clemency for Negro Angelo Herndon (Communist Labor Defender 10/35); one of Congressmen asking Pres. Roosevelt's aid for Anarchist-Communist Mooney; presided over secret conference of 75 "left wingers" conferring on Third Party for 1936 (N. Y. Times 5/5/35).

"Robert P. Scripps, New York, publisher"; pres. and edtl. dir. Scripps-Howard newspapers, which are long-time supporters of socialist public ownership, etc., and now supporters of Roosevelt, employ extreme radicals Heywood Broun and Harry Elmer Barnes as columnists, and bitterly attack anti-Communism; dir. United Press Assn.

"Representative C. G. Selvig, Minnesota."

"Charles M. Sheplar, Washington"; nat. exec. com. Nat. Marine Engineers Benefit Assn. since 1919.

"Senator Henrik Shipstead*, Minnesota"; radical Farmer-Laborite New Deal supporter; was on the communist Garland Fund's Com. on Imperialism; endorser of Lane Pamphlet, financed by Garland Fund to attack patriotic military training in schools and colleges.

*Listed in "The Red Network".

"John A. Simpson, Oklahoma City"; pres. Nat. Farmers' Union; died 1934.

"Representative James H. Sinclair, North Dakota."

"John F. Sinclair*", New York, financial writer"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Professor Sumner Slichter, Harvard School of Business Administration"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"Marion Parris Smith, Bryn Mawr, Pa."

"George Soule*", New York, 'New Republic'; nat. com. socialist-communist Lg. for Industrial Democracy and on its anti-private-utilities Com. on Coal and Giant Power (communist-Garland-Fund-subsidized) (1926), along with Roosevelt advisors Robt. W. Bruere, Donald Richberg, Sen. Norris, Stuart Chase, and Mrs. Roosevelt's fellow-sponsor of the communist American Youth Congress—Arthur Garfield Hays (American Civil Liberties Union nat. counsel), Norman Thomas, Clinton S. Golden (a Garland Fund dir., Roosevelt appointee) etc.; socialistic Am. Assn. for Labor Legislation; Advis. Council on Radio in Education; co-author with radical J. M. Budish "The New Unionism in the Clothing Industry"; contrib. to pro-Communist "Common Sense" magazine; in his "The Coming American Revolution" (1934), he declares for Socialism; called upon Pres. Roosevelt to discipline patriotic Rear Admiral Yates Stirling, Jr. for daring to tell the truth about Soviet Russia (Daily Worker 6/11/35); signer of protest to Rockefeller against dismissal of Communist Diego Rivera for insisting upon painting Lenin, etc., conspicuously into his murals; mem. communist Nat. Com. to Aid Victims of German Fascism.

"Rudolph Spreckels, New York, sugar refiner"; vice-pres. socialistic Public Ownership Lg.; as head of the "United States Board of Trade", of which radical Smith W. Brookhart was chief counsel and red Fiorella LaGuardia was vice-pres, asked Pres. Roosevelt to restore "the full diplomatic relations with the Soviet government" (Chicago Tribune 6/25/33); in Theodore Roosevelt's long letter to Felix Frankfurter in which he berated Frankfurter for his Bolshevik-like sentiments and attitude in the Mooney case, etc., he said "it is the I.W.W., the Germanized Socialists, the Anarchists, the foolish creatures who always protest against the suppression of crime, the pacifists and the like, under the lead of the LaFollettes, and Bergers and Hillquits, the Fremont Olders and Amos Pinchots and Rudolph Spreckels who are the really grave danger. These are the Bolsheviks of America, and the Bolsheviks are just as bad as the Romanoffs, and are, at the moment, a greater menace to orderly freedom."

"Lincoln Steffens*", New York, journalist"; Communist; delegate to Communist Party convention at Cleveland; advis. com. of Communist Party Workers' School, Sacramento, Calif.; signer of call for communist American Writers' Congress held 1935 at Mrs. Roosevelt's New School for Social Research; claims \$35,000 note signed by Owen D. Young of Roosevelt's Nat. Youth Admn. as one of his financial assets (N. Y. Tribune 3/22/35) and his Autobiography indicates financial relations with Capitalist Young; signer of Nat. Com.

*Listed in "The Red Network".

for the Defense of Political Prisoners' demand for release of Scottsboro boys (rapists, whose case is used for Negro Communist propaganda); died 8/36.

"A. F. Stout, Washington."

"Representative Philip D. Swing, California"; praised by socialistic Public Ownership Lg. (12/23) as one of those supporting its program in Congress; one of radical conference with Senators Borah, Frazier, Nye, Norbeck, Howell, Harris (D. Ga.) and Representative Huddleston, Basil Manly (R. Wis.), also Judson King and H. S. Raushenbush, planning for national socialistic public ownership program (N. Y. World 3/12/27).

"Senator Elmer Thomas, Oklahoma"; proponent of inflation; speaker at Father Coughlin's rally, Detroit, 4/24/35.

"Carl D. Thompson*, Chicago, Public Ownership League"; see under Roosevelt Appointees and Advisors.

"Huston Thompson, Washington, former Federal Trade Commissioner."

"Sanford E. Thompson, Boston."

"John P. Troxell, Baltimore."

"Miss Lillian D. Wald*, New York, Henry St. Settlement"; see under Roosevelt Appointees and Advisors.

"David Wallerstein, Philadelphia"; nat. com. American Civil Liberties Union, etc.; associate of Felix Frankfurter in Nat. Pop. Govt. Lg. attack on Dept. of Justice which caused withdrawal of its funds for anti-Communist work; deceased.

"Senator David I. Walsh, Massachusetts"; nat. coun. People's Legislative Service; supporter socialistic public ownership program and of "New Deal"; Nat. Citizens' Com. on Relations with Latin Am., headed by Sen. Norris.

"Frank P. Walsh*, New York, attorney"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"J. S. Wannamaker, St. Matthews, S. C."

"Mrs. Arthur C. Watkins, Washington"; a fellow vice chmn. of radical-pacifist Nat. Council for Prevention of War with Mrs. Louis D. Brandeis, Hamilton Holt, Mordecai Johnson (Howard Univ.), John A. Lapp, Wm. E. Sweet, Bishop F. J. McConnell, all either Roosevelt appointees or supporters; her husband is associate secretary of same.

"A. O. Wharton, Washington"; pres. of Intl. Assn. of Machinists, of which radical Wm. H. Johnston, chmn. of the original Conference for Prog. Political Action, has been intl. pres. since 1912 and Robert Fechner, its exec. officer from 1913 to 1933, when he became Roosevelt's appointee; 6th vice-pres. A. F. of L. since 1930.

"Senator Burton K. Wheeler*, Montana"; see under Roosevelt Appointees and Advisors.

"Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler"; wife of the Senator.

"Miss Elizabeth Wheeler"; daughter of the Senator; spkr. for Syracuse branch communist-Garland-Fund-supported Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom (W.I.L.P.F.) at noon in Y.W.C.A.

*Listed in "The Red Network".

(11/2/34) and "leader of flying squadron of the W.I.L.P.F. touring New York State" (Syracuse Journal 11/2/34); spkr. in support of candidacy of Mrs. O'Day (Mrs. Roosevelt's fellow radical and associate in the Val Kill furniture business) for Representative-at-Large; predicts Govt. ownership of munitions plants.

"A. F. Whitney, Cleveland"; pres. Brotherhood of R. R. Trainmen (vice-pres. from 1907); as spokesman for two million railroad workers spoke in favor of nationalization of railroads (Chgo. Tribune 1/5/34); also announced "the railroad workers were supporting pres. Roosevelt"; spkr. on New Deal before the socialist Continental Congress of Workers and Farmers, Wash., D. C., March, 1934; active in radical Farmer-Labor Political Federation and on staff of its organ, pro-Communist "Common Sense"; signer of petition to Pres. Roosevelt for radical program and redistribution of wealth; his address opening 26th convention of Bro. of R. R. Trainmen at Cleveland, blasted "profit system" and concentration of wealth in few hands (the old Red "line"), advocated Govt. operation of idle factories for unemployed, and a program of "production for use rather than profit" (Communism-Socialism).

"Louis M. Wicklein, Washington."

"Miss Charl Williams, Washington"; former Dem. Nat. Committeewoman from Tenn. and former vice-chmn. Dem. Nat. Com.; editor "Our Public Schools", published by Nat. Congress of Parents and Teachers; mem. Nat. Congress of Parents and Teachers; one of published signers, with many radicals, of Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom "Mandate to Governments . . . to end the economic anarchy which breeds war" and to disarm; field sec'y Nat. Education Assn., which opposes (with all radicals) compulsory patriotic military training in schools and teacher's oaths of allegiance to the Constitution, and demanded re-instatement of two dismissed teachers considered radicals, featured Roosevelt's Commissioner of Education, John W. Studebaker, as speaker, and applauded Norman Thomas most of all, when he spoke (7/3/36), at its recent convention at Portland; as pres. Nat. Fed. of Business and Professional Women, deplored "intense feeling displayed when discussion centers on child labor, birth control," etc. and unpopularity of having full-time legislative worker, which "we need" (Chgo. Daily News 7/14/36).

"Mrs. Laura C. Williams, Washington"; consulting com. Nat. Popular Govt. Lg. (with Felix Frankfurter, etc.); has been dir. Progressive Education Assn.; nat. advis. com. Sacco-Vanzetti Nat. Lg. 1928 (Frankfurter was a leader in the agitation to free these Anarchist-Communists who died yelling "Long Live Anarchy!").

"Edmund Wilson*, New York, 'The New Republic' staff"; was assoc. ed. 1926-31 of revolutionary socialist New Republic (Rex. Tugwell, Roosevelt "pet", is still on its staff); author of article "How I Came to Communism" (New Masses 9/32); nat. com. communist Workers' Intl. Relief; has other Communist connections.

"Representative Gardner R. Withrow, LaCrosse, Wis."

"Luke I. Wilson, Bethesda, Md."

*Listed in "The Red Network".

"Peter Witt*, Cleveland"; nat. com. and Ohio chmn. of the American Civil Liberties Union; Nat. Citizens' Com. on Relations with Latin America, headed by Sen. Norris, along with Henry A. Wallace and other Roosevelt appointees; signer of radical Nat. Com. for Defense of Political Prisoners' demand for release of Scottsboro boys (Daily Worker 5/24/35).

"Abel Wolman, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore"; brother of Leo; nat. coun. socialist Victor L. Berger Nat. Foundation.

"Dr. Leo Wolman*, New York, Amalgamated Clothing Workers"; see under Roosevelt Appointees.

"George B. Wylie, Fairbury, Neb."

Senators William E. Borah* of Idaho and **George W. Norris*** of Nebraska, who presided jointly at this "Progressive" Conference, were not signers of the above list of registrants. Borah read one of Roosevelt's messages to the conference and spoke in favor of Roosevelt's radical attitude, contrasting it with Raskob's platform, which he called "a special plea for the rich and the capitalist", in the class-struggle vein of Roosevelt himself. For Borah's record, see p. 84. For Norris' record, in part, see under Roosevelt Appointees and Advisors.

THE GARLAND FUND

Founded by Radical Charles Garland, "Free Love" Exponent

The American Fund for Public Service (a misleading name), 2 West 13th St., N. Y. City, is popularly called the "Garland Fund", because it was founded by Chas. Garland, a radical who served a term in the penitentiary for running a "free love" farm and who turned over his inherited fortune to be used for revolutionary purposes. It has been the sustaining life stream of the Communist, Socialist, Anarchist, I. W. W., movements against the American form of government.

When the American Federation of Labor asked for funds from it to aid a legitimate labor cause, they were refused on the ground that they gave money only for radical purposes.

To administer the Fund, a self-perpetuating board of trustees was chosen, representative of the main sections of the revolutionary movement, including Wm. Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party and a member of the Communist International, Norman Thomas, head of the Socialist Party and worker for the Red "united front"; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, I.W.W. organizer and Communist; Communist Roger Baldwin, penitentiary alumnus, former Anarchist, and director of the notorious Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, which is closely interlocked with the Fund; etc.

For details concerning the revolutionary causes they financed and for full list of trustees, see "The Red Network".

From the Same Red Till

Drawing from the same Red till, as Garland Fund reports show, were the Roosevelt "red network" crowd now in power.

*Listed in "The Red Network".

Jacob Baker's Vanguard Press was set up with \$135,000 as the red Fund's own "class struggle" literature agency. Jacob Baker is one of Roosevelt's pet appointees. Leland Olds, Roosevelt appointee, directly, and through the Communists' Federated Press for which he worked, drew thousands of dollars. The following are some of the other Garland Fund beneficiaries: the Anarchist Ferrer School founded by Roosevelt-appointee Anarchist Leonard D. Abbott and the Emma Goldman Anarchist group; the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy (which Abbott helped found), whose leaders are Roosevelt appointees, which amalgamated with the Communist unemployed organizations in the U. S. Department of Labor auditorium to the tune of Communist songs; the American Civil Liberties Union, now so vocal and powerful in the Roosevelt regime (practically a section of the communist Garland Fund through their interlocking directorates and the Fund's support); the red Rand School, convicted of sedition during the war (its supporter and a lecturer there, Chas. A. Beard, was chosen by Roosevelt to help celebrate the 150th anniversary of the American Constitution!); the National Child Labor Committee working for Federal control of children, as is Roosevelt, which drew \$2,500, etc.; Mrs. Roosevelt's National Women's Trade Union League, now being boosted so strongly by the Communist Party's Women's Division, headed by Margaret Cowl; Commonwealth College, the communistic cesspool, two of whose former directors (Koch and Zeuch) and its board member, Hilda Smith, have been honored by Roosevelt with Government jobs at Washington; the Communist Party's Workers' Schools of New York, Superior, Wisconsin, etc.; the Young Communist League, which controls the American Youth Congress, which is sponsored by the Roosevelts; the Communist Party's Daily Worker and the red American Labor Year Book, both recommended for all Government Workers' Education classes by Roosevelt's FERA manuals; the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, for which Mrs. Roosevelt broadcasted; Jane Addams' Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, affiliated with the communist American League Against War and Fascism and honored by Mrs. Roosevelt, Ickes, and other Roosevelt leaders. (The Garland Fund regularly paid the expense of its bulletin "Pax", meaning "Peace", \$1,000 and \$2,000 at a time, and its expenses "to Senate committee hearings and to the Chicago conference March 4 and May 22, \$543.17", etc.); the Virgin Islands Committee, which, with the A. C. L. U., has been long working there; Pioneer Youth, sponsored by Roosevelt appointees Wm. F. Ogburn, Rose Schneiderman and numerous Russian-born Jews; L. Hollingsworth Wood of the A.C.L.U., who heads the National Urban League (honored by Mrs. Roosevelt), which also received separate gifts; the atheistic communist New Masses barred for a time from the mails for obscenity; the Mooney defense committees (to free this Anarchist-Communist); I. W. W. General Defense Committee, which was aided by Roosevelt appointees and aids, Sidney Hillman, Basil Manly, Frederic C. Howe and Rev. R. A. McGowan; the reds'

League for Mutual Aid, which makes loans to active anarchists, Communists, and Socialists; the communist Labor Defense Council, formed to free the Communists arrested at Bridgman, Mich. (Wm. Z. Foster, etc.), on which Roosevelt appointees John A. Ryan and John A. Lapp served; Wm. Z. Foster's communist Trade Union Educational League; the radical "pacifist" "World Tomorrow", on which Roosevelt appointees Francis J. McConnell, Paul H. Douglas, etc., served; radical "pacifist" Fellowship of Reconciliation, Youth branch; I. W. W. and Communist strikes; Russian Reconstruction Farms in the U. S. S. R.; etc.

Garland Fund Aids Only Reds and Red Causes

Those innocent Americans who criticize my book "The Red Network" for its inclusion of radical "pacifist" organizations with those that are openly revolutionary might, instead, criticize the judgment of the Communist, I. W. W., revolutionary Socialist, and Anarchist leaders, the Garland Fund directors, who support them financially and state that they donate only to radical causes. I believe, from close observation and study, that those Red leaders have a greater insight into the psychology and business of revolution than either my critics or I have.

A.C.L.U.—"PULSE" OF THE ROOSEVELT REGIME

"Respectable Front" for Communists

As Roger N. Baldwin, national director of the American Civil Liberties Union, stated:

"The Communists do not find it possible under party auspices alone to reach a wide enough public. When they tackle a job with more than a class or party appeal, they cover up their guidance with a respectable front of non-partisan professors, writers, lawyers and publicists." (Survey Graphic, August 1927)

The American Civil Liberties Union report (January, 1923, page 31) stated:

"... We proceed on the theory that ours is a definite piece of general propaganda and first-aid and that any additional work should be financed by special groups organized for that purpose just as is the defense work in all important cases. The National Defense Committee, for instance, handles communist cases. The Labor Defense Council is handling the Michigan criminal syndicalist cases. The General Defense Committee of the I.W.W. takes care of cases involving members of that organization and the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee in Boston carries the burden of that case. The Joint Amnesty Committee at Washington raises the funds for that special campaign. . . ."

Any Real Patriot Would Denounce A.C.L.U.

The American Civil Liberties Union has been denounced by every patriotic organization and individual taking the trouble to investigate its activities or even to read its reports.

WASHINGTON COMMITTEE

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GILSON SARGENT
TREASURER
BASIL H. MANLY
WILLIAM H. JOHNSON
MRS. LILLIAN FURLING
ALFRED KLAN
MR. ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE
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REV. JOHN A. RYAN
MR. CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL
HARRY SLATTERY
J. DAVID THOMPSON
LAURENCE TODD
FRANK P. WALSH
DIRECTOR
MARY GENTRIDGE FERRALL

Joint Amnesty Committee
American Civil Liberties Union

322 MARYLAND BUILDING

1410 H STREET N.W.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

MAY 1922

May 6th, 1922.

NATIONAL OFFICERS

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WALTER KELLEY
PUBLIC RELATIONS
LUCILLE E. MILLER
ADDRESS: 1234 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Mr. Fred H. Merriok.
35 Miller Street.
Pittsburg, Penna.

Dear Merriok:

I am sending Pittsburg, Monday morning, Crane Gartz, a young man who has been assisting us in various ways during the past year. He is a plute, with radical ideas which he has not yet put to work. I send him around on jobs like this because he is capable of getting the facts and it tends to give him the training he needs. I have sent him a letter of instructions, in a general way, and told him whom to see in District No. 2 of the United Mine Workers, and also Bill Feeney of No. 5.

You, however, will have to put him on to the sources of information which will really give us the kind of a report we need in order to act intelligently. I want him to combine all the suggestions and ideas you have or that Brophy and Feeney have got, as to how a bunch of outsiders, like ourselves, can most effectively stage a first-rate civil liberties fight in that district. I should think we ought to do what we did in a small way in the days after the steel strike, namely, send in some well-known outsiders to make speeches or hold meetings at forbidden points and get themselves well arrested. I am doubtful as to whether actually opening up an office would do much good, although we ought to have some one person in there to manage our end of the campaign.

We will act just as soon as we have these facts and can get the people out there. Will you get in touch with Gartz early Monday morning at the William Penn Hotel where he will register coming in from Cleveland? Better drop him a line there so that he will know how to reach you by telephone. He will doubtless take a room there, as he plans to stay two days.

Sincerely yours,



Facsimile of letter written by Roger Baldwin as Director, American Civil Liberties Union, to Communist Party district organizer Merriok, revealing typical A. C. L. U. "strategy". Crane Gartz is the son of Kate Crane Gartz, wealthy Communist-supporter. Note on the letterhead the names of Mrs. Robert M. LaFollette and Roosevelt appointees Basil M. Manly, Rev. John A. Ryan, Harry Slattery, and Frank P. Walsh.

Condemnation in Lusk Report

The New York State Joint Legislative Committee investigating Seditious Activities, headed by Senator Clayton R. Lusk, in 1920, issued a four-volume report in which was stated:

"The American Civil Liberties Union, in the last analysis, is a supporter of all subversive movements; its propaganda is detrimental to the State. It attempts not only to protect crime but to encourage attacks upon our institutions in every form."

Congressional Denunciation

The Congressional Committee appointed to investigate Communism issued H. R. 2290, Jan. 1931, in which they report:

"The A.C.L.U. is closely affiliated with the communist movement in the United States, and fully 90% of its efforts are on behalf of Communists who have come into conflict with the law. It claims to stand for free speech, free press, and free assembly; but it is quite apparent that the main function of the A.C.L.U. is to attempt to protect the communists in their advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the government, replacing the American flag by a red flag and erecting a Soviet government in place of the republican form of government guaranteed to each State by the Federal Constitution."

Its Real Character Also Revealed in "Red" Press

One who reads the Red press does not need the statements of others to enable him to classify the American Civil Liberties Union as the very forefront of the Red revolutionary movement, the defender of atheism, obscenity and Communist revolution.

With branches in the principal cities, heavily financed (the budget of the New York office alone was \$30,000 last year), and with hundreds of affiliated lawyers, the A.C.L.U. is ready to spring to the defense in court of any person guilty of rape, murder, or any other crime under the plea of preserving "free speech", providing these criminals are of aid to the Red movement, but they delight equally in filing libel suits against any patriot who criticizes or interferes in any way with their own or their Red proteges' seditious activities.

"Communism the Goal" Says Baldwin

Roger Baldwin, national director and executive moving spirit of the A.C.L.U., defined his aims in the Harvard Class Book (April 1935) as Communism:

"I have continued directing the unpopular fight for the rights of agitation, as director of the American Civil Liberties Union. . . . I have been to Europe several times, mostly in connection with international radical activities, chiefly against war, fascism and imperialism; and have traveled constantly in the United States to areas of conflict over workers' rights to strike and organize. My chief aversion is the system of greed, private profit, privilege and violence which makes up the control of the world today, and which has brought it to the tragic crisis of unprecedented hunger and unemployment. . . .

"Therefore, I am for socialism, disarmament and, ultimately, for abolishing the State itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class and sole control of those who produce wealth. Communism is the goal."

Baldwin "Anti-Capitalist and Pro-Revolutionary"

Baldwin, in the Communist magazine "Soviet Russia Today" (Sept. 1934), says:

"Those of us who champion civil liberties in the United States and who at the same time support the proletarian dictatorship of the Soviet Union are charged with inconsistency and insincerity. 'How can you consistently support the right of free agitation in capitalist countries when you defend a dictatorship that tolerates no agitation against its rule?' we are asked. . . .

"Everybody takes a class position, consciously or unconsciously. . . .

"All my associates in the struggle for civil liberties take a class position, though many don't know it. . . .

"I, too, take a class position. It is **anti-capitalist and pro-revolutionary**. I believe in non-violent methods of struggle as most effective in the long run for building up successful working class power. Where they cannot be followed . . . only violent tactics remain. I champion civil liberty as the best of the non-violent means of building the power on which workers' rule must be based. If I aid the reactionaries to get free speech now and then, if I go outside the class struggle to fight against censorship, it is only because those liberties help to create a more hospitable atmosphere for working class liberties. **The class struggle is the central conflict of the world; all others are incidental.**

"When that power of the working class is once achieved, as it has been only in the Soviet Union, I am for maintaining it by any means whatever. Dictatorship is the obvious means in a world of enemies, at home and abroad." (Emphasis his.)

Communist and Socialist Leaders on National Committee

The A.C.L.U. always has Communist Party leaders like Wm. Z. Foster, Robert W. Dunn, Scott Nearing, etc., on its national committee, and Socialist Party leaders like Norman Thomas. They cooperate and handle cases in conjunction with the open legal aid society of the Communist Party, the International Labor Defense, loan and give them money, and in turn both of them receive large sums of money, thousands of dollars, from the communist Garland fund, which Baldwin helps to administer.

Wm. Z. Foster, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett of the University of Chicago, Negro James Weldon Johnson, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (who was married to Anarchist Carlo Tresca), Scott Nearing, Norman Thomas, and others have also served as directors of both the Garland Fund and the American Civil Liberties Union.

A.C.L.U. All-Powerful in Roosevelt Administration

So powerful is the American Civil Liberties Union in the Roosevelt regime that informed observers have called it the very "pulse" of the administration.

In 1931, with characteristic foresight, Sidney Hillman, Donald R. Richberg, John A. Ryan, Rex. G. Tugwell, Frank P. Walsh, Colston E. Warne (all Roosevelt henchmen), etc., were serving on the A.C.L.U. national committee on labor injunctions, to prevent legal interference with Red strike disorders.

Going back through the reports of the A.C.L.U., one finds that every important Communist case is described there as being defended or aided by the A.C.L.U.

The A.C.L.U. report for 1931-2, entitled, sneeringly, "Sweet Land of Liberty", announced (page 35) the program of Bills prepared by the "Union's Committee on Indian Civil Rights under the chairmanship of Nathan Margold, N. Y. attorney", and stated that "these bills were worked out in cooperation with the Indian Defense Association."

Now, under Roosevelt, that program has been enacted into law, despite the complaints of Indians opposing such communization (see Chapter entitled "Communizing the Indians"); Nathan Margold is now Solicitor of the Department of the Interior, headed by "Honest" Harold Ickes, and radical John Collier, then the paid head of the Indian Defense Association (communist-Garland-Fund-supported), is now Commissioner of the Indian Bureau of the Department of the Interior, administering these very A.C.L.U. laws.

A.C.L.U. Circulates Ickes' Speech

The American Civil Liberties Union has reprinted for circulation as part of its propaganda the April 22, 1935, speech of Secretary Ickes (an A.C.L.U. supporter).

The A.C.L.U. Report for 1933-4, entitled "Liberty Under the New Deal", rejoices (page 10) over Roosevelt's "more tolerant attitude toward aliens" and "the President's amnesty on Christmas restoring Civil rights to those convicted under the Espionage Act during the war."

On page 12, they claim as A.C.L.U. championed measures: the "Costigan-Wagner bill providing federal intervention to punish lynch-ers or State officials who fail to act" (every radical operating in the hostile South is determined to get this Bill enacted. It is supported by Mrs. Roosevelt and all other radicals); "the administration measure restoring to American Indians their lands and tribal autonomy" (their Indian program became the administration program for Indians); "the administration measures recommended by the so-called Ellis Island Committee to the Department of Labor liberalizing the immigration and deportation laws" (Kerr Bill); "and the Communications Bill in relation to radio censorship. The Indian and Communications bills passed."

A.C.L.U. "Gets Its Man"

On page 21, the A.C.L.U. triumphs over having caused the removal by "Miss" Perkins of Charles G. Wood, a patriotic anti-Communist,

from the Department of Labor, where "he has flourished during several administrations."

In Mr. Wood's testimony before the Congressional Committee of the 71st Congress investigating Communist activities, appears (Volume 1, Part 3, page 115, July 16, 1930) the following concerning Fred Beidenkapp, the Communist Party agitator who, in 1934, organized some 70,000 shoe workers in the East under Communist auspices:

"Beidenkapp was one of the men indicted in Massachusetts. He is still under indictment. Governor Allen tried to have him extradited to Massachusetts, but Beidenkapp resisted it, and Governor Roosevelt protected him, denied the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; and Beidenkapp was kept in New York to cause all the trouble in the shoe industry."

This ouster of Wood pleased Roosevelt, no doubt, as much as it did the A.C.L.U.

Roosevelt's Murphy Performs for A.C.L.U.

The 1933-34 A.C.L.U. report above mentioned (page 28) says: "In the Philippines where some twenty-three Communists were convicted of sedition a year ago—efforts have been made to secure pardons from Gov. General Frank Murphy." Pardons were secured from Roosevelt-appointed Murphy, his last official act as Governor General. He was praised by another A.C.L.U. report for his considerate treatment of Reds while he was Mayor of Detroit.

Of course, to attempt to review the regular Communist cases reported and aided by the A.C.L.U. in their weekly, quarterly and yearly reports would be to review the activities of practically the entire Red revolutionary movement.

A.C.L.U., Too, Has "Must" Bills

But an idea of the legislative program of the A.C.L.U. can be gathered from their September 1935 quarterly bulletin setting forth for the ensuing year the Union's "must" Bills which are to be pushed. Their use of the word "must" reminds one of Roosevelt's "must" legislation. These A.C.L.U. "must" bills were:

H. R. 8384 introduced by red Representative Marcantonio (Mrs. Roosevelt's "peace" associate) to establish "asylum for political and religious refugees in the U.S.A."

H. R. 8163 introduced by Representative Kerr of North Carolina giving "Miss" Perkins more dictatorial power over immigration (power which she usurps anyway).

H. R. 5170, "A Bill by Mrs. O'Day, representative at large from New York, to admit to citizenship pacifist and other dissenting aliens." Mrs. O'Day appealed for the release from prison of the New York district Communist Party organizer, Chas. Krumbein, a dissenter but no "pacifist". She is Mrs. Roosevelt's fellow officer in the Val Kill furniture business and was on the board of the pro-Communist New School for Social Research with Mrs. Roosevelt.

S. 2039 proposed by Senator Byrnes, South Carolina, to make it a crime to transport persons between states to interfere with strikers. (The Reds who incite strikers wish no interference.)

H. R. 270, "A resolution by Representative Amlie, Wisconsin, for an investigation of the lot of tenant farmers and share-croppers, including violations of their civil rights." (The Reds are organizing the share-croppers for revolution and have so far been deterred by local authorities.)

H. R. 9115 introduced by red Representative Zioncheck (later committed to an asylum), Washington, to guarantee a jury trial (which Reds know how to "manage") in all cases involving matter held by the Postmaster General to be "obscene" or "seditious".

H. R. 5600, a bill by Representative Pierce, Oregon, permitting dissemination of birth control material and information. (The communist Garland Fund has always supported the Birth Control movement.)

Propose "Non-Partisan Committee" for Radio Control

"H. R. 9229, 9230, 9231, and H. R. 370 all introduced by Representative Scott, California; they deal with various aspects of radio censorship. They would set up daily periods of time for uncensored controversial broadcasts . . . would clear radio stations from legal responsibility for speeches on these programs, would require stations to keep accurate public records of reasons for censorship or refusal of programs. The resolutions would set up a non-partisan committee to investigate the whole problem of radio control."

A.C.L.U. Sues for Communist "Free Speech"

"CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION TO SUE RADIO STATION—Charges of Censorship Filed Against WDAY After Speech Canceling," is the caption of a report in the Communist Party's Daily Worker, April 3, 1936:

"Charges of censorship have been filed with the Federal Communications Commission by the American Civil Liberties Union against WDAY at Fargo, N. D., one of the two largest stations in the state and a supplementary outlet of the National Broadcasting Company. The charges have been filed because of that station's cancellation of a scheduled speech by Waldo McNutt, national organizer of the American League Against War and Fascism, Arthur Garfield Hays, counsel for the union, announced yesterday."

The report goes on to explain that after Homer L. Chaillaux, National Director of the Americanism Commission of the American Legion, exposed the communistic character of the American League Against War and Fascism, which advocates Red revolution and treason, Station WDAY cancelled the talk by its representative.

The A.C.L.U. Freedom of the Air Bills (for Communists), the report stated, would require all stations to give time for treason over the air.

TUNE IN . . .

— ON —

Communist Party Nominating Convention

MADISON SQ. GARDEN, NEW YORK

HEAR . . .

Communist Party Presidential Candidate

— ON —

What to do about Jobs, Prosperity, Peace

Sunday, June 28 - 4^{P.}_{M.}

Columbia Broadcasting System
Station WBBM—4 to 4:30 p. m. [Chicago Time]

National Broadcasting System
4 to 5 p. m. [Chicago Time]
Watch Newspapers for Local NBC Station carrying this broadcast.

Hear JAMES W. FORD

Vice Presidential Candidate Communist Party

AT THE

Illinois Communist Election Picnic

JULY 4th & 5th

Adm. 10c—for both days 15c

BIRUTES GROVE

79th and Archer

Rotograph

Facsimile of Communist Party Poster. Since Roosevelt controls Radio, for the first time in American history, the illegal Communist Party commands radio time openly.

They Grow Bolder

The next step will be for patriotic organizations to be dissolved, as in France, and their leaders jailed for protesting against Communist control.

The Communists are determined to force their propaganda out over the radio and they are making progress along this line. Numerous local radio stations are now giving Party organizers time over the air to spread their seditious propaganda.

The Columbia Broadcasting System was the first network to give Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party U.S.A., time to agitate Red revolution over a nation-wide hook-up, but the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) now follows, in cooperation with the Columbia chain, in broadcasting the Communist Party convention (N.Y. Times 6/24/36). Norman Thomas, who is no less dangerous, and his L.I.D. buddies and the Roosevelt appointees broadcasting with them, not only get time continually over nationwide hook-ups, but, ironically, their broadcasts are financially supported by capitalists. (See page 137.)

Would Cripple Our National Defense

"H. R. 8930, a bill by Representative Kvale, Minnesota, making military drill in land grant colleges optional rather than compulsory."

This is backed by the Communist-Socialist American Student Union, the radical National Student Federation, and all Reds as the first step toward abolishing altogether patriotic military training in defense of the U. S. Government.

A.C.L.U. pressure was put on to kill the Military Disaffection Bill and all sedition bills backed by patriotic societies; and they have been killed. A.C.L.U. reports exult over this demonstration of their power.

While We "Pooh-Pooh" Danger, A.C.L.U. Forges Ahead

Mr. "Portly American" may tilt on his heels and smugly tell why Socialism is impossible in the United States, even as he looks at the Red flags being carried through the streets of American cities in defiance of all laws of common sense and American self-preservation; but while he orates, the A.C.L.U. is working, plotting, planning, suing, intimidating, bailing out criminals, raising thousands of dollars to aid the Red cause, holding local weekly committee meetings to talk over Red cases, getting out to Red riots to observe and give misinformation in court helpful to the rioters (testifying always to "police brutality"), getting into the jails, and doing personal contact work.

According to A.C.L.U. witnesses, one might think that policemen have only to see innocent women coming out of grocery stores with babes in their arms to leap upon them to bash in their skulls.

At one Chicago A.C.L.U. public meeting that I attended, which was devoted to "police brutality," the gentle sweetness of the Communist rioters was emphasized, although it was mentioned, in an

aside, that they had smashed in the front of the relief station. But the narrator tried to draw a dramatic, pathetic picture of a woman being dragged across the street by a policeman during the riot. He described her as wearing white stockings and dilated so emotionally upon those white stockings being trailed in the street that he himself had to grin in the midst of his own attempts at pathos.

However, money was raised at the meeting. One of the speakers was William H. Holly, one of their founders and executives, who is a Roosevelt appointee to the Federal bench, where he has already done his bit in protecting Communists and the Communist play "Tobacco Road."

Favors Social Equality for Negroes

The red American Civil Liberties Union takes a firm communistic stand on Negro social equality. Because the Hotel Arlington, Washington, D. C., tried to restrict their service of Negro delegates to the private dining room and conference rooms rented by the American Civil Liberties Union for a conference, the A.C.L.U. Conference denounced the management for "discriminating against Negroes," cancelled their hotel rooms in a huff and departed for the rest of the sessions to the Government-supported Howard University, at the invitation of its Dean, Chas. Huston, who is an A.C.L.U. national committeeman. (Report of the A.C.L.U. Conference, December 8-9, 1934, held at Hotel Arlington and Howard University, Washington D C.)

Cooperating Organizations

Those radical organizations cooperating in this conference, under A.C.L.U. (Garland-Fund-supported) auspices, included (see "The Red Network" for descriptions of those starred): The American Federation of Teachers* (Garland-Fund-supported); American Indian Defense Association (Roosevelt appointee John Collier's radical Garland-Fund-supported group); the Church League for Industrial Democracy*; the communist Committee for Protection of Foreign Born* (listed as "National Council for Protection of Foreign Born Workers" in "The Red Network"); the Committee on Militarism in Education* (Garland-Fund-supported); Norman Thomas' red Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief* (Garland-Fund-supported); the radical Fellowship of Reconciliation* (Garland-Fund-supported); the General Defense Committee of the I.W.W.* (Garland-Fund-supported); the radical International Juridical Association; the Communist Party's International Labor Defense* (Garland-Fund-supported); the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy* (Garland-Fund-supported); the pro-Communist Methodist Federation for Social Service*; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* (Garland-Fund-supported), for which Mrs. Roosevelt recruits members; the National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control, headed by Margaret Sanger (who started her work in Anarchist headquarters and received Garland Fund support); the radical National Student Federation, which co-

operates with the Communist student groups in their revolutionary "Peace" strikes and in taking the oath never to uphold the U. S. Government in any war (peace-time treason); the National Urban League (Garland-Fund-supported), for which Mrs. Roosevelt and Secretary Ickes have spoken; the People's Lobby* (Garland-Fund-supported), proponents of Socialist legislation, of which Rex. G. Tugwell,* Roosevelt's "number one boy," was a committeeman in 1931 along with Roosevelt-advisor Jackson H. Ralston,* radical John Dewey being president, Roosevelt-appointee Henry T. Hunt,* vice-president, and Benj. C. Marsh,* executive-secretary; the communist United Farmers' League*; the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* (long a red Garland-Fund-supported agency), an affiliated section of the communist American League Against War and Fascism.*

Speeches were made by radicals Rep. Paul Kvale, Donald Henderson* (representing the communist United Farmers' League), and Bishop Francis J. McConnell* (representing the Methodist Federation for Social Service and the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy*), who "spoke on 'Government's Policy Toward Alien Radicals,' opposing the law under which Communists are deported from the United States. . . . He also advocated admitting to citizenship conscientious objectors to bearing arms. . . ." (All Reds object to bearing arms for the U. S. Government, but wish to aid the "class war.")

Olive M. Stone of the Women's College, Montgomery, Alabama, made a typical radical speech urging the organization of Southern share-croppers.

Radical Roosevelt N.Y.A. Chief Speaks "By Proxy"

Robert Lansdale, Roosevelt's FERA Administrative Assistant, read a paper prepared by his chief, Aubrey Williams (supporter of communistic Commonwealth College), on the right of the unemployed to organize (under radicals).

Other speakers were:

Francis J. Gorman of the United Textile Workers, now prominently headlined as speaker for Communist mass meetings and featured in the Red press.

Powers Hapgood,* labor agitator and executive committeeman of the Socialist Party.

Father Francis J. Haas, "a Federal mediator for the National Labor Board," who spoke favoring strong unions to win "gains."

David Lasser, head of the communist-socialist Workers' Alliance which amalgamated in the U. S. Department of Labor Auditorium April, 1936, and Alexander Taylor of the communist Unemployed Councils.

Daniel W. MacCormack, Roosevelt's Commissioner of Immigration, spoke for them at 3:30 p. m. and his talk, broadcasted over an NBC hook-up, was on the "Department of Labor's Policy on Immigration and Deportation." (Which policy is deplored by all patriotic anti-Red organizations.)

Favorite "Red" Subject Well Covered

Levering Tyson, director of the socialistic National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, and Bethuel M. Webster, Jr., spoke on means of securing time over radio stations for radical programs.

Dr. Hannah M. Stone spoke on ways of getting birth control information through the mails.

Arthur Garfield Hays, agitating attorney for the A.C.L.U., "discussed censorship by the Post Office for alleged obscene matter." The A.C.L.U. fights to have **obscene** matter circulated freely.

He said the Customs Department used to make the decisions on admission of obscene literature to the United States but rejoiced: "This has been changed." He credited Senator Cutting with having brought about the change and stated: "Under these changed conditions, James Joyce's 'Ulysses,' Mary Stokes' book 'Married Love' and various other publications have been admitted which had heretofore been banned." He proposed court or jury trials to decide the barring of obscene matter. (The A.C.L.U. knows best how to "maneuver" jury trials!)

Red Hays Praises New Deal Immigration Attitude

He said: "Another issue with which we are concerned is that involving amendments to the immigration laws. . . . It should be admitted that the **present administration has been more tolerant than its predecessors**, as has been indicated by the fact that Emma Goldman, Henri Barbusse, Tom Mann and others have been permitted to enter the country, and even to lecture. . . . But a liberal administration policy is hardly sufficient. Changes must be made in the law."

(The Kerr Immigration Bill is being backed for this purpose. The above radicals he mentions are Anarchist or Communist leaders.)

Red Heywood Broun, who is backing the Communist Party (Daily Worker 6/18/36), sent Daniel A. DeSouza, president of the Washington branch of Broun's American Newspaper Guild, to speak in his place.

Double Play—Ward to Baldwin to Conference

"At this point Dr. Ward stated that an important announcement must be made affecting the conference sessions. Mr. Baldwin for the Arrangements Committee, stated that an issue had arisen with the hotel management over the lodging of Negroes in the hotel; that the management had refused to permit them to be lodged or to eat in the main dining room, and that this was contrary to the verbal understanding with the management that there would be no race discrimination. The hotel management stated, however, that they meant only no discrimination in regard to our meetings and meals in our private dining room."

A resolution was then offered and adopted unanimously, containing the following:

"Therefore, be it resolved first, that the conference condemns the practice of discrimination in Washington hotels; and second, that, in accordance with the **inescapable obligations of complete race equality**

imposed by our fundamental policies, we hereby cancel the remaining sessions of our program at this hotel and urge our members to cancel their room reservations'."

More Roosevelt Appointees and Supporters Speak

Elmer Rice, Roosevelt's former N. Y. Theatrical Project director, an A.C.L.U. executive, spoke, as did Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein and other A.C.L.U. leaders.

Prof. Emmet Dorsey of Howard University, referred to as advocating Communist revolution in the formal complaint of Kelly Miller alleging Communist teaching at Howard U. (see page 234), spoke.

Robert Weaver, "economic advisor on the problems of Negroes in the Department of the Interior" (headed by "Honest" Harold Ickes), also spoke.

Radical Senator Edward P. Costigan of Colorado discussed his Federal anti-lynching Bill.

Walter White, secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. urged the passage of that Bill.

Puerto Rico Coddles Communists

Luis Munoz-Marin, Senator-at-large from Puerto Rico spoke in regard to civil liberty in Puerto Rico, saying there was no suppression there: "In Puerto Rico the head of the Communist Party gets his propaganda printed prominently, over his signature, in the most commercially successful daily paper on the island and it is read with interest by all students of social problems. . . . Puerto Rico, in words publicly uttered by Mrs. Roosevelt 'has been tremendously exploited'. The reference is mainly to absentee owners of the all-controlling sugar industry . . . so far as these colonies are concerned, **independence is the solution.**"

Watch for the Roosevelt New Deal response to this Red aim!

Communist Party "Delegates" at Conference

Max Bedacht, "delegate of the Communist Party", forming a committee with Powers Hapgood and Communist Roger Baldwin (A.C.L.U. director), brought in a report on the NRA.

Nathan Margold of the A.C.L.U., Roosevelt's Solicitor for the Department of the Interior, spoke on their Indian plans, saying that "bills are being prepared for the forthcoming Congress which will cover all Indians and their immediate problems."

Indian Reaction to Margold-Ickes-A.C.L.U. Red Control

At this writing, I receive a sad message from patriotic Alice Lee Jemison, one of the Indians fighting these communistic measures. To quote: "On Monday (6/15/36) S. 2047 was brought up on the floor of the House and passed by **unanimous** consent. Not a single person said a word against it. From the Record it looks as though it were one of the last to be brought up and evidently there were not many present, even some who intended to object, from the Democratic side. Well, that is their hard luck—they are making their records and IF they pass

this Bill which will legalize communism in Oklahoma, they will have to stand on the Record."

Allan G. Harper of John Collier's radical American Indian Defense Association (Garland-Fund-supported) also spoke at the Conference and "Caroline Huston Thompson expressed her agreement with the proposed legislation", as did Lawrence E. Lindley.

Radical John Nevin Sayre, brother of Roosevelt's Assistant Secretary of State, also spoke.

Another speaker was Franz Daniel, organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, headed by Roosevelt appointee, Sidney Hillman, Russian-born Red.

More Committees for Revolutionary Agitation

John Herling (of the League for Industrial Democracy); Olive Stone, Louis Bentzley, and Donald Henderson, of the Communist farm movement; Webster Powell; John P. Davis; and Isadore Polier, formed another committee to secure Federal legislation for the Reds, "to anticipate possible suits and prosecutions on some theory of common law conspiracy" recommending "the enactment of a federal statute declaring that tenants and share-croppers shall have the right to organize and act collectively."

Another committee formed to agitate strengthening "Section 7A", to declare company unions to be completely illegal, was composed of Powers Hapgood (chairman), Dan Donovan, John Herling, Walter Frank, Dr. Aaron Bodansky, Franz Daniel, David Lasser, and Herbert Mahler (of the I.W.W.).

Every possible phase of the Communist cause was covered and suggestions were made for aiding each one, including: "political prisoners", the imprisoned Red Kentucky miners, aliens, radio time for Reds, motion pictures without censorship, complete independence of all U. S. Colonial possessions, Negro equality, the Scottsboro case handled by the communist International Labor Defense, repression of anti-Red opposition by legislative means, etc.

Will This A.C.L.U. Demand Materialize?

Boldest of all, they passed this resolution:

"Resolved that the FERA furnish funds for a project with an adequate staff which shall have as its object the study of civil liberties under the New Deal. This project is to be under the direction of the American Civil Liberties Union which shall publish its reports and recommendations through government agencies as it sees fit."

Is the LaFollette Senate sub-committee now investigating anti-Reds an answer to this demand?

SOCIALISM, WOMEN, AND "MISS" PERKINS

Socialism Would "Free" Women

Socialist writers (Marx, Engels and the other standard authorities) refer to marriage as slavery, as a capitalistic institution in which man is the owner and woman the "chattel" or piece of property who

is hampered and kept from equality with men by the burden of child bearing and rearing.

Socialism proposes to free woman from "bourgeois" religious "prejudices", providing her with contraceptives and abortions and institutions to care for offspring at State expense so that she may be free to have relations with any man she fancies and to carry on work of the sort men do.

The Biblical teachings concerning adultery, family life and duty, and the sacredness of marriage, are classed with all religious teachings as "the opium of the people", "out-worn superstition", a relic of the "myths and fables of savagery". Consequently, women Communist and Socialist leaders are consistent in showing, as they do, their freedom from such "bondage" and religious "superstition" by retaining the title "Miss", whether they bear children for some man or not. Nor would a Communist or Socialist "husband" care to be known as a capitalistic bourgeois wife "owner".

Not I alone find my greatest privilege and happiness in being a wife and mother and in watching over my own children; **most women share this God-given instinct.** We expect the political rights of human beings, but consider the Communist bait of offering women sex equality with men through free love, state orphanages and collectivized factory kitchens, not as **flattery** but as **robbery.**

Russian Women Have "Equal Rights," Plus, to do Heavy Work

I observed without envy the women street cleaners, ditch diggers, truck drivers, and brick layers, the women laborers shoveling manure onto freight cars (with men guards present to see that they did not loaf), whom we photographed in Soviet Russia. They had been "freed" from the "drudgery" of taking care of their own babies to do heavy manual work, instead.

The mile after mile of houses with dirty uncurtained windows one observes in Russia, typify the "freedom" of Russian women from household cares and home comforts. **One must admit that socialism in Russia does give women "equal rights" to do the heavy work!**

Nor was I inspired by the State orphanages we were shown as tourist sights, buzzing with flies, where heaped-up, unwashed diapers made their presence known, or the communal nurseries where the little tots were being jerked into uniformed aprons by matter-of-fact attendants as they were checked in for the day by mothers "freed" to act as traffic cops, street car conductors, street sweepers, laborers, etc.

Nor would I have cared to have been, in my childhood, "Orphan Number 982" in any institution, even had it been perfect or immaculate, much less one patterned after the "messes" in the Soviet "paradise". Living with my own dear "private" mother in a shed would have been far preferable.

Even Orphans Fare Best in Private Homes

An American Legion official, speaking on the Legion's local orphanage work, said that they had decided to close their institution

for orphans and to board the children in private homes instead. He said that after years of experience they had found that the children thrived better placed with ordinary private families than they did under scientific institutional care and feeding. Marxism to the contrary notwithstanding, there is the human heart and human affection to reckon with.

No Communist revolution will make men mothers, nor cause women enthusiastically to prefer brick laying to feminine pursuits.

The Moscow News, published in Russia in English as a propaganda sheet for Communism, showed in one issue the "happy" faces of women who, with rags tied around their heads to take the place of hats and wearing meal-sack-like dresses, were "voluntarily" donating their free day (Sunday has been abolished as a religious "fetish") to shoveling rock in the Moscow subway. (Oh, Joy! Subdue your jealousy, girls!)

Soviets Efficient in Creating "Volunteers"

In Soviet Russia, much is "voluntarily" and frequently offered to the state in behalf of Communism, for example, a whole month's pay, through the effectively simple means of letting it be known that those not "volunteering" may not be around to "volunteer" the next time.

The so-called Soviet "voting" has been strictly on this basis, and notwithstanding the present ballyhoo about new "democratic" voting rights being granted, it is also announced that there will be but one party, as always, and that the party will command. Iron control as in the past will continue.

Socialists irately brush away any argument that there are certain instincts of human nature which Marxian theory and revolution cannot change.

"What Fools the Bears Have Been"

I heard a story about a young Communist who, well filled with Marxian theory, left the Moscow University, little brief case in hand, to go out into the country.

Everyone seems to be carrying brief cases in the cities of Russia, but when I asked one native why this was, he told me that many carry brief cases, often merely stuffed with old paper, to give themselves a proletarian official air of importance.

When the young Communist got off the train at a little snowy country station, he was met by a peasant with an old-fashioned sleigh. The peasant started to pull the bearskin robe up over them.

"No, no!", commanded the Communist, "Don't do that! Put the hair side down; that will keep our legs warm; the hide on the outside will break the force of the wind. That is the new theory!"

They rode along together, a way, in silence; then the peasant started to chuckle. "What are you laughing at?", asked the Communist, menacingly. "I was just thinking", said the peasant, "what fools the bears have been all these years!"

Herding the Young

An interview with Lenin's widow, "Miss" Krupskaya, is reported in the Communist Party's Sunday Worker, 4/26/36:

"What, in your opinion, is a good Soviet mother?" I asked Krupskaya.

"A good Soviet mother," she quickly replied, "is one who is socially conscious, who does social work (communal activity in schools, clubs, etc.) and who loves, not only her own child, but children in general and is able to educate the child in a collective spirit.

"If a mother loves only her own child, it will have a bad influence on the youngster, for then he will become accustomed to being the center of attention. People are much happier when they learn to participate in collective activity."

Red Meta Berger, widow of the Bolshevik Socialist Victor Berger, and trustee of Wisconsin University, is working for the united front of the Socialist and Communist Parties, she says.

Her attempts at puffing women's advantages in Soviet Russia in the communist magazine "Woman Today" (March 1936) are revealing.

Lauds "Dignity" and "Opportunity" of Soviet Women Laborers

Under the title "The New Woman" she describes first the hopeless and despairing lot of American women whose "chances are poor and uncertain", so she says:

"If she wants a healthy sexual life and children, she must wait until she has found the man with a job whom some one else has not snared first." ("Beau chasing" has not always been considered one of women's hardships under capitalism even though respect for marriage restricts the field.)

"If she lives with him without marriage she does so at great risks, even assuming that she and her lover have somehow learned about birth control."

"Having seen the women of Russia doing hard work and dirty work, having seen them on scaffolding and in ditches and on tractors and in factories, I came home last summer convinced that for the woman of energy or ability, no other country in the world offers a life of greater dignity and greater opportunity.

"I asked a woman bricklayer why she did such heavy work. She replied simply that she chose to. Her children were in the creche—the government nursery—where they were being given infinitely better care than she would have known how to give them, even had she had the equipment, which, of course, she hadn't."

She gives glowingly false reports of Soviet state institutions and nurseries for children and her article is illustrated with a photo of three women dressed as only tourists are dressed in Russia, wearing flowers besides, gaily tripping down the street. (Perhaps they were returning from a little coal-shoveling job.)

And she says: "We who live in the chivalric tradition which keeps us properly submerged can hardly realize what dignity this

new freedom lends to women, and what confidence and joy it gives them." (When food cards were taken away from homekeeping mothers in Russia, dubbed by the government as "social parasites", forcing them to seek work in industries, a cry of protest went up from countless hearts.)

She says: "With free dissemination of birth control information, with legalized and scientific abortions, with divorces granted" (Marriage and divorce are merely registered, if one cares to bother.) "on grounds of mutual incompatibility, what becomes of the home?"

"Obviously the economic independence of women has brought a profound change into personal relations between men and women. . . . Their interests and their development are not confined to the home." (Nor are women confined to the home in America.) "The state is not concerned with their emotional relationships. It is concerned only with the welfare of the children."

If parents care for their own children, the "emotional relationships" of parents concern the welfare of the children deeply. Of course, if children are to be herded by the state, the parents' relationships do not matter as much, although diseased, immoral parents may affect the children's health for life.

Hail "Department of Labor" Hats and Dresses!

"Miss" Perkins' December 1935, number of the "Consumer", issued by the Department of Labor, Consumers' Division, aroused facetious comment. Its editorial pleaded for control over women's clothes, saying:

" . . . it is greatly to be desired that the time will come when the energies of women shall be canalized into more purposeful activities than the intricacies of personal adornment. On that day they may say with the philosopher Bergson, 'The head comes before the hat. Allow me to furnish the interior of my head as I please and I shall put up with a hat like everybody else's'. . . .

"The death rate of dresses is also needlessly high, while still most dresses are relegated to oblivion.

"These wastes are apparent enough, but who can compute the waste of time and energy for women whose shopping for clothes is never done and who, irrespective of whether or not they want to play the game, must submit to invidious comparisons with other women."

The Saturday Evening Post's comment, in part, was that: "fewer style changes would mean fewer jobs for garment workers and we are certain that the Government is not trying to increase unemployment."

Russia has for so long had only the available rag for the head and the meal-sack-like dress as the standardized apparel for women that the Soviet Government now propagandizes through American news reels that it is instituting a government fashion show. Since living conditions are so poor in Russia, the fashion show photographed for the movies is apt to begin and end there and be of use only as propaganda to mislead and fool people in foreign lands.

Government "Bureau of Design" Prophesied

"Leading furniture designers of America were warned last night that government dictation of color scheme and art designs in American homes constitute a peril that would come with regimented industry.

"The warning was delivered by Herbert Gutterson, president of the Institute of Carpet Manufacturers of America . . .

"To my mind it came somewhat of a shock that economic designers might be included with the economic royalists of our time', he continued.

"Not that this central authority dictating design would not follow certain sound lines or principles, but that you designers would be told just what color would be used, just what style the American people would have to adopt; not at your hands, created out of a background of your art or the trend of mind and taste of American men and women, but by a governmental bureau of design, I suppose.'" (Chicago Tribune, 7-36.)

Are "Bootleg Styles" in the Offing?

Speaking for other women, who, like myself, are regarded as "light-minded" by the Department of Labor, we would resist dictation and limitation to a specified number of hat and dress models standardized and authorized by the Department of Labor. (Heaven forbid!) Many, who, like myself, are fond of sewing, would probably delight in making "bootleg" styles. Nor would we forego without a struggle the joys of window shopping past the lovely displays at moderate prices which fill American shop windows. No picture gallery is more diverting than the artistic designs and displays American designers and window dressers conceive. Must we kill that instinct too?

In the Soviet "Paradise"

In Soviet Russia, vacant stores with windows encrusted with dirt are interspersed with occasional Government stores, where workers stand in line to buy shoes and shoddy material and mere necessities of food of inferior quality and questionable state of preservation, with their ration slips, when it is made known that certain things are available. Most often the goods are exhausted before the line has been supplied. The lapses between supplies may be months.

Miss Helen Atwater, a Chicago High School teacher who went over to Russia in 1935 with a group of pro-Soviets, told me that when she started she was rather "pink" in her sympathies. But she was actually unnerved on several occasions by the starvation she saw along the Volga. She was scarcely able to keep silent in a Communist meeting we attended together, when a Friends-of-the-Soviet-Union delegate, also just returned, told the lies he was expected to tell about store windows being piled high with food and goods in Soviet Russia! The unspeakable bureaucratic tyranny, the poverty, crude inefficiency and cruelty of Communism was burned into her sympathetic soul forever by what she saw and experienced.

Since Roosevelt is determined to lead us down the Marxian road to Socialism, it is of interest to observe the pattern as it is worked out in the Socialists' beloved fatherland, Soviet Russia.

"Miss" Perkins and Deportation

The Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, naturally, praises "Miss" Perkins for admitting into the United States to preach sedition, lifting the ban of years, such Communist agitators of bloody civil war as Communist Tom Mann, English jail bird; the English Communist John Strachey; Sean Murray, "The Lenin of Ireland" (for a three months' lecture tour); Henri Barbusse, French Communist Party leader; Emma Goldman, Russian-Jewish deported Anarchist; exiled Hanns Eisler, author of Communist songs, now teaching at Mrs. Roosevelt's New School for Social Research; and, more recently, Sandor Garbai, exiled from Hungary, where he was President of the Soviet Republic set up there (1919) by Bela Kun (Cohn) and his terrorists. He was the scheduled speaker for the communist American Student Union in Harper Hall at the University of Chicago (5/14/36), which is headed by Robert M. Hutchins, Roosevelt appointee.

The American Citizen of San Rafael, Calif. (4/29/36), complains under the heading "Anarchists Have Access to Bureau's Secret Files":

"Coddling of anarchists, communists and followers of other foreign-born 'isms' seeking to destroy the political, social and economic structure of the United States by the Bureau of Immigration of the U. S. Department of Labor, has been charged by the American Legion and other patriotic organizations, as is noted elsewhere in this issue. And among other things, it is charged that the records of the department in deportation cases—public documents—are denied by order of the department to anyone seeking information, even the police and legally constituted authorities.

"But now comes the information that the organized Anarchists have access to these records—access denied to the police. And they have access even to the secret and confidential files of correspondence between individual officials of the Department of Immigration!!!

"Under the heading 'Deportation Under a "New Deal" Regime,' the April issue of 'MAN!', which describes itself as a 'Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement,' published in San Francisco and giving its address as P. O. Box 115, quotes from secret reports and confidential correspondence of Edward W. Cahill, District Commissioner of Immigration at San Francisco, with his superiors at Washington, D. C.

"The article, referring to the cases of Vincent Ferrero and Domenick Sallitto, Oakland anarchists ordered deported more than a year ago for their anarchistic actions and utterances and who are now out on bail, says in part:" (The details follow.)

No Action by "Miss" Perkins Against Bridges, Alien Revolutionist

Harry Bridges, Red leader of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, heads the communistic longshoremen's movement on the Pa-

cific Coast which precipitated the San Francisco general strike, and virtual state of civil war for several days, in 1934. The Seattle Business Chronicle (6/13/36) says:

"Despite the fact that Harry Bridges, the radical czar of Maritime Federation of the Pacific, is not only an alien but is here under conditions seriously questionable in the eyes of federal immigration authorities, Secretary of Labor Perkins has made no effort to have his legal status determined one way or another. Twice he has taken out 'first papers,' but has permitted them to lapse. Now he is said to be making another effort to become a citizen. He arrived in this country in 1921, by deserting a ship from Australia. This, in the eyes of federal authorities, constitutes 'illegal entry.' Yet no serious effort has been made, nor is one being made now, to have him deported."

Illegal Prevention of Deportations—"Miss" Perkins Responsible

Hon. Robert R. Reynolds of North Carolina said (Congressional Record 3/16/36):

"Let me direct your attention to the fact that there are now 12,625,000 people out of work in the United States, according to the last survey made by the American Federation of Labor. Now, let us examine the facts about this situation, using only such information as has been made available by the Department of Labor itself.

"By the Department's own figures, there are now in the United States 2,862 aliens, who, under existing laws, would be mandatorily deportable.

"Without any authority of law, for 2 years and 8 months the Department of Labor has prevented these deportations. Specifically, the Department of Labor now asks Congress to enact the Kerr-Coolidge bills so that these same 2,862 aliens may legally be permitted to remain in this country.

"What are these aliens for whom the Department of Labor is so solicitous?

"1. According to the Department's own statement, practically all—at one time the Department used the figure 98 percent—entered this country illegally.

"2. From the departmental records it is proven that many—a large percentage, possibly—when they entered the country illegally actually committed a second crime, that of perjury, for which the penalty as prescribed by existing law is a fine of \$10,000 or imprisonment for 5 years or both.

"3. The Labor Department's own records disclose that among these aliens, for whose particular benefit Congress is now asked to relax existing laws, there are those who are:

"Public charges.

"Criminals with long or short police records.

"Those who flout not only civil and criminal law but moral laws as well.

"To me not the least amazing feature of this attempt on the part of a great governmental agency, to break down immigration barriers erected by Congress in its desire to protect American citizenship, is the persistency with which the attack is maintained."

"Administration Coddles Red Enemies"

The Seattle Chronicle (3/14/36) comment was: **"Administration Coddles Red Enemies**—Congressman Martin Dies of Texas is outspoken in his charge that the U. S. Department of Labor, under Madam Secretary Perkins, is deliberately trying to wreck the nation's present restrictive immigration legislation. So-called 'new seed' immigration—entrants admitted although they have no relatives here—**has increased 50%**, he asserts, while the total of **aliens admitted has increased by 8%**, and at the same time **deportations have decreased 60%**."

"Particularly he alleges that Department of Labor has come out openly against applying the quota system to Mexico and Canada, from which aliens can enter freely by scores of thousands. Finally Madam Secretary Perkins is not in favor of registering aliens on the ground that it would be 'imposing a handicap upon them, and endless trouble and confusion would result.'"

"The idea, evidently, is to make it as convenient as possible for red radicals to slip in here and carry on their subversive activities. While patriots are busy trying to stem the red tide, the Administration is in a state of molten sympathy with the muchly-abused apostles of anarchy. No other inference can be drawn from the record to date."

"For example—and Congressman Dies is authority for this—the influence of the female member of President Roosevelt's Cabinet was used in House of Representatives last August to vote the O'Day resolution asking the Commissioner of Immigration to deport no aliens until March 1, 1936, thus permitting 2600 illegally-entered aliens who were already rounded up, to remain here. All this despite the fact that millions of employable Americans are jobless."

"That Congressman Dies is not alone in his assertions is borne out by the fact that William Green, president of American Federation of Labor, has expressed similar warnings of this strange situation."

Mrs. O'Day is the close friend of Mrs. Roosevelt and her business partner in the Val Kill furniture cooperative.

U. S. Affords Haven For Revolutionary Reds from Europe

The N. Y. Times 7/10/36 announced: **"100 German Refugees Arrive."**

"The United States liner Manhattan arrived from Germany and channel ports yesterday with 785 passengers, of whom 332 were in cabin class. In the tourist section there were 100 Jewish refugees from Germany, who came here under the special liberalization of the German quota to provide asylum for political exiles. Several thousand have come here in this manner in the last year, arriving as quota immigrants vouched for by friends and relatives in this country."

COMMUNISM COMES TO AMERICA

"The Scarlet Colored Beast"—Socialism-Communism

From the various European "cesspools" of Nihilism, Anarchism, embryo Socialism, and Atheism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels whipped together the dogmas for a world revolutionary war organization which would destroy all religion, all morality, all individual freedom, all right to own private property. They drew up the "blue-prints" for a Satanic system answering the description in Scriptural prophecy of that reign of the "scarlet colored beast, full of names of blasphemy . . . the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of Earth" (Rev. 17), under which no man may "buy or sell" without the "mark of the beast", until it is to be completely demolished by the army of God. The Bible clearly describes the misery of those who will "worship the beast" and "wonder after him". Unbelievable as it seems, men today wearing white, even clerical, collars are actually worshipping the foul scarlet colored beast of Communism, blasphemy, and dictatorship, while modernists, shrinking from the Bible's strict adherence to truths about mankind, prefer to eliminate all of the gory details and change the Bible into a "pacifist" bedtime story.

And who were these historic gentlemen, Marx and Engels, who are "wondered after" by all those who "worship the beast"? The dominant decorations of the 7th World Congress of the Comintern in Moscow (1935) were four huge pictures of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin with banners under them in Russian, French, German and English, proclaiming "Long live the great invincible banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin!"

Karl Marx No "Worker"—Lived on "Exploiter" Engels

Marx was a German Jew of very even disposition—he was mad all the time, not only at "capitalism" (private ownership) but at his fellow revolutionaries, with whom he carried on major knock-down-drag-out battles unsurpassed for venom and invective. He demolished any co-worker who disagreed with him over the slightest detail with a torrent of hate, being perhaps the best "hater" in history.

Marx' collaborator, Friedrich Engels, the brains of the combination in the opinion of many, lived on the "capitalistic exploitation of the working class wage slaves" who worked for him in his cotton mill, according to his own Communist dogma, and Marx ended his bellowing existence in England living on a pension provided by Engels from the same despised source. Engels left a capitalistic fortune of over 20,000 English pounds at his death.

Marx' Grandson Praises Roosevelt

Marx' grandson, Jean Longuet, French Socialist leader, declared that "socialists everywhere should approve President Roosevelt's program because it is rapidly trade-unionizing the United States" (Chicago Daily News 9-15-33; also see "The Red Network", page 69). At that time, the Socialist International, then meeting in Paris, was going on record as endorsing the revolutionary "general strike",

which would necessitate, of course, extensive Red-controlled unionization for success.

"Tussy" Marx Helps Form Red Independent Labour Party

Marx youngest daughter "Tussy", who in approved Communist manner remained a "Miss" and unmarried to her "husband" Dr. Aveling, aided Engels, George Bernard Shaw, and others in 1893 to form the left-wing socialist Independent Labour Party, of which George Lansbury, Mrs. Roosevelt's imported "peace" associate, has long been a leader.

Communist Engels Instructs Florence Kelley

Communist Engels' American apostle, friend, and the translator of some of his works was the late Florence Kelley (Wischniewetsky), who was also a friend of Lenin's. Her correspondence with Engels was collected by Socialist Sorge and placed in the New York Public Library. One of the clever instructions that Engels gave Florence Kelley on communizing America was to make it appear always that Communist principles were being inspired from within America rather than imported from abroad.

That Florence heeded this advice well is shown by her successful guidance with Jane Addams and their clique of those camouflaged Red organizations which did more to introduce Communism into colleges, settlements, clubs, churches, and respectable society than all of the thousands of exiled German and Russian Jewish immigrants who formed the nucleus of the Socialist-Communist movement in America. As each Red uprising was quelled in Europe and its instigators were exiled, America received them legally, but not socially, with open arms. See facsimile of Communist-Socialist Jane Addams "Peace" parade leaflets, p. 376.

American-born "Intellectuals" Join Radical Foreign-born Frankfurters

It remained for American-born "intellectuals" and "reformers" of the Kelley-Addams-Roosevelt type to make Marxism fashionable and to aid and back foreign-born radicals like Felix Frankfurter, who has worked ceaselessly to oppose deportation of Reds, to keep immigration barriers down for further Red influx, and to keep the way open for free-speech license for Communists through the activities of the American Civil Liberties Union, until at last the strange cabal occupy the White House.

Florence Kelley was married to a Russian, Wischniewetsky, but Communist-Socialist women, especially Party organizers, disdain to recognize the "bourgeois" private ownership of marriage implied in bearing a husband's name. "Miss" Perkins, Roosevelt's Secretary of Labor, long an official in Florence Kelley's National Consumers' League (exec. secy., 1910-12, and director, 1935, N. Y. branch), although the mother of Paul Wilson's grown daughter, follows the same custom.

Sowing Marxism Through Settlements and Societies

Florence Kelley was busy at Hull House with Jane Addams for eight years, and for twenty-five years at Henry St. Settlement, New York, now headed by radical Lillian D. Wald, Mrs. Roosevelt's close friend. Florence was the guiding spirit of the National Consumers' League (aided financially by the communist Garland Fund) and Mrs. Roosevelt served under her as vice president and is still vice president (1936), under Florence's son Nicholas Kelley, who has directed the organization since his mother's death. Even Florence's grandson, Augustus (son of Nicholas), would seem to be carrying out the teachings of Engels, for he picketed as a member of the U. of Chicago communist National Student League in the colored district, Chicago (Daily Maroon 5-10-34), and was arrested (10-16-34) in Chicago on a charge of distributing Communist literature.

Engels' apostle, Florence Kelley, was also an early president (1918-1920, and vice president 1912-1918 and 1921-23) of the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy, whose unemployed section, the Workers' Alliance (claiming a membership of 800,000), amalgamated with the Communist Party's Unemployed Councils in the auditorium of the U. S. Department of Labor in Washington, April 1936, sponsored, according to press reports, by Mrs. Roosevelt. Its student branch amalgamated with the communist National Student League in December 1935.

Florence Kelley served on the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the pro-Soviet agitational organization backed by radical whites and financed by thousands of dollars from the communist Garland Fund; Mrs. Roosevelt has been recruiting members for the N. A. A. C. P.

"Child Labor" Amendment Misnamed—Seeks Complete Child Control

With Jane Addams' Communist friend, Anna Louise Strong (until recently of Moscow), Florence Kelley drew up the National Child Labor Amendment to effect complete Federal control over all minors, which is ardently backed now, as always, by the Communist Party. "Miss" Perkins and foremost members of the Kelley-Addams clique serve on the National Child Labor Committee. The Communist Party's "Daily Worker" reported (4-2-36):

"Isadore Begun, representing the Communist Party in the open hearing of the Senate Judiciary Committee on the national child labor amendment . . ." said, "The Communist Party is wholeheartedly behind the amendment."

Many, however, who support the National Child Labor Amendment are merely opposed to "sweating" children (as all humanitarians are); and they do not realize that it provides for Federal CONTROL over children, which is what Communists are really striving for, and that this control could control their every action from birth on.

Active in Another of Mrs. Roosevelt's Pet Red Organizations

Florence Kelley was active in the National Women's Trade Union League (aided financially by the communist Garland Fund for radical

purposes). This League was mentioned in more than friendly terms in Communist documents seized in the Bridgman raid (1922), and Margaret Cowl, a principal writer and head of the women's division of the Communist Party, is urging its expansion at this time. Mrs. Roosevelt has not only been active in the League, but, according to the press, has also donated large sums of money from radio earnings to it. "Labor", edited by Edward Keating, which is stamped and placed for reading on the TVA Government library tables, says (5-12-36): "... a new chapter in Presidential hospitality was written this week when Mrs. Roosevelt had as house guests fifteen delegates to the convention of the National Women's Trade Union League. . . . Miss Rose Schneiderman, president of the League, presented Mrs. Roosevelt as a 'very active member of the Women's Trade Union League'."

Rose Schneiderman is the Russian-born Socialist who thoroughly represents the pro-Soviet Socialist-controlled Jewish garment workers' unions which celebrate the Communist May Day, such as the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, for which she organized (1914-16), before she took up the wider and more penetrating work of organizing for the radical National Women's Trade Union League, which enlists both employers and employes, and of fortifying and spreading the numerous mixed organizations which inject European cesspool Marxism into capitalistic American intellectual circles. She participated in the radical wartime "peace" societies and organized for the infamous People's Council modeled after the Russian Soviets, and served on the strike committee formed to aid the Passaic "first lesson in Revolution", on the Non-Intervention Citizens' Committee (with Mrs. Roosevelt), and on the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union national committee, the most potent of all.

Fruits of American Inoculation with Communist Poison

The poison spread by Marx and Engels in Europe reached America long ago, but had to wait for fruition here, in comparative isolation, until that intellectual American college-settlement-church-club class who are now its power and strength could be inoculated and set in motion.

Any student of the record can well understand why the Naval Intelligence Bureau of the U. S. Navy, in its report on Communist activities in the United States, 4-1-35, included this statement:

"Therefore the Robert Morss Lovetts, Roger Baldwins, Clarence Darrows, Arthur Fishers and a long string of Communist-minded intellectuals (Harry F. Wards, Jane Addamses, Frederick J. Libbys, Dorothy Detzers, Kirby Pages, Corliss Lamonts, George S. Countses, Sherwood Eddys and William Kilpatrick) that are busily engaged in spreading the philosophy of discontent destructively, not constructively, are the primary factors in the situation which loyal Americans must contend with for the preservation of American ideals, traditions, institutions and government.

"These are the 'fringe revolutionists' too lacking in intestinal fortitude to go all the way with Communism, but who stand by and

urge the Communist to do his worst, and provide him with protection, sympathy and defense, while he commits the overt act they have not had the courage to commit themselves."

Roosevelt Shows Ingratitude for Omission of Name

While the Naval authorities refrained from adding the name of their Commander-in-Chief, Roosevelt, to the subversive list, in which it rightfully belongs, it is not surprising that Roosevelt "cracked down" on the Bureau of Naval Intelligence with an order not to make "any comments on any civilian organization or its policies without his specific consent" (N. Y. Times 12/7/35), although the Bureau's most important function is to unearth subversive propaganda.

Maury Maverick, raring radical pet of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, and, unfortunately, a member of Congress from the great State of Texas, quoted this report as a basis for his demand for an investigation of the United States Navy, including "activities with organizations run by 'professional patriots'." (Congressional Record 9/10/35.)

Russian Revolutionists Sweep to These Shores

It is not strange that the "spade work" which was done by the immigrant Red revolutionary, Russian-Jewish exiles, who in 1915, over twenty years ago, had already organized 500,000 of their race in the United States, is also bearing fruit, and that this long-time agitation for radicalism in Jewish organizations should be giving rise to the unjust impression that every Jew is naturally a Communist-Socialist.

It was 300,000 of this Socialist Jewish bloc who organized support for La Follette and Wheeler in 1924 on the Socialist-Progressive ticket, which polled nearly five million votes, and it is this same bloc which is now backing Roosevelt, led by Socialists Sidney Hillman, David Dubinsky (exiled to Siberia for Russian revolutionary activities), etc., in Labor's Non-Partisan League.

All Jews Not Red—Examples of Jewish Patriots

Yet, it has been a foreign-born Jew, Matthew Woll, who as a valiant American is probably more deserving of praise than any other single individual in the United States for the long, tough fight waged under his leadership against Communist seizure of the American Federation of Labor. Also, it is a burningly-patriotic anti-Communist American Jew, Deputy District Attorney Edward W. Goodman, who as prosecutor gave the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union one of the rare trimmings of its life, when he defeated their suit demanding use of San Diego public school buildings for Red meetings, despite the utmost efforts of their cleverest attorneys and witnesses (Samuel Untermyer of New York, Harry Elmer Barnes, etc.). And it is an anti-Communist Russian-born Jew and former Soviet Commissar, Morris Gordin, who does the Red movement such damage by his truthful and fiery denunciations that he was literally spat upon by Reds after a lecture recently; he is reported to have

looked at his enemies and remarked, "Well, I am glad that I am now entering into some of the experiences of my Saviour!" (He embraced Christianity recently.)

Facts on Radicalism from "The Jewish Communal Register"

According to "The Jewish Communal Register, 1917-1918", published by the Kehillah (Jewish Community) of New York City, pages 1256-61:

"The birth of the Jewish Socialist Federation in 1912 must be recognized as the most important land mark in the history of the Jewish Socialist movement in the country. . . . The heroic fight of the Jewish Socialist Bund in Russia against the old aristocracy caused thousands of its members and followers, many of them exiles to Siberia or under rigid surveillance by the gendarmes, to flee to this country. For some years these Bundists lived, as it were, in exile in a free country. . . . For a number of years these branches, whose primary object was to collect funds for the Bund in Russia, were the most active and influential in the Jewish radical world. Their members formed the vanguard of the Workmen's Circle (Arbeiter Ring) and swelled the ranks of the Jewish trade unions. At the same time, however, most of the members remained strange and indifferent to the American Socialist movement. This anomaly became particularly striking after the great influx of political refugees which the abortive Russian revolution of 1905 had swept to these shores. It was then that a number of Bundists began to talk of forming a Jewish Socialist organization on a somewhat modified platform of the Bund. . . . The Agitation Bureau was accordingly organized for the purpose of conducting Socialist propaganda in Yiddish. . . . Besides its publications, the Federation carries on propaganda work by means of lectures and mass meetings all over the country.

"The Federation was one of the most important factors in the formation of the National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights."

Workmen's Circle

"Arbeiter Ring (Workmen's Circle)

"Officers: Pres. Abraham Epstein. Born 1875 in Russia. Secy. J. Baskin. Born Russia 1880. Established 1900. Incorporated 1905. . . . Total membership in U. S. and Canada 59,500. . . . Activities: Takes great interest in Jewish workmen. . . . **Affiliated with Socialist Party.**" (From page 871 of the New York "Jewish Communal Register" for 1917-1918. The membership is much larger now.)

The United Hebrew Trades—Already 250,000 Strong in N. Y. C., 1918

"The United Hebrew Trades is not a mere clearing house. It is both the organizing agency and the controlling center of the Jewish labor movement. . . . Organized in 1888. . . . Its thirtieth anniversary is ushered in with a record-list of affiliated unions, numbering one hundred and embracing a membership of a quarter of a million Jewish men and women in New York." (Note that this was almost twenty years ago.)

"Guskin, Reuben, Pres. United Hebrew Trades (175 East B'way.), since 1915. Born 1887 in Russia. . . . Pine, Max, Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades, was born in Russia in 1867. He came to this country in 1888 and for one year worked as a laborer. Since then he has been one of the most active agitators for trade unionism and Socialism. . . . In 1914 he was elected a **delegate from the United Hebrew Trades to the International Socialist Congress** which was to be held in Vienna, but did not take place owing to the outbreak of the war. Mr. Pine is one of the most popular Jewish labor leaders in this country." (New York "Jewish Communal Register" for 1917-1918, pages 1277-9.)

The National Workmen's Committee

"The National Workmen's Committee was organized in the early part of 1915, by representatives of the **four leading radical organizations, viz.: The Workmen's Circle, the United Hebrew Trades, the Jewish Socialist Federation of America, and the Forward Association.**" (Note: The editor since 1897 of the socialist Jewish Daily Forward, published by the Forward Association, Russian-born Abraham Cahan, who participated in the Russian revolutionary movement and came here in 1882 to escape from "political persecution", praises Roosevelt highly as a Socialist.)

1915 Convention Representing 500,000 Jewish Radicals

"The first convention of the National Workmen's Committee was held in New York City on the 4th, 5th and 6th of September, 1915. Several hundred organizations from various parts of the country, representing a total membership of **half a million Jewish workmen**, participated. . . . The convention was epoch-making in the Jewish labor movement. It was the first time that **representatives of all radical wings** convened for one purpose. . . . The executive committee consists of A. Baroff" (Socialist; born Russia; official of International Ladies Garment Workers' Union since 1915; treas. Pioneer Youth of America; treas. N. Y. City campaign La Follette-Wheeler Progressive Party 1924; Workmen's Circle.—From American Labor Who's Who), "M. Olgin" (head of the Jewish section of the Communist Party U.S.A. and author of "Why Communism?"), "Jacob Panken" (Socialist; appointed Judge by Mayor LaGuardia), "J. Schlossberg" (also a LaGuardia appointee; official of Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Workmen's Circle; Conference for Progressive Political Action; Mrs. Roosevelt's "Non-Intervention Citizens' Committee"; born Russia), "Max Pine" (Russian-born Socialist), "B. Vladeck" (Russian-born Socialist; mgr. Jewish Daily Forward; Workmen's Circle; Pioneer Youth of America; Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Socialist Alderman, N. Y. City, 1918-21; A.C.L.U.; L.I.D.; Conf. Prog. Pol. Action; Mrs. Roosevelt's "Non-Intervention Citizens' Committee"; etc.), "Isadore Cohen, M. Gillis, J. Halpern, Dr. J. Halpern, A. Held, B. Hoffman, E. H. Jeshurin, H. Lang, M. Lulow, Frank F. Rosenblatt, J. B. Salutsky, L. Schaffer, S. Valitsky, M. Winchevsky", some of whom are still active in the radical move-

ment. (Above quotations from pages 1447-54 of the New York "Jewish Communal Register" for 1917-1918.)

Are "Anti-Communist" and "Anti-Jewish" Necessarily Synonymous?

The radical's custom of calling every anti-Communist "Anti-Jewish" is not only unjustly inaccurate but unfortunate for non-radical Jews, since it gives rise to popular wonderment and the queries, "Must one be anti-Semitic if one is anti-Communist? Why do the Reds think one must?" By linking Communism and all Jewry together, radicals further the professional anti-Semitic argument that Communism and the Jews are inseparable, because Jews who are not themselves Communists, will surely hold racial ties first and will cleave in racial solidarity to the radical element in Jewry in a time of emergency. I, myself, do not believe this.

The truth is that radical Jewish leaders like Rabbi Stephen S. Wise utilize the rise of anti-Semitism to gather the Jews together under their scarlet leadership, thus actually giving further impetus to anti-Semitism. The American Jewish Committee has wisely seen this and has declined to participate in the World Jewish Congress in Geneva, Aug., 1936, called by Rabbi Wise.

Committees against anti-Semitism with communistic Gentile officers like James M. Yard only furnish further fuel for anti-Semitism.

The sincere friend of the Jews is equally foolish to attempt to stem anti-Semitism by falsely asserting that Marxism has not the deep and widespread roots in Jewry that it has, instead of awakening the majority of non-radical Jews to disavow and oppose it and separate themselves from it.

An Open Offer to B'nai Brith

Long ago, my husband offered my services to B'nai Brith, free of charge, to lecture against Communism before any Jewish audience. Because my offer was turned over by the Secretary to Rabbi Shulman, who runs the Red forum in Glencoe, Ill. where Communist Strachey was arrested, naturally, it was never acted upon; but this fact has not discouraged me from button-holing every non-radical Jew I meet and begging him to start a Jewish anti-Communist movement.

Jewish Minority Radicals Very Vocal, Harming Whole Race

Out of a Marxian Communist-Socialist movement in the United States roughly estimated by Party leaders at around a million and a quarter members in affiliated or actively aiding groups, the long established Jewish Socialist unions, such as the International Ladies Garment Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Furriers, etc., the socialist Poale Zion with its communist Left, the Socialist Jewish Forward Association, the Socialist Jewish Workmen's Circle, the Socialist-controlled Zionist movement, etc., have, conservatively speaking, over a half million Jews organized under Marxian influence

and ideology. At most, out of four million Jews in America, this is a minority, but a vocal one.

The Congressional committee commissioned in 1930 to investigate Communist activities in the United States, headed by Hamilton Fish, barred all testimony concerning the interlocking and more widespread Socialist organizations, but, in House Report 2290, they stated:

What Hamilton Fish Reported Then About Jewish Communism

"A large percentage of all the known Communist district organizers are of Jewish origin" (page 14).

"Composition of communist membership of foreign origin in the United States, estimated from foreign-language press and evidence submitted before the committee, on membership strength and not on percentage, is as follows: Jews, Russians (Slavs)", etc. (page 17).

"The communist press has paid circulation of approximately 350,000 in the United States, exclusive of hundreds of shop papers and local publications" (page 17). (This is increased now.)

"The largest daily communist newspaper is the Morning Freiheit, published in Yiddish in New York City" (page 20).

Below this statement, in a table giving the sworn circulation of 12 Communist Party daily newspapers, all except one printed in foreign languages, the Morning Freiheit headed the list with a sworn circulation of 64,067, followed by the Daily Worker (in English) with 35,308.

Thus the Morning Freiheit, alone, catering solely to Communist Yiddish-speaking Jews, claimed then about one-fifth of the paid circulation of the entire Communist press.

When a well-meaning Christian writer attempted to combat anti-Semitism by stating that the Jews play a negligible role in the Communist Party, he supported this with the worst possible argument that the Jewish Federation of the Communist Party has but 15,000 members, since, if this is correct, it means that of the 40,000 members admitted by the Party in 1936 over one-third are Jewish.

But, as Francis Ralston Welsh has said, even if most of the Communists are Jews, it does not follow that most of the Jews are Communists.

Duty of Patriotic Non-Radical Jews to Offset

What of the great numbers of non-radical American Jews who have broken with the traditions, radicalism, and loyalties of European ghettos, who dislike Communism-Socialism and who really love the American system and wish to preserve it? They are between the Devil and the deep sea. Hounded continually by the Jewish Press and Jewish radicals to join in racial unity with the Jewish Reds to fight anti-Semitic cruelties to innocent non-radical Jews, their sympathies and fears are played upon not only by realities but by radicals who utilize the cry of anti-Semitism to bring to heel (and destruction) the entire race.

Reaction to Bela Kun Terrorism in Hungary

They are not told that because non-radical Jews were apathetic or kept silent through false loyalty while Bela Kun (Cohen) with his Jewish Reds carried on a Soviet reign of terror in Hungary, when the whites regained power all Jews looked alike to them and many innocent Jews were killed as Reds on sight.

They are not told that after the war too few Jewish voices were raised in Germany against the influx of radical Jews from the east, who joined in making Germany the world headquarters of the Comintern outside of Russia. The Atheist International, the Inprecorr, and similar headquarters have now moved from Germany to France and England.

It was no accident that German fascist opposition to Communism became anti-Semitic, whereas Italian fascist opposition did not. The Reds in Italy, unlike Germany, were not predominantly Jewish.

"Mr. Levy Takes Communion"

The greatest danger to the Jews is the sort of argument used by Al Segal in his "Plain Talk" column in the Jewish Sentinel (7/9/36). Under the title "Mr. Levy Takes Communion", he attempts to show that the Jew who embraces Christianity is always racially an outsider in Gentile circles, no matter what he does; that "reproachful eyes" seem to ask: "What is he doing here? He is a Jew." He states that he is not fond of Communism and concludes as follows: "but I may not shut my eyes to a well-known fact: In Russia, where there is no economic competition, the Jew is a free, safe and accepted man. He is no competitor and there is no fear of him. Anti-Semitism (which seldom occurs) is punished as a social crime.

"Poor Mr. Levy! He is in the grip of forces from which not even the blood of Jesus redeems him."

To this I would say that the rewards of Christianity are not social and material but spiritual. The spiritual body of Christ includes all races. Christ came first to the Jews as the Messiah.

"Prophecy"—Has Been, and Is Being, Fulfilled

Biblically speaking, the Jewish race is now indeed "in the grip of forces" we cannot understand, undergoing a buffeting foretold in this era of Prophecy, of which much has been already fulfilled with uncanny precision. Those who cleave to God are promised every spiritual blessing now and the faithful Jews, as a race, are to be reconciled again with God after the defeat of the Red Beast's regime. But those of all races who worship the Red Beast are warned of misery and destruction.

The growth of anti-Semitism, in my opinion, can be blocked in proportion to the force and volume of Jewish voices raised against Communism-Socialism.

In cleavage to Communist Russia, because of its avowed friendship for the Jews, would lie Jewish racial as well as moral suicide.

When God is discarded, as Marxism discards Him, mercy is discarded also. Although radical Jews claim that they were the decisive

factor in achieving the Russian revolution, yet Trotsky himself has been exiled, and I know of a number of Jewish families in Russia who are suffering bitterly from oppression.

Jewish "Call of Youth" Disagrees with Segal

All Jewish authorities do not agree with Al Segal that the Jew in Russia is a free man or that anti-Semitism there is a thing of the past. To quote the "Call of Youth", organ of the youth branch of the Jewish Socialist Workmen's Circle (March, 1936):

"A great percentage of young Jews in the Soviet are officials, and are thus arousing the envy of other groups of the Russian population who still remember the 'rightless' status of Jews in the former regime. Besides, the predominant part of Russian Jewry is crowded in cities, which fact might possibly help to breed the anti-Semitic virus that is liable to become dangerous in the future."

Roosevelt Fosters Anti-Semitism

Patriotic, anti-Communist Jews resent the obsequious flattery of Roosevelt to the Jews, as such, while he appoints so many young radical Jews to key positions that the casual business man man-handled by them in Government offices leaves Washington sarcastically deriding the Roosevelt regime as a "Jew Deal", and his resentment is not cooled by the common knowledge of the control exercised over Roosevelt by Felix Frankfurter, Justice Brandeis, and others who have for years led the Jewish radical movement.

Mr. James P. Warburg, originally a Roosevelt supporter, in his books "Hell Bent for Election" and "Still Hell Bent", has expressed a resentment against Roosevelt's radicalism which is shared by a large number of thoughtful Jews.

ROOSEVELT'S RED ARTS PROJECT

Communist Theatre Movement

To the United States from the Soviet Government "Glavlit—Printshop No. 7, Filippovsky Pereuk 13, Moscow", comes, regularly, the magazine of the "International Union of the Revolutionary Theatre", called "The International Theatre". As given in the magazine, the editorial board comprises not only the Soviets on the job in Moscow who edit it there at Petrovka 10, but also the representatives in Germany, France, England, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Japan, China, and the United States of the Communist-affiliated dramatic organizations aiding the agitation of world revolution by the giving of revolutionary Communist plays. The American representative and editorial board member is Ben Blake (now in Moscow).

The American section of the Communist "International Union of the Revolutionary Theatre" is called the "New Theatre League" and claims to have over 300 groups in the United States giving "Peace" and "Class Struggle" dramas. They express the anticipation that many more Y.W.C.A., Y.M.C.A., and church groups being "radical-

ized" at this time will swell this number. These groups are, so the League claims, "hungry" for radical-pacifist "Peace" plays in which the Marxian "class struggle" is brought out. Of course, these agitational plays need not mention the word "Communist" to be effective.

Ben Blake has given a very clear history of the Communist theatre movement in his booklet, "Awakening the American Theatre" (price 25c at Communist book stores or from Tomorrow Publishers, 303 Fourth Ave., New York City).

"New Theatre"

The communist New Theatre League in the United States publish, as their own organ, the magazine "New Theatre". The editorial board as printed in 1934 issues includes Heinrich Diamant, the editor-in-chief of the parent organ in Moscow, "The International Theatre", Erwin Piscator of Germany, Seki Sano of Japan, and Leon Moussinac of France, who are also on the board of the Moscow publication, and **Hallie Flanagan, Roosevelt's head of the Theatrical Division of the W.P.A. Arts Project.** This should be a matter of interest to those patriotic American taxpayers who are supplying the \$27,000,000 initial fund which Roosevelt has granted Hallie and her comrades to expend. Hallie is also on the board of the State University of Moscow summer school for training American students in Communism in Russia during the vacation months.

Among Hallie Flanagan's fellow contributing editors of the Communist "New Theatre" magazine are some of the best known American, as well as foreign, Communists. The full list taken from the March 1934 issue of "New Theatre" is: Ben Blake, editor; contributing editors: **Emjo Basshe, Michael Blankfort, Anita Block, Samuel Brody, Nathaniel Buchwald, John R. Chaplin, Hallie Flanagan, Joseph Freeman, Virgil Geddes, Michael Gold, Mordecai Gorelik, Stephen Karnot, Alfred Kreymborg, John Howard Lawson, Paul and Claire Sifton, Lee Strasberg, Erwin Piscator, John E. Bonn, Meyer Levin, Paul Peters, Langston Hughes, Gustav Wangerheim, Friedrich Wolf, Jay Leyda, Romain Rolland, Vsevolod Meyerhold, Alexei Popov, Sergei Tretyakov, Heinrich Diamant, James Shelley Hamilton, Harry Elton, Anne Howe, Alfred Saxe, Leon Moussinac, Seki Sano, Alice Evans, Dorothy Mitchell, Lester Glass, Louis Lozowick, Benno Schneider, and Sidney Howard.**

Hallie's Fellow Editors Also Government Employees

Those of Hallie's fellow editors whose names appear in bold-faced type above are also known as part of the Roosevelt Administration. Virgil Geddes is directing the "Experimental Theatre" group of the W.P.A. Theatrical Project, Stephen Karnot, the New York City municipal theatre project, John E. Bonn the "German Group", and Alfred Kreymborg (author of the filthy revolutionary poem "America", given at Communist affairs—one would blush to quote from it) the "Poetic Theatre" group. Meyer Levin is connected with the Chicago branch of the Federal Theatre Project. The press reported that Democratic Mayor Kelly, probably with an eye to Party victory, had

ordered one of Levin's plays, "Forty-nine Dogs in a Meat House", eliminated, and it was admitted that it contained bad language. Levin also received orders to stop rehearsals of "Model Tenement", which, along the favorite Red line, "deals with an abortive resistance to an eviction in the course of which one of the tenants is killed" (Chicago Daily News, 2/11/36).

According to "New Theatre" for March, 1936, under Kreymborg's direction, a W.P.A. production is being rehearsed that "excepting for a select Vassar" (where Hallie Flanagan has been teaching English and conducting an "Experimental Theatre" along the same line) "audience which requested a repeat performance . . . has not yet been seen in this country".

Hallie Flanagan's Communist Play

To quote from the Moscow publication "International Theatre" (No. 1, 1934, page 52): "Whittaker Chambers' story 'Can You Hear Their Voices?' appeared in the" (Communist) "New Masses. This is also a story of life on the farms of the American mid-west. This story not only had a deep effect on American revolutionary literature, it also affected American revolutionary dramaturgy. Within two months of its publication Hallie Flanagan and Margaret Clifford, instructors of the theatre at Vassar College, put it into a play on the same title."

On page 20 of the same Moscow publication, a report of the plays given by the Los Angeles communist Rebel Players includes "Can You Hear Their Voices?" by Hallie Flanagan (a full length play), along with the blasphemous, cursing play "Mr. God Is Not In", given for the American Civil Liberties Union in Los Angeles, "Scottsboro Limited" by Langston Hughes (the Negro atheist-Communist, author of the blasphemous poem "Good Bye, Christ", reproduced on page 224 of "The Red Network"), Communist plays by Michael Gold (of the communist Daily Worker), plays by Upton Sinclair (of the Moscow "International Union of Revolutionary Writers"), etc.

Ben Blake, representative on the Moscow board of the Communist American theatre movement, in his "Awakening the American Theatre", says (page 31): "Up at the Vassar Experimental Theatre the intrepid Hallie Flanagan and one of her advanced students, Margaret Clifford, wrote and staged 'Can You Hear Their Voices?', which told with hard and bitter realism the tale of the impoverished and drought-stricken farmers, hunger-driven to militant action to secure relief from starvation. Their leader finally sends his sons to a **Communist workers' school** to learn the basic causes of their misery and how to overcome them. . . . 'Can You Hear Their Voices?' created a sensation in the American little theatre. . . . Like an American forerunner in another field, it was a 'shot heard 'round the world'. It has been staged in at least a dozen languages in scores of cities and many lands."

A Soviet theatrical performance was given in Moscow in honor of Hallie Flanagan and her work for the revolutionary theatre. And

Roosevelt chooses Hallie Flanagan to spend many millions of American taxpayers' money!

Reds Fall Out—Elmer Rice and Jacob Baker

In January 1936, Elmer Rice, leading Red playwright and New York Regional Director of the W.P.A. Theatrical Project under National Director Hallie Flanagan, resigned in a huff, claiming that political considerations were being allowed to interfere with his giving the revolutionary plays about sharecroppers, etc., which he wished to give, but which Jacob Baker, W.P.A. National Assistant Administrator under Harry Hopkins, thought he should "soft pedal" (before election, when Southern votes will be needed to reelect the White House patron of the Red Arts). This "censorship" was prompted by sound judgment, not conservatism, for Jacob Baker is none other than the vice president of the red Vanguard Press in New York City, set up with \$135,000 by the communist Garland Fund as the Fund's own agency for publishing "class struggle" literature. The Vanguard Press is, in fact, the only agency actually founded by the Fund. In the other cases, organizations already in the field doing radical work were financed for special jobs or to keep them going. Elmer Rice is a revolutionary playwright and is on the board of directors of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union. He was a speaker at the election campaign dinner for Wm. Z. Foster and Negro James W. Ford, the Communist Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates in 1932. Etc., etc. (See "The Red Network".)

"Waiting for Lefty" and Censorship

As "Waiting for Lefty", one of the communist New Theatre League revolutionary plays, was so filled with obscenity and blasphemous cursing, characteristic of Communist productions, that it had considerable trouble with the police, so, to quote "Awakening the American Theatre" on the subject of the New Theatre League (page 56): "Out of the struggle to prevent the suppression of 'Waiting for Lefty' was born the National Committee Against Censorship of the Theatre Arts which included Brooks Atkinson, **Joseph Wood Krutch**, John Howard Lawson, **Elmer Rice**, Albert Maltz, John Mason Brown and others. . . . A National Advisory Board was formed to help guide the League's work. Walter Pritchard Eaton of the Yale School of Drama, Barrett H. Clark, and others who had joined the censorship committee accepted invitations to serve on the Board, as did Clifford Odets, **Virgil Geddes**, Langston Hughes, Lee Strasberg, Conrad Seiler, **Michael Gold**, Rose McClendon, Mordecai Gorelik, **H. W. L. Dana**, Paul Robeson, Benno Schneider, Paul Peters, and others. . . . New Theatre, official organ of the League, exerts great influence over the course of the theatre. By September, 1935, its circulation had mounted to 18,000. . . . The League also publishes new social plays at low prices, maintains a Social Drama Book Service, conducts training schools in New York and other large cities, supplies member groups with useful organizational bulletins,

sponsors interesting new productions . . . serves as a centre for uniting ever increasing sections of the American theatre against . . . war, fascism and censorship. The League cooperates actively with the" (Communist) "New Dance League and the New Film Alliance . . . accomplished through joint participation in the issuing of New Theatre and through a Joint Bureau . . ." etc.

Joseph Wood Krutch, Virgil Geddes, Michael Gold, H. W. L. Dana and Elmer Rice are all among Roosevelt appointees.

Rice's Successor Carries On

"New Theatre" for March, 1936, contains an article on the Federal Theatre Project in which regret is expressed, of course, that Elmer Rice's "Living Newspaper—Ethiopia" was censored (by Jacob Baker), but says, "Philip Barber, the new regional director, is pushing through the original program." Barber had been Rice's assistant. He is a member of the **national executive board** of the communist New Theatre League.

It says: "In terms of accomplishment, the Negro Theatre up to now has outdistanced the other projects." Excuse is made for the delay in getting the many groups into the field for propaganda action but it ends with the hope that a permanent Federal Theatre will be the result. To quote: "With intelligent cooperation who can predict what the future production schedule of the Federal Theatre may be? The men, the materials and the money exist. They depend for permanence upon a continuation of **the enlightened attitude which created the Federal Theatre . . . must depend for aid received from sources outside the Federal Theatre—from those in the government responsible for the continuance of its two sources of life: Money and Freedom.**"

So, the conclusion would be, if we keep Roosevelt in power, the Communist theatre movement created by his Administration and directed by Moscow and its henchmen may go on to greater revolutionary accomplishments.

Red Theatricals at University of Chicago

The same issue describes the "full length revue 'If This Be Reason'" given by the communist New Theatre League affiliate, the Chicago Repertory Group, at the University of Chicago (of which Roosevelt-appointee Hutchins is president) in International House (donated by "sap" John D. Rockefeller, Jr.), which was attended by 600 professors and students, who applauded the various scenes described.

One scene, called "The Boys in the Back Room", was, to quote, "adapted from a New Masses sketch" presenting "the gangsters Spider Morgan, Killer Dupont, and their mob planning a war with their brains-guy Stinker Zahara, interrupted by two Senators who threaten them with laws to take the profits out of war. The mob rallies for a march on Washington: 'If they can take over our racket, then we'll take over theirs.' This was the sharpest piece in the act . . ."

Evidently, a nice revolutionary "Peace" act, with due recognition for Senator Nye's efforts.

To again quote: "The third act 'Parasites' showed 'The Patriot', an impersonation of a demagogue." (There is nothing to a Red like a good sneer at the "Patriots" who oppose Communists.) Other acts were similar.

Two-day Conference on Soviet Children's Theatre

Another announcement of interest, on page 30 of the same issue of "New Theatre", is: "The Soviet children's theatre was the subject of a two-day conference conducted by the **American Russian Institute** at the American People's School in New York City on February 8th and 9th. . . . Representatives of such varied organizations as the New York Public Library, the **New York Housing Authority**, Teachers' College, the **W.P.A. Theatre Project**, a children's home in Philadelphia, the Soviet private school in Brooklyn, the **Theatre Collective**, and the National Music League, attended the conference."

The communist American Russian Institute (formerly called the American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia) is the American Communist propaganda organization set up by V.O.K.S. (Bureau of Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries) of Russia. The Theatre Collective is a New York affiliate of the communist New Theatre League. We observe the cooperation of the representatives of two U. S. Government agencies, the W.P.A. and the Housing Authority, with such associates. Yet Roosevelt took no angry action, meted out no punishment, such as the patriotic ladies meeting in Washington received from him, when he deliberately sabotaged their program at the last moment.

Red Theatricals Via Radio

"Private Hicks", described in the same issue (page 30) as one of the most popular Red dramas and as having been first published in the communist "New Theatre" magazine, was reported to have been broadcast over the Eugene V. Debs Radio Station (WEVD), January 26th. "The broadcast was one of a Sunday evening eight o'clock series presented by Theatre Union" (Communist) "players. Aaron Stein, radio critic for the New York Post" ("owned" by Roosevelt's friend, "Dear Dave" Stern) "in commenting on the broadcast remarked: 'It is an exciting play. . . . The crisis in the life of a National Guardsman whose reaction is human rather than military when he is ordered to shoot down strikers was presented with tragic impact. . . . This series cannot be recommended too strongly to any listener who might care to hear . . . playwrighting that is more concerned with having something to say than with being safely inoffensive.'"

This depicts a favorite Communist situation, wherein the soldiers refuse to fight for their Government but turn their guns against their own officers and side with the "workers" and the Red revolution, as they did in the Russian revolution. Thus is treason glorified!

Mrs. Roosevelt's own support of the Debs Radio Station is also of interest in this connection.

Treason in Our Military Forces Encouraged

I myself attended the Congress of the Communist "American League Against War and Fascism" (1934), held in the Chicago Coliseum, which was decorated with Red flags and Communist pennants of the various Party units and organizations, where Earl Browder, national secretary of the Communist Party of the U. S. and vice chairman of the League, was given a thunderous standing ovation and the Communist "Internationale" was sung, with clenched fists raised, in his honor, when he rose to speak. But let the Communist magazine "New Theatre" for November, 1934, describe in part the seditious proceedings of the Congress:

"A pause comes after the singing, and then Harry Ward" (who pretends to be a "Methodist"), "National Chairman of the League Against War and Fascism, makes a quiet announcement:

"We will have a demonstration of solidarity from the ranks of the armed forces of the United States. I will ask the audience to be quiet and cooperate in getting through this as quickly as possible, so there will be no disastrous results."

"Quickly the lights are dimmed, the microphone and speakers' table are moved back. The wide auditorium is hushed. Three thousand three hundred delegates, representing two million workers and farmers, lean forward in their seats. Another pause.

"On the stage comes a young man in khaki uniform, the upper half of his face masked. 'In the name of four divisions of the National Guard of the United States, I bring greetings to the Second U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism.' There is youth in his vigorous walk, the strong carriage of his head, the intensity of his voice. Youth and unbounded courage. 'We are organizing Anti-Strike-Duty groups within the National Guard, and we pledge ourselves to carry out the decisions of this Congress.'

National Guard and Regular Army Communist Penetrated

"As the National Guardsman walks quickly off the stage, another young man in khaki, similarly masked, takes his place. A deeper voice this time, less tremolo, more power, more grim certainty: 'As a first lieutenant in the United States Army, I bring greetings not only from myself, but from six score soldiers in Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois. Our presence at this Congress is our answer to the bosses, who try to use the army to defend their profits against the rising upsurge of the masses of American people. More and more soldiers stand ready to fight with the working class; pledging themselves to turn imperialist war into war against the bosses. Long live the revolutionary struggle against war! Hail the workers', farmers', and Soldiers' government of the United States!'

"When it is over, and we are back in our seats, beginning to catch breath, there is a glow on every face. For a minute we have touched the flesh and smelled the blood of this living thing about which we

have been speaking for two days of congress—the fight against war and fascism. For a minute we have been close to the core of this fight, have known its daring and its strength. A taste we have had—a fleeting foretaste—of the Revolution. This single dramatic incident of two young men in khaki, blindfolded to prevent detection, voicing proletarian solidarity, has crystallized for five thousand people the meaning of the Congress Against War and Fascism.” (Emphasis in above added.) “There was never a more smashing proof of the efficiency of dramatic method in winning masses of people to acceptance of an idea and participation in a struggle.” (Emphasis in original.)

Bear in mind that in this very same issue appear the name of Hallie Flanagan, Roosevelt’s appointee, as contributing editor, and also the names of other W.P.A. theatrical directors. The report is by Alice Evans, as delegate from the communist New Theatre League (then called the League of Workers’ Theatres).

War Veterans Call Theatre Project Communistic

According to the press (Chicago Examiner 3/21/36), patriotic American World War veterans numbered among 5,200 persons engaged on the Theatre Project have filed protests in vain with Harry Hopkins, National Administrator of W.P.A., and carried their protest to Congress, concerning the communistic character of the Theatre Project. “They insist it is useless to appeal to Mrs. Hallie Flanagan, federal director in charge of all theatre projects . . . and in an affidavit obtained by the veterans Mrs. Flanagan is quoted as saying: ‘I am not interested in the American theatre or American methods. These projects will be patterned after the Russian theatre.’”

“In the charges made to Hopkins and repeated to Congressmen, the veterans assert: ‘1. At least 500 members of the Communist Party are enrolled in the municipal theatre units. 2. A pretense of rehearsing is maintained for weeks, and then the play is abandoned with announcement it was found unavailable, the subterfuge permitting the Red sympathizers to draw \$103 a month from the Government at least half of which is turned over to the Communist Party of America.’”

Theatre Project Leaders Recruited from Communist Ranks

Since Roosevelt’s recruiting field for leadership of his powerful Federal Theatre Project, now reaching (July, 1936) 500,000 persons weekly with its Communist plays, seems to be the communist New Theatre League, Moscow’s American branch of the International Union of the Revolutionary Theatre, the personnel of the New Theatre League directing board is of interest:

New Theatre League, 55 W. 45th Street, New York City (from 1936 letterhead):

National Executive Board: Anita Block, Philip Barber, John Bonn, Ben Blake, Victor Cutler, Harry Elion, Alice Evans, Ben Golden, Anne Howe, Ben Irwin, Herbert Kline, Tony Kraber, John Howard Lawson, Will Lee, Mark Marvin, Albert Maltz, Liston Oak,

Robert Riley, George Redfield, **Augustus Smith**, Molly Day Thacher. National Advisory Council: Stanley Burnshaw, Albert Bein, J. O. Bailey, Loretto Bailey, N. Buchwald, **M. Blankfort**, Barret H. Clark, Cheryl Crawford, **H. W. L. Dana**, Walter Pritchard Eaton, Randolph Edmunds, Joseph Freeman, **Virgil Geddes**, **Michael Gold**, Mordecai Gorelik, A. T. Hoban, Langston Hughes, Elia Kazan, **Alfred Kreymborg**, Melvin P. Levy, William E. Leonard, Rose McClendon, Samuel Ornitz, Clifford Odets, Paul Peters, Paul Robeson, Conrad Seiler, Benno Schneider, **George Sklar**, Lee Strasberg, **P. & C. Sifton**, Philip Stevenson, Leigh Whipper. (Emphasized names have known connection with Roosevelt administration. It would not be surprising if all of them have.)

Other Divisions of Red Arts Project

Under radical Jacob Baker, Assistant National Administrator of W.P.A., Roosevelt's W.P.A. Red "Arts Project" has, besides its Theatrical Division headed by Hallie Flanagan, a Music Division headed by Nikolai Sokoloff (born near Kieff, South Russia), who evidently favors a "planned economy", since at the Hotel St. Regis he said: "There are too many musicians now. We must stop turning out more musicians." ("The Awakener" 11/1/35.)

The Creative Arts Division is headed by Holger Cahill, who, according to "The Awakener" (9/1/35), is a former adherent of the I.W.W., a familiar figure in Communist high-brow circles, and author of articles for various Communist magazines.

"Mother Love in the Tropics"

In describing the Public Works Art Project, which had just held an exhibit in Washington, as "one of Eleanor Blue's favorite hobbies", the patriotic "Awakener" (12/15/34) said: "True, it is out of the relief class because the artists, so-called, were paid \$42.50 per week. In all, almost a million and a half dollars were spent and some fifteen thousand pictures were acquired at a cost of about \$93.80 apiece. We believe in giving the artists a break and, next to bum citizenship, we like nothing better than terrible art. An official in telling us all about the project said: 'They will be hung in all the fine public buildings of the country.' The artists or the pictures?"

"An actual description of one of the sort of canvases in Mrs. Roosevelt's Federal Art Project is culled from the SUNDIAL:

"'A raging sea with a set of false teeth (uppers) being tossed about by a mermaid in a wing collar and a giraffe in short pants, a sky of light blue across which a flock of ducks, a nail file and a bundle of old newspapers are in full flight.'

"The title of this accurately described monstrosity is 'Mother Love in the Tropics'."

Another Leading Red Heads Writers' Project

The Writers' Project is directed by Henry G. Alsberg: a former editor of the revolutionary Socialist weekly "The Nation"; a director, in 1922, of the American Joint Distribution Committee for Emergency

Relief in Russia; a speaker at Anarchist Emma Goldman's meeting in New York City, February 6, 1934 (Anarchist "Freedom", Feb., 1934); a delegate to the communist World Congress Against War in Amsterdam, 1932; member of the International Committee for Political Prisoners (Red revolutionaries), supported by the communist Garland Fund; for a year and a half, supervisor of reports and bulletins for Roosevelt's F.E.R.A. (N. Y. Times, 7/27/35.)

Choice Reds Working Under Alsberg

Under Alsberg is as choice a staff of Reds as one could find. One of them is Orrick Johns of the Communist magazine "New Masses", who taught at a Communist Party school and served on the Communist Party campaign committee in 1932 (See "The Red Network"). The New York Times (4/19/36) states that 254 W.P.A. employees are engaged in work on the forthcoming "New York City Guide Book" under the direction of Orrick Johns, director of the Federal Writers' Projects in New York City, to serve as a section, when later condensed, for New York City, of a five-volume American Guide which will include guides to each of the forty-eight States.

According to the Washington Herald (2/17/36), the supervision of this American guide is in keeping with the rest of the department. To quote: "The amazing news comes from Washington that Katherine Kellock, wife of the publicity director of the **Soviet Embassy**, has been named **Field Supervisor of 4,600 relief workers** who are preparing an 'American Baedeker' for the W.P.A. at the enormous cost of \$1,500,000.

"This five-volume work, over which those associated with Red Ambassador Troyanovsky will have full authority, will set forth in detail the agricultural and industrial resources of every State in the Union, with maps of railways and highways.

"To put such an undertaking into the hands of a woman whose husband, because of his position, must necessarily be **Pro-Russian and Pro-Communist** is nothing short of an insult to the American people.

"The fact that Reed Harris, assistant project administrator, is compelled to assure the nation that Mrs. Kellock and her Red co-workers will be kept away from Army reservations, Navy yards, military airports and coast fortifications, is **proof-positive** that this 'American Baedeker' is in the **wrong hands**."

Reed Harris Also a Radical

One might add that the fact that Reed Harris is "assistant project administrator" and in a position to assure the public should alarm it instead, since his own militant Red activities resulted in his being ousted from even radical Columbia U., whereupon the Reds staged a riotous demonstration and the Communist-aiding A.C.L.U. threatened legal action, to force his reinstatement, which followed. After that, Harris withdrew voluntarily. He was the hero of the communist National Student League.

Other Red Alsberg Aides

Leonard D. Abbott, a field supervisor under Alsberg, is called the "outstanding Anarchist in the United States since Emma Goldman's departure". (See also "The Red Network".) Another field supervisor known in Communist circles is George W. Cronyn; another of Alsberg's staff is Floyd Dell, vice president of the communist American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia, who was indicted with other editors of the old revolutionary "Masses" in 1918 (see "The Red Network" for his long communistic record).

Anti-Communist Dismissed from Alsberg's Staff

One is not surprised to learn that anti-Communist Samuel Duff McCoy was dismissed from the Federal Writers' Project and wired W.P.A. Administrator Hopkins in Washington in vain demanding a public hearing on the grounds his dismissal "was based solely upon my opposition to the Communistic efforts to gain control of the project", that Hopkins replied that Alsberg had full jurisdiction, and that Orrick Johns, charged by McCoy with being an avowed Communist, in an interview said: "I saw Mr. Alsberg this morning. We have received definite instructions to refuse to discuss the project in any way. The only person who can talk about it is Wm. Nunn, consultant on Project No. 1." (N. Y. American 2/14/36.)

Wm. Nunn, of the Prisoners' Relief Fund of the communist International Labor Defense, contributor to the communist Federated Press Clip Sheet Service, and member of the national board of directors of the A.C.L.U., might be depended upon to "talk" in a satisfactory manner.

Major Transferred from W.P.A. for Being Patriotic

Nor is one surprised that Major Wm. L. Ball, finance officer of the W.P.A. Theatre Project, was "forced to resign the presidency of the Federal Theatre Veterans League, the anti-communist organization which has been protesting to Washington the use of relief funds for the presentation of 'Red' propaganda. . . . His fears" (concerning dismissal) "seemed to have materialized on Saturday when he received notice he was to be transferred from the theatre project to the highway department as an accountant."

"Members of the Veterans league which has aroused considerable criticism of the theatre project by its protests over the appearance of a character representing Earl Browder, American Communist Party secretary, on the stage in the production 'Triple A Plowed Under', condemning the Supreme Court, and for the proposed production of the 'Class of '29', a play with emphasis on communism, charge that officials of the project, who have defended these plays, would like to see their organization made impotent." (Chicago Tribune, 3/24/36.)

More About Hallie Flanagan's Red Theatricals

Hallie Flanagan, in her letter on her Federal Theatre Project addressed to the editor of the Communist magazine "New Theatre",

published in its November 1935 issue, says: "The CCC camp project is itself so vast in nature that one wishes for six years instead of six months to do it justice. Although some travelling companies will still provide entertainment for camps, the Federal project stresses a resident theatre director for each camp, such a director to plan amateur nights in which the camp members themselves write and perform plays. At present, 35 of the 200 camps in New York, New Jersey and Delaware have such directors, and the requests have come to extend this activity to 2000 CCC camps throughout the United States."

Federal Funds to Finance More Communist Plays

"The Awakener" (11/1/35) said: "An announcement from Miss Flanagan's office indicates that Federal funds will be used to sponsor hitherto unproduced plays of John Howard Lawson, George Sklar, Virgil Geddes, Claire and Paul Sifton and Albert Maltz. All of these authors are open Communists. Mr. Geddes has been appointed to supervise a group of plays which will be produced with Federal moneys in cooperation with the extreme left New School for Social Research." (Of which Mrs. Roosevelt was a board member in 1931.) "One plan of the Flanagan program is to produce plays, presumably by Communist playwrights, in the various CCC camps throughout the country. . . . As one disgusted subordinate in the W.P.A. office expressed it in talking to the writer: 'It looks as though the whole plan is little more than a subterfuge to get the intellectual Communists of the country on the Federal pay-roll in order to secure them with an income to work uninterruptedly for the revolution.'"

ROOSEVELT COMMUNIST PLAY—"TRIPLE A PLOWED UNDER"

To Complete the "Roosevelt Revolution"

I have just returned from the Chicago opening of a Roosevelt Communist play (7/9/36)—a play which shows the inadequacy of Roosevelt's "Kerensky" socialistic measures and the imperative need for the complete program of unadulterated Communism. It hews so closely to the strict dogmatic Communist Party "line" that, in it, even the revolutionary agitator of farmers, Milo Reno, is represented as falling short, failing the "workers" by not continuing a strike.

Prayer Mocked

One scene was probably intended by its communistic authors to blasphemously demonstrate the utter futility of belief in God. A preacher is shown praying continuously for rain. (He should have prayed to God to remove the curse on America of Roosevelt's wanton destruction of live-stock and crops.) While he prays, a commentator's voice keeps repeating "Fair and Warmer—Fair and Warmer", illustrating the futility of prayer. Then pictures of the carcasses of dead cattle, flashed on the curtain, complete the thought.

Each scene within itself is a complete, emotional, mob-rousing incitation to cast aside old loyalties and to riot and bring revolution.

GREAT NORTHERN

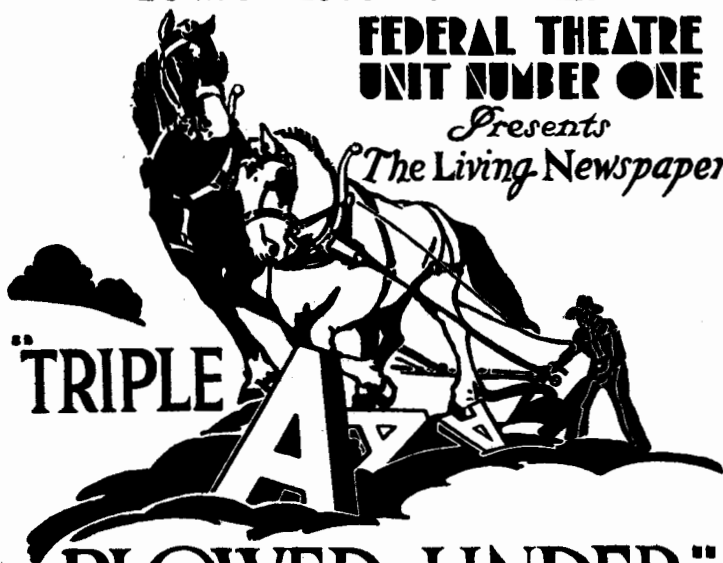
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WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

FEDERAL ART PROJECT

In one tumultuous farm scene, voices join from all parts of the audience, as part of the cast, swelling the Red harangue on the stage to give one the impression of being in the midst of a mob insurrection.

Cursing

Each heroic speaking character curses freely, using "Damn" and "Hell" emphatically, and continually, but the more vile favorite Communist epithets so commonly heard in their plays seem to have been censored.

Lem Harris, Communist farm organizer, is portrayed as a hero-liberator. The "Villains" of Capitalism are represented in contrast to the plain "workers" by a flashily dressed woman in evening dress, sparkling with gold cloth, jewels, and red velvet, and her mate wearing a silk hat and tuxedo. They sit, in one scene, being served with caviar and rare wine, talking of buying a new car and sable coat on his ill-gotten, profiteering gains, wrung from the workers who are starving.

The play's finale shows them with "Secretary Wallace" at the top of a flight of steps. A mob of farmers below stretch out their hands to a similar group of city workers opposite them, shouting "We need you!" The workers answer, "We need you!" ("Workers of the world, unite!" says Karl Marx.) Joined together in the Marxian "class struggle", they start mounting the steps and unitedly lift their fists to demolish the capitalists. The haughty, hard-hearted couple now huddle together in fear, seeing that their deserved end is near. "Wallace" weakly argues with the workers, to keep back the full revolutionary surge, as the curtain goes down on the Communist "living newspaper" account of the Red revolution to date.

Red Revolution

The commentator's voice tells us that America fought against injustice in the Civil War and in the war of 1776. (This is the new Party "line", to identify Communism with American history instead of, as formerly, opposing all tradition.) And that this **coming revolution can no more be held back now than the Revolution of 1776 could have been held back!** (That was a Revolution to gain independence, the very opposite of Communist dictatorship.)

A Roosevelt Production

Where was this play? At some Communist Party headquarters? Did the police raid it for inciting to riot? If not, why not?

Not at all. It was given at a legitimate Chicago loop theatre, financed by American taxpayers, staged and sponsored by the **United States Government under authority from Roosevelt.**

The name of this Communist gem, playing two shows nightly to thousands of citizens in various parts of the U. S. A. is "Triple A Plowed Under".

Starting with the world war, it attempts to represent the historic and successive events which have prepared the American people for the present necessary Communist revolution.

War-time crowds are first shown being harangued by stagey jingo speakers, who beg them to support the U. S. government, as tramping soldiers march across stage in the background. These pleas—to the farmers to provide wheat and to the people to support the U. S. in its fight for democracy—which were made when America entered the World War are burlesqued as hollow mockeries.

Peace-time Treason

So, when a "heroic" worker character, with curses, later proclaims that the workers will **never again support the U. S. Government in any war**, cheers break forth from the cast.

An incident showing deflation is followed by a farm foreclosure scene in which the foreclosure is halted by determined Reds. A villain, indicated as such because he wore a clean white "bourgeois" suit, is manhandled and driven off the place to prevent his buying the property legally. The Reds force it to be sold for 13c to the owner. There is also a scene glorifying a riotous Red milk strike in which the "farmers" rush across the stage, pell mell, to demolish a milk truck. And one hears the clatter of its wreckage offstage. (The Reds, with imported agitators, actually did this in many places.)

"Pour Kerosene on the Meat!"

Women are shown picketing a meat store against high prices. They attack a male customer coming out of the store and snatch his package of meat away from him. Sympathizing passers-by, who, to aid the strike, boycott the store and call to others not to buy there, are applauded.

This scene represents what the Communist's "League of Women Shoppers" and "Committees Against the High Cost of Living" actually did. It closes with the women deciding to "get" the "big fellows" instead of the small retailers. Crying, "Here comes a meat truck! Let's get it!", as they rush off the stage, one wild harridan screams, "Pour kerosene on the meat!"

Southern Villains

Southern landowners are shown defrauding their tenants of their share of government cheques paid for not raising crops and falsely claiming that the tenants owed them money. The tenants are then evicted to starve. Again the "bourgeoisie", in orthodox Communist style, are the villains, the "proletariat" the heroes.

The Negro "Robbed"

A poor Negro farmer appears in one scene, first singing, then sad, stripped by the Government even of his mule, which he had named "Government". The Government is represented by a sheriff who comes to take the mule for taxes. As he departs with the mule, the Negro is seen with bowed head sarcastically muttering, "Government! Government!" ("It's the system that's wrong!" we are supposed to think.)

Capitalism the Murderer

A pathetic, drab, sorrowful mother crosses the stage bearing in her arms the body of her dead child, whom she has just drowned because it was hungry and she couldn't feed it. She surrenders to a Judge who tells her she is guilty of murder. Unseen voices echo "Murder! Murder of your own child!"

But the commentator's voice, amplified so as to reach every seat, tells us that it is our system of government instead of the mother that is guilty of the murder.

Supreme Court "Triple A" Decision Ridiculed

On a back drop representing a printed document, the "nine old men" of the U. S. Supreme Court appear in silhouette. One Justice reads the majority opinion declaring the Roosevelt "Triple A" unconstitutional, or "plowed under". Another Justice reads the minority opinion.

To evoke boo's, the caricatured silhouette of Al Smith, with cigar in mouth, derby hat and cane, then struts out and speaks in support of the Supreme Court in a ridiculous way.

The Communist Party Speaks

Instead of "Earl Browder", as in the New York production, "Thomas Jefferson" was used to heroically denounce (for the Communist Party and for Roosevelt) the right of the Supreme Court to declare illegal such (Socialist) laws "passed for the good of the people and by the people". (In the case of the New Deal, "must" laws passed by Roosevelt's "Fido" Congress.)

A frail little lady, a friend of mine, defied the menacing remarks and angry looks of the Reds seated in the audience around her by applauding the majority Supreme Court opinion vigorously and by clapping for Al Smith while others booed him. Her hands were sore, she said, from her efforts to register her feelings at "wrong" moments, but she felt better for it.

Reds Guarded Against Patriotic Americans

The Washington (D. C.) Herald's comment about the same Communist play (quoted in "National Republic", 5/36) included this:

"'TRIPLE A, PLOWED UNDER'—presented by the 'Living Newspaper' unit of the Federal Theater Project, had its premiere performance at the Baltimore Theatre in New York City recently.

"In the assemblage were observed Hallie Flanagan, head of the entire Federal Theater Project, who studied drama in Moscow and teaches it at Vassar; Elmer Rice, who writes plays and campaigns for Communist candidates; and Victor Ridder, head of the New York City W.P.A., who holds out a helping hand to Communists desirous of getting on the government pay rolls.

"Moreover, in the absence of the OGPU, Mayor LaGuardia—the Little Red Flower of radicalism—had thirty of his policemen on hand to suppress any patriotic disorders.

"The most significant thing about the situation, however, was the play itself.

"For the first time on any stage, an audience heard and saw an impersonation of Earl Browder reversing the Supreme Court of the United States.

"Previously, Browder has never been thought of as a dramatic persona.

"A few people—including the United States marshals—know of him as an alumnus of Leavenworth Penitentiary.

"Only one untoward incident marred the evening. A group of fellows belonging to the American Legion, one or two of them on crutches, who had served America's foreign wars, wanted to sing the 'Star Spangled Banner.'

"Some of them even went so far as to demand that the Browder scene be eliminated, on the obvious ground that it was Communist propaganda paid for by the United States government.

"But Mayor LaGuardia was fully prepared against such an American outbreak.

"Sternly backing the federal impresarios, his thirty policemen gave those Americans the Communist rush, for daring to act like indignant and loyal American citizens.

"This ought to be a lesson to various patriotic organizations. Henceforth, the Communists in New York know that they are to have adequate police protection from Mayor LaGuardia in their parades and disloyal demonstrations.

"The Administration at Washington can be serenely confident also that their Federal Theater Project can spread subversive propaganda under the protection of various revolutionists in national, state and city governments.

"And certainly the Soviet government can rest assured that their American sponsors and allies will never call upon them to observe their perjured pledge to refrain from any campaign of treasonable propaganda in this country.

"So all the alien-born and alien-minded conspirators, all the blood red radical revolutionists may be happy and safe.

"ONLY honest, decent, stable and loyal Americans need be disturbed and endangered. And by the way, when are these decent, loyal Americans who constitute 90 per cent of the population of the United States going to wake up and take action?"

WPA Benefit for Socialist-Communist L.I.D.

The revolutionary "Socialist Call", Norman Thomas' paper, which is sold by Communist Party bookstores, under the heading "L.I.D. Benefit", reports from New York (4/18/36):

"'Triple A Plowed Under,' the W.P.A. hit put on under the direction of the 'Living Newspaper' is a play worth seeing—and you should see it Friday night, April 24, at the Biltmore when it will be played for the benefit of the New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy."

Sleeping American taxpayers should be interested, also, in the exulting comments of the Comintern's official organ in the U. S. A. (The Sunday Worker and Daily Worker) concerning the Communist plays being produced through Roosevelt.

Each day, until recently, "Mike" Gold conducted a daily column in the communist Daily Worker, instructing Red readers in the Party "line". Now he is too busy, presumably, with his work for Roosevelt's Federal Theater Project.

U. S. Govt. Display at Communist Party Headquarters.

To quote (Sunday Worker 7/12/36):

"More than 1,600 persons saw 'Battle Hymn' the W.P.A. Federal Theatre Project play about John Brown.

"A model of the Harper's Ferry scene from 'Battle Hymn' the Michael Gold-Michael Blankfort play current at the W.P.A. Experimental Theatre, 63rd Street and Broadway, is now on display in the window of the **Workers' Bookshop**, 50 East 13th Street." (Communist Party's principal N. Y. City bookshop for sale of Party literature.)

"The scene, which was executed by the scenic model department of the **W.P.A. Federal Art Project**, was designed by Howard Bay."

This is probably the first time in American history that the U. S. Government has carried on its work in open cooperation with the frankly treasonable Communist Party and its leaders and headquarters.

"Turpentine"—Negro WPA Revolutionary Triumph

To quote from the Communist Party's Daily Worker (6/29/36) under the heading, "The Negro Theatre Triumphs—'Turpentine', Drama of Struggles in Florida Swamps":

"**TURPENTINE**, J. A. Smith and Peter Morell, staged by **Emjo Basshe** and **Augustus Smith**, settings by Manuel Essman, produced by the Negro Theatre of the Federal Theatre of the W.P.A. at the New Lafayette Theatre, Seventh Avenue and 131st Street, New York City."

(Until Roosevelt claimed his services, Emjo Basshe, a prominent Communist Party functionary, has been a contributing editor of the Communist magazine "New Theatre", has had charge of communist Young Pioneer camps, has been director of the Party's Workers' International Relief, has been contributing editor of the communist New Masses, etc. August Smith is on the national executive board of the communist New Theatre League.)

"Lavishly produced, studded with superb moments, with fire, strength and conviction, 'Turpentine' is the 'Stevedore' of the W.P.A. theatre." ("Stevedore" is a Communist play.)

"At no time does interest flag in this story of revolt by Negro workers in a Florida turpentine camp. Under the leadership of 'Forty-Four', a Negro worker who has already served time on a chain-gang
- - - - ."

Usual Red Sneers at Religion

"There is one scene in the play which would be great in any theatre. The action takes place in the church when the preacher talks to the workers of the hereafter where the streets are paved with fourteen-karat gold while the campers scan the windows and the doors for 'crackers,' gun in hand." (Communists always try to discredit religion.)

Mild criticism and regret are expressed as follows:

"To make the Colonel into a symbol of Negro and white solidarity is dramatically shaky. It would appear that the exigencies of the W.P.A. theatre has also toned down the play in spots, especially in its conclusion and in its language."

The "exigencies" of Roosevelt's W.P.A. theatre, in election year, deleted, no doubt, some of the rawest curses and characteristic blasphemous, obscene remarks inseparable from popular Communist plays.

An Appointment in Keeping with the Project

The Daily Worker (5/18/36) reported that Prof. H. W. L. Dana had joined the advisory committee of the Federal Theatre's "forthcoming production 'Battle Hymn'", by Communists Mike Gold and Michael Blankfort, as announced by Virgil Geddes (of the communist New Theatre League), supervisor.

Dana, who is ever active in every Communist cause, was arrested on a charge of corrupting boys' morals and was barred from England as a Communist (N. Y. Herald Tribune 4/4/35).

The revue "We Live and Laugh" produced by the Yiddish Intimate Theatre unit of the W.P.A. under the direction of Stephen Karnot of the communist New Theatre League, is highly praised in the communist Daily Worker (6/11/36).

And We Pay for His Propaganda

The revue included a skit "Prisoner 1936" by the Communist Yiddish revolutionary, Moishe Nadir, who, at the communist American Writers' Congress held at Mrs. Roosevelt's New School for Social Research, April, 1935, flayed the patriotism of non-Communists and contrasted it with that of Communists who intended to lead the revolution, saying, "We love America as one of the most beautiful flowers in the bouquet of the world Soviets of tomorrow." (1)

Another of the revue's parts is "America, America", a typical argument for revolution, sprinkled with obscenity, by communist Alfred Kreymborg, another of Roosevelt's employes and author of the filthy revolutionary poem "America". The Daily Worker's last words urging everyone to see the play are: "And don't forget that 25c buys a good seat and 55c—the best."

Thus American taxpayers pay Roosevelt to produce and popularize such illegal revolutionary works at low prices.

"Karl Marx' Shadow" Speaks

In its review of "W. H. Auden's Novelty 'The Dance of Death'," the communist Sunday Worker (5/24/36) says:

"A BROADWAY PRODUCER said: 'You got me. I don't know what it's all about. I guess it must be a new era.'

"The audience in the capacious Adelphi Theatre know what it was all about and enjoyed the newest offering of the Federal Theatre Project, W. H. Auden's 'The Dance of Death'.

"Auden's long poem reached Broadway through the will of Hallie Flanagan, national director of the F.T.P. It has been produced under the supervision of Alfred Kreymborg and Mr. Kreymborg is to be complimented upon the manner in which he has brought 'The Dance of Death' to life. Miss Flanagan has already watched over a previous production of Auden's work, at her own Vassar College.

"In 'The Dance of Death', Auden tells, in musical comedy ballet, verse and with music, of the decadence of the bourgeoisie.

"As the Dancer dies and the middle class mourns his passing, preparing his funeral and its own, the shadow of Karl Marx looms over the stage. A voice speaks pityingly: 'The instruments of production have been too much for him. He has been liquidated.' . . . the shadow of the revolution hovers over the spectacle."

We "Bourgeoisie" Must Be "Liquidated", Says Roosevelt Drama

The last paragraph tickles my funny bone in spite of the awfulness of the situation which permits such Roosevelt-sponsored Communist plays.

I had never dreamed we would now be supporting U. S. Government players parroting such Soviet Marxian prophetic jargon as "The instruments of production have been too much for him" (the bourgeoisie). "He has been liquidated" (word for "murdered", popularized by Russia's Communists). **Shades of Marx, Lenin and Stalin! When does our "liquidation" start? Or has it already started?**

Mr. Nelson E. Hewitt, in his "Advisor" (3/18/36), says that the Milwaukee Federal Theatre is in charge of Mrs. T. Sherry "who is reputed to have spent twenty-five years in promoting Socialist 'Little Theatre' movements.

Moscow Revolutionary Theatre Director Paid by U. S.

"Also in Milwaukee is a former Soviet theatrical director by the name of Boris L. Glagolin, whose address is 1442 No. Farewell, Milwaukee. Glagolin boasts of the following titles: National Artist of Merit of USSR; Director of the Literary Art Theatre in Petrograd; Director of the Theatre of the Revolution in Moscow; Guest Director of Carnegie Institute; Guest Director of the Wisconsin and Civic Players. Glagolin applied for citizenship in the United States in 1933. He is associated with the Milwaukee Federal Theatre."

Another Roosevelt-Produced Red Play

Concerning Roosevelt's WPA play "Class of '29", the Sunday Worker (5/24/36) says:

"The Class of '29 as depicted in the play by Orrie Lashin and Milo Hastings is a class of young men clinging desperately to their station in the old dying world. They cannot get jobs of the sort they desire. **Their girl friends keep two of them . . .**" Etc.

An argument in the communist Sunday Worker (7/5/36) as to which is the best of two revolutionary plays is carried on by Percy McAllister, the Communist Party's Sunday Worker reviewer, and Ben Irwin of the national executive board of the communist New Theatre League.

The communist New Theatre League executive praises the WPA play, "Class of '29", as **"undoubtedly the most complete condemnation of capitalism that this year's dramatic crop has produced"**.

Is WPA Object "To Make Carriage Trade Wriggle"?

He says: "As far as actual wallop goes 'Class of '29' would make the carriage trade wriggle in their seats a sight more than 'Dead End'." "Carriage Trade" refers to the bourgeois "exploiters" who drive to the theatre.

The reviewer retorts:

"'Class of '29' shouts about Communism, yet its authors make the Communist a prig. I do not mean to infer that no prigs are Communists and that no Communists are prigs. Clear our prig is on certain questions. He stands by, however, at the unfortunate end of the play when one of his classmates commits suicide and the other compromises his principles following a drunken debauch.

"I have never said that 'Class of '29' would not make the carriage trade wriggle in its seats. I don't care a whoop in a cavern about the carriage trade. I do care about the pedestrian ticket-purchasers and I do want them to see 'Dead End,' which, never shouting revolution, is nonetheless revolutionary."

Lippmann Secretary Co-Author—"Communist" Label Ridiculed

When the "Class of '29" was attacked as a Communist play by patriots, the Reds, as usual, "pooh poohed" the attackers into silence. Pro-Communist "Common Sense" magazine (5/36) said: "'Class of '29,' dealing with the plight of this generation, was ridiculously denounced as 'Communistic' by a local Congressman. The charge collapsed under ridicule when one co-author was discovered to be the private secretary to that stalwart defender of the status quo, Walter Lippmann." (Miss Orrie Lashin and Milo Hastings are the co-authors. Hastings is a contributor to the Communist magazine, "Soviet Russia Today".)

Even though Lippmann designates himself an "ex"-Socialist, one familiar with the chameleon-like habits of radicals and with Lippmann's long open Red career, from college days on, cannot "collapse" utterly before the idea of his secretary writing a pro-Communist play.

He himself, in 1931, was a fellow member with Mrs. Roosevelt of the New School for Social Research, a gathering place and center of learning for intellectual Communists.

Roosevelt Financing with Public Funds Communists' Major Aid

Reds have, in the same way, tried to "pooh pooh" away the irrefutable facts in "The Red Network" by merely saying that since it lists **Mrs. Roosevelt's** actual radical affiliations, the book is therefore "ridiculous". But what Communist Party member in the history of the Red movement has done as much for the Party as have the Roosevelts, who consistently and deliberately, in the face of patriotic protests, provide many millions of dollars of taxpayers' funds to finance the Communist Party personnel and plays of the Federal Theatre Project and similar activities?

The communist "New Theatre" magazine for July, 1936, states: "The Theatre Projects are now reaching some 500,000 spectators in thirty-one states each week. The commercial theatre could not serve this new audience if it would." It explains that Roosevelt's "state subsidy", alone, has made this possible.

Criticism Over, Gloat Communists—F. T. P. To Stay, Assures Washington

The Communist Party's Sunday Worker of 6/21/36, recounting with satisfaction the revolutionary plays produced under Communist direction by Roosevelt's WPA Federal Theatre, says confidently:

"The turmoil attendant upon the introduction of Hallie Flanagan's policy . . . has died down. Plays which were called 'red' and 'pink' have come, have gone and have enriched—in most cases—the public's knowledge of things—as they are . . ." (Rather, as Communists want them to be.)

"Meantime the workers of the Federal Theatre Project look forward to the establishment of a permanent Federal Theatre. They have carried their case to Washington and although nothing official has yet been done they have received assurances that, barring unfortunate upsets, the F. T. P. will go on indefinitely."

"TO PERPETUATE THE VOICE OF DEBS"

Served Term at Atlanta for Sedition

Who was Debs? A founder of the violent revolutionary I. W. W. in 1905, then Socialist Party leader. After serving a sentence for sedition in Atlanta Penitentiary (Apr. 1919 to Dec. 1921), he said:

"For the cause of international revolution I would gladly sacrifice everything I possess; I would go to jail again; yes, I would even go to the gallows for this cause" (N. Y. Call, Socialist paper, 3/9/23).

At a Socialist rally in Cleveland, 3/12/19, he said: "With every drop of blood in my veins I despise their laws and I will defy them . . . I am going to speak to you as a Socialist, as a Revolutionist, and as a Bolshevist, if you please" (N. Y. State Lusk Report, page 555).

DEBS MEMORIAL RADIO FUND

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"TO PERPETUATE THE VOICE OF DEBS"

The friends and admirers of the late Eugene V. Debs are raising funds for a memorial worthy of the great departed American champion of liberty and justice.

The planned monument will not be a cold and pompous structure of stone or bronze, but a living instrument of social service, a high-power radio station, to be known as WDEBS, and to be operated in the interests of all progressive movements and ideas and in aid of all struggles for social justice in the tolerant and broad minded spirit of Gene Debs.

No better or fitter monument to the memory of Eugene V. Debs could be conceived. The radio is fast becoming one of the most powerful and effective channels of information, education - and propaganda. It is almost entirely in the hands of the dominating reactionary interests.

The proposed radio station will be acquired and operated by a Board of Trustees whose personal characters and standing in the different fields of progressive communal activities offer ample guaranty for the fair and proper administration of this big enterprise.

The country needs at least one powerful voice of criticism and warning, of peace and progress. That voice will be the voice of WDEBS.

The project is as costly as it is vital. It calls for at least \$250,000. It can be realized only through the whole-hearted and generous support of all liberty-loving persons and organizations. You are one of these. Will you help?

Please make your contribution payable to Morris Hillquist, Treasurer, 31 Union Square, New York City.

For the Board of Trustees.

Norman Thomas
Chairman

Facsimile of Pica by Socialist Norman Thomas for Funds to Establish Debs Memorial Radio Station—"To Perpetuate the Voice of Debs".

The official bulletin of the Socialist Party for June 1, 1920, contains Debs' speech of acceptance upon notification of his nomination as the Socialist Party Presidential candidate while he was in prison. In this speech, Debs said:

Calls Russian Revolution "Greatest Single Achievement"

"Before serving time here, I made a series of addresses supporting the Russian revolution, which I consider the greatest single achievement in all history. I still am a Bolshevik. I am fighting for the same thing here they are fighting for there. I regret that the Convention did not see its way clear to affiliate with the Third International without qualification." (N. Y. State Lusk Report, page 1782.)

Debs was praised by Lenin and was vice-president of the Labor Defense Council* (now communist International Labor Defense), 1923, organized for the defense of the Bridgman* Communists, along with Roger Baldwin, director of the Communist-aiding A. C. L. U., Max Hayes, Red labor leader of Cleveland, Father John A. Ryan and John A. Lapp, two leading "Catholic" Red "borers", Communist Party leaders Earl Browder, Wm. F. Dunne, Wm. Z. Foster, C. E. Ruthenberg (then head of the Communist Party), etc.

Father Ryan and Debs were the national vice-chairmen and the indicted Communist Wm. Z. Foster was national secretary. The name of Frank P. Walsh, Roosevelt appointee and pet, appears at the top of the Labor Defense Council letterhead (see page 182, "The Red Network") as "Chief Counsel for the Defendants".

Debs, Lenin, and Roosevelt Aides Help Russia

Debs was also connected with the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, which was backed by Lenin and Soviet Commissars Tchicherin, Rykoff, etc., and by Frank P. Walsh and Felix Frankfurter (leading Roosevelt power). It was headed as president by the Russian-born Red, Sidney Hillman, Roosevelt appointee and White House family friend.

The sale of stock was launched 6/2/22. To quote: "At the Fifth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, President Hillman reported on his trip to Russia. He described his interview with the representative of the Soviet government He recommended, therefore, that the Amalgamated take the initiative in launching in Russia industrial enterprises that would lead to the economic rehabilitation of the country and its peoples." (Booklet published by the directors of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation from 31 Union Square, N. Y. C.)

Thousands of dollars collected from the radicals were sent to Russia. Supplies and machinery were shipped.

The "New Republic" rejoiced, saying: "The chief difference between this and other concessions to capital owners is that in this plan no threat of Russian autonomy is involved."

Later the Russian-American Industrial Corporation also launched a campaign with the communist Friends of Soviet Russia (now called Friends of the Soviet Union), controlled by Moscow, to raise money

for "starving children" in Russia, although Litvinov stated there was no danger of famine then in Russia. Undoubtedly the collected money was largely used as usual for "starving" Communist propaganda agencies.

Station WEVD a Monument to Debs

When Debs died, the Debs Memorial Radio Fund was formed as a monument to him, to purchase a radio station, "To Perpetuate the Voice of Debs". (See the reproduction page 184.)

At first the radio station was to be called W.D.E.B.S. but this was changed to W.E.V.D., its present title, the "E.V.D." standing for "Eugene V. Debs" (N. Y. Times 8/22/27).

WEVD Broadcasts Atheism

The Third Annual Report of the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism (page 3) said:

"We have outwitted the bigots, and now broadcast regularly over station W.E.V.D. New York (231.6—1300 KC), Saturdays, 6 P. M. The recent increase in power of this station enables us to reach a much larger audience. Because of our sending Atheism over the air through its transmitting plant, Franklin Ford of W.H.A.P. terminated his contract with Station W.E.V.D., which now has its own plant.

"Not since the days of Voltaire has religion been so mercilessly exposed as it is today by the rapier-like wit of Woolsey Teller, vice-president of the A.A.A.A. . . . Mr. Teller answers religious questions over the radio Saturdays, 6 P. M. as announced above."

Mrs. Roosevelt Announced as WEVD Broadcaster

The Communist Party's "Daily Worker" (4/7/34, page 5) mentions the N. Y. World Telegram of March 29, to the effect that the International Ladies Garment Workers Union "had become a commercial radio sponsor".

Jibing the I.L.G.W.U. for this capitalistic commercial activity, the Daily Worker says: "The rather feeble excuse offered in the World Telegram namely, that the union could afford to do this because so many prominent speakers and musicians would donate their services, seems a rather flabby explanation . . .

"Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt who charges cash money for her Woman's Home Companion articles has donated her services. So has Frances Perkins, the Secretary of Labor. . . Of course Mrs. Roosevelt and Miss Perkins will not be working for nothing. Their political positions have already netted them thousands of dollars. And there is no reason why they should not speak for their very good friends . . . the International Ladies Garment Workers Union."

"Now that the International Ladies Garment Workers Union feels that it may call upon the demagogic Roosevelt administration for free speakers, we wonder if it is not possible that this close and friendly cooperation with the bosses did not by chance bring about the new

increase in wave length just lately granted to station W.E.V.D by the Federal Radio Commission."

(The I.L.G.W.U. is headed by Socialist Dubinsky, who was exiled to Siberia for Red revolutionary activities; and the I.L.G.W.U received \$100,000 for one Communist-led strike from the communist Garland Fund).

Mrs. Roosevelt's Memory Poor

In my book, "The Red Network", reference to the Daily Worker report of Mrs. Roosevelt's broadcasts for the red International Ladies Garment Workers' Union over W.E.V.D., appears in her "Who's Who" sketch. While I have never received any communication whatever from the Roosevelts, the press carried the report that, in one of her press conferences, reporters quizzed her about this and that Mrs. Roosevelt replied vaguely that she could not remember all the stations she broadcasts for; she said she did not think she had broadcasted over W.E.V.D. for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union but she had addressed them about NRA labels.

However, Radio Station W.E.V.D. sent out a release 12/28/34 featuring her congratulations on their "fascinating" program. They reproduced the N. Y. World Telegram report (12/10/34) of the inauguration of the third year of the University of the Air over station W.E.V.D., at which Harry Woodburn Chase of the communist Moscow State University Summer School board, spoke and, "as chairman of the board of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education" (the red L. I. D. agency financed by Rockefeller and Carnegie money) "Dr. Chase congratulated the University of the Air on its programs"

But She Greets WEVD with Praise

"A message from Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt lauded the air university's 'fascinating' program." (See facsimile, next page.)

According to the Awakener (1/15/35) she wrote W.E.V.D. saying "I cannot tell you how sorry I am that I cannot be with you December the 8th but I have a party scheduled for the newspaper girls in Washington and cannot change it or be away. Your program sounds fascinating and I shall consider it a great loss not to be able to be with you. Will you let me know ahead of time when the next date will be?"

WEVD's "Fascinating" Programs

The release of W.E.V.D. in which the World Telegram report appears was sent out for the purpose of advertising to independent radio stations transcriptions of the radical lectures given over W.E.V.D., "at two dollars a program, a fraction of the usual cost . . . because of W.E.V.D.'s non-profit policy."

"Popular 'University of the Air' Available at Cost to Independent Local Stations", was the heading. To quote:

"In January 1933 radio station W.E.V.D. founded the University of the Air, with the aid of the genial author and historian Hendrik

Willem VanLoon"* (of the communist American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia (A.S.C.R.R.), socialist Rand School, etc.) ". . . . The greatest names in Education, Literature, Art and Music were enlisted to conduct the University of the Air Courses—Prof. John Dewey"* (atheist Red leader in the L. I. D., A. C. L. U., communist A.S.C.R.R., etc.), ". . . Fannie Hurst"* (Mrs. Roosevelt's friend, of atheist Freethinkers Ingersoll, A.C.L.U. and similar committees), "Heywood Broun"* (who pickets with the Communists and rejoices in the limelight of being arrested), "to mention only a few of the lecturers who have participated.

"Beginning the week of Jan. 7, 1935, the W.E.V.D. schedule of lectures will be as follows: . . ."

Here follow the names, as lecturers, of: Sidney Hillman*, red Roosevelt appointee; Clifton Fadiman*, who wrote "How I Came to Communism" (communist "New Masses", Sept. 1932) and signed a letter to the Communist Party expressing support of Communism and deploring the fighting of Communists at a Socialist Party meeting (New Masses 3/6/34); Harry W. Laidler*, of the L. I. D.; John T. Flynn, of the staff of pro-Communist "Common Sense" magazine; Roosevelt appointee Paul H. Douglas*, of Socialist and Communist organizations; Wm. H. Kilpatrick*, of the A.C.L.U., etc.; Henry Pratt Fairchild of the radical "Social Frontier" staff, with John Dewey, George S. Counts, etc.;—a nice list of agitators.

WEVD Red Propaganda Ires Mrs. Wells

Mr. and Mrs. Carveth Wells, who went over to Russia very "broad minded" (as I did) about the Soviet "experiment", after their travels and thorough investigation, regard it (as I do), as a menace to the peace, decency, freedom and safety of the entire world.

Mrs. Wells said that while listening to a Red revolutionary play by Socialist-Communist-New-Dealer Upton Sinclair being broadcast over W.E.V.D., one night, she felt like tearing the radio off the wall to think that such propaganda was going forth in America.

Roosevelt Aides on Debs Radio Committee

Socialist-Communist-New-Dealer Upton Sinclair* (Moscow's staff member for the communist International Union of Revolutionary Writers*), a member of the Debs Radio Committee, is a staunch supporter of Roosevelt and the Roosevelt forces in turn supported Sinclair; and Roosevelt appointed Sinclair's man, George Acret, to the Guffey Coal Board.

See page 167 for description of regular broadcasts of communistic plays over W.E.V.D.

Roosevelt appointee Sidney Hillman also, it may be noted on the Debs Memorial Radio Fund letterhead (see reproduction, page 184), was a member of this committee, as was Morris Hillquit, fellow-member with Mrs. Roosevelt on the Non-Intervention Citizens' Committee, which acted in the interest of the Reds in Mexico.

Socialist Abraham Cahan, another of the Debs Radio Committee, praised Roosevelt as a Socialist (see page 79, "The Red Network"),

*Listed in "The Red Network".

SOCIALISTS TO ERECT DEBS RADIO STATION

**Executive Committee of Party
Voted to Raise \$200,000
for This Memorial**
N.Y. Times 12/22/26

The National Executive Committee, of the Socialist Party, at a meeting yesterday in the People's House, 7 East Fifteenth Street, decided to erect a radio broadcasting station in New York or Chicago as a memorial to Eugene V. Debs. It will be known as WDEBS and will be used, according to the announcement, "primarily to champion the cause of liberty and social justice in the broad and liberal spirit of Eugene V. Debs."

August Claessens, Executive Secretary of the party, said that the station probably would be in Chicago to obtain wide distribution and probably would give a program combining entertainment and propaganda. A public campaign has been authorized to raise \$200,000 to finance the station. It is planned to administer the fund and operate the station through a board of trustees representing organizations, movements and ideas for which Mr. Debs stood.

The following have been invited to become trustees: Jane Addams, Sidney Hillman, A. Philip Randolph, James H. Maurer, John Haynes Holmes, Albert F. Coyle, Norman Thomas, Roger Baldwin, A. M. Todd, John Whitefoot, Rufus Wood, E. C. Vlaseck, Theodore Debs, Victor Berger, Morris Hillquit, George E. Roemer, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Robert Morris Lovett, Harry F. Ward, Samuel Levin, Herbert S. Bigelow, Elizabeth Gilman, William Mich, Chauncy Sweet, Joseph S. Baskin, Abraham Baroff, Cameron H. King and Upton Sinclair.

"Proposals to erect a monument in honor of Mr. Debs were vetoed by the Executive Committee at the request of Mrs. Katherine Debs and Theodore Debs, widow and brother of the Socialist leader. The radio station was chosen as a result of their suggestion for a memorial 'more in keeping with Mr. Debs's record as a fearless defender of free speech.'"

DEBS RADIO STATION TO BE NAMED WEYD

**WSOM Will Be Taken Over Oct.
1 as Memorial to the Late
Socialist Leader.**
N.Y. Times 12/22/27

NEW BROADCASTER READY

**Atwater Kent Gets Two Patents on
Design and Operating Methods
of One-Dial Receivers.**

Radio broadcasting station WSOM, recently purchased by the Debs Memorial Radio Fund of 31 Union Square as a tribute to the late Eugene V. Debs, Socialist leader, will be renamed on Oct. 1 as WEYD, according to Richard Rohman, representative of the Debs Fund. Mr. Rohman said yesterday that the Federal Radio Commission has authorized the call letter change and continued operation on the 246-meter wave, length after that date in the New York area with WGBB of Freeport, L. I. and WAAT of Jersey City, N. J. The WSOM transmitter is located at Woodhaven, L. I.

"Beginning Oct. 1," said Mr. Rohman, "when the Debs Memorial Radio Fund takes over control of the station it will begin to broadcast complete programs of a varied nature. It will be a crusading vehicle for union labor, actively participating in its efforts to improve standards of labor in this country."

"The trustees had originally hoped to call the station WDEBS, but were informed by the Radio Division of the Department of Commerce that designations of five letters were reserved for aircraft carrying radio equipment. It was then decided to call the station WEYD, the last three letters being the initials of the great leader whose name is memorialized."

Mr. Rohman said that the first effort of the Debs Fund over the air was the broadcasting of a series of appeals for the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti, which was followed last Friday by an appeal over WSOM by Miss Eugenia Vanzetti, sister of one of the condemned men.

AIR TEACHERS NEED TRAINING

**Special Technique Required for
Radio Education, Dr.**

Chase Says.
N.Y. Times 12/22/26

Need for development of a special teaching technique and training of teachers for education by radio was noted by Chancellor Harry Woodburn Chase, of New York University, in an address Saturday night at the inauguration of the third year of the University of the Air over station WEYD.

Persons prominent in education, literature, music and the stage broadcast the inaugural program before an audience of 1,900 at Town Hall.

Special Technique.
"You cannot transfer techniques developed in a classroom to a broadcasting audience," Dr. Chase said. "Teaching over the air calls for the development of people who are trained and experienced in that sort of teaching if results are to be obtained."

As chairman of the board of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, Dr. Chase congratulated the University of the Air on its programs and because "it has fairly presented both sides of controversial questions."

A message from Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt lauded the air university's "fascinating" program.

Dr. Dewey Critical.
Professor John Dewey, declaring that "radio is the most powerful instrument of social education the world has ever seen," held it had not realized its possibilities.

"The radio lends itself to propaganda in behalf of special interests," Professor Dewey said. "It can be used to distort facts and mislead the public mind. The question as to whether it is to be employed for this end or for the social public interest is one of the most crucial problems of the present."

"The radio even when in private hands is affected with a profound public interest."

The first class of the air university, a history course conducted by Hendrick Willem Van Loon, scheduled to begin this week, was postponed on account of Mr. Van Loon's illness.

Other Courses.
Other courses, beginning the week of January 7, will be as follows:—

Wednesday, 12:15 A. M.—"Education for a New Social Order," Professors Durrty and William E. Kilpatrick.

Thursday, 8:15 P. M.—"Economic Planning: Society in the Making," Professors Henry Ford Fairchild, Dr. Harry J. Laidler and John T. Flynn.

Friday, 12:15 P. M.—"Psychological Today," Dr. Sander Leland and Dr. A. A. Brill.

Sunday, 10 P. M.—University of the Air Forum.

Courses offered later will be:—"Labor Faces the Future," by William Green, Sidney Hillman and Elmer F. Andrews; "Literature and Drama," by Fannie Hurst and Heywood Brown; "Studies in a Museum," by Professor Henry Fairfield Osborn, and Mr. Van Loon's history course.

At Left, Newspaper Reports about Launching of Debs Memorial Radio Station. At Right, Report Covering Its "University of the Air" Programs, with Comment by Mrs. Roosevelt. See chapter "To Perpetuate the Voice of Debs", page 183.

saying, "on the basis of his work so far he really should be a Socialist" (Daily Worker 10/6/33).

Communist Roger Baldwin, Debs Radio Committeeman, stands, as director of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, shoulder to shoulder with the Roosevelt regime in pushing American Civil Liberties Union Bills which are at the same time Administration measures.

COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE—RED "PEST HOUSE" CONTAMINATING THE SOUTH

Budding Agitators Trained by Communist Leaders

Commonwealth College is in no sense a general college, but merely a communistic training school for radical agitators, having about forty resident students at a time. It is located on a 320-acre farm with some two dozen buildings, eleven miles from Mena, Arkansas. It also has its interesting connections with the Roosevelt Administration.

In a continuous stream, "Mother" Ella Reeve Bloor, Carl Haessler, Donald Henderson, and others of the foremost Communist Party agitators for a Soviet America, come and go, lecturing at Commonwealth College to help train agitators to go forth to communize the South—the desired South with its Negroes.

Donations come in, not only from radical Supreme Court Justice Brandeis and members of his family, but also from Communist writers and agitators in all parts of the country.

As the South is commencing to surge with radical strikes in various places, stirred up by the red Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (S.T.F.U.), and its ally, the communist Share-Croppers' Union of Alabama, and Norman Thomas is appealing to Roosevelt to suppress all opposition to these agitations (6/16/36), it is interesting to note how Commonwealth with its Roosevelt support acts as the haven, home and training spot for the instigators of these disorders.

Active Aid of Communist Groups an Expressed Commonwealth Object

Among the objectives of Commonwealth College as exposed in their "United Front Program" printed in their 2/1/36 bulletin are: "building a chapter of the **American League Against War and Fascism** in Polk County and the building of the **American Student Union** in Arkansas."

The communist American League Against War and Fascism agitates treason and a Communist revolution in the U. S. A. The American Student Union (Communist-Socialist coalition) agitates the Red revolutionary program in schools.

Another objective named is: "to cooperate in the building of the S.T.F.U. and the **Share-Croppers' Union** throughout the South." Another: "to continue our support of the **Mena Workers' Alliance**" (which, nationally, amalgamated with the Communist Party's Unemployed Councils in the U. S. Department of Labor Auditorium in April, 1936, under Roosevelt auspices).



Typical Soviet Atheist Cartoon Representing the Communist "Worker", Backed by the Soviet Red Star, Smashing All Religious Faiths—Christian, Mohammedan, and Jewish.

Kester and Goldberger "Welcomed" Off

The Commonwealth bulletin, 2/1/36, announced that J. R. Butler, then president of the S.T.F.U. and "one of its militant founders", had joined the teaching staff of Commonwealth; and that Mr. and Mrs. Walter Moskop, "both executive committee members of the S.T.F.U.", were receiving training there. It also regales one with the "bad news" that (to quote): "Howard Kester, S.T.F.U. organizer, was dragged from the Methodist Church where he was addressing 450 white and Negro sharecroppers. Kester, who narrowly escaped being lynched and H. I. Goldberger, Attorney for the Union, were carried to the County line and told never to return unless they wanted to be shot."

This incident helps to explain the radicals' passionate determination to have enacted the Costigan-Wagner Federal anti-lynching Bill, which is backed openly by Mrs. Roosevelt. If passed, Red friends in high places in Washington could set the Federal legal machinery going to punish any community for treating Reds as the Reds propose to treat all loyal Americans who oppose communization. In a case like the above, the Reds believe that the very threat of such Federal action would intimidate their opponents and thus protect them.

Whenever Reds set out to create violence and revolution, they always charge those who resist them with the terrorism.

A. C. L. U., As Usual, Front for Reds

Coming to the front as usual for the Red Movement, the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union is offering a reward of \$1,000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of any person committing violence against a member of the red Southern Tenant Farmers' Union.

"Reverend" James Myers, a radical agitator in the labor fields, who is a secretary of the Federal Council of Churches and secretary of the Church Emergency Committee (see p. 266), is in Arkansas supposedly to "study" the tenant farmer situation.

"Myers issued a statement at Little Rock saying that it came as a shock to believers in American democracy 'to learn of the extensive evidence of flagrant denial of civil liberties and of the widespread terrorism which has occurred in Eastern Arkansas.' Myers was present at the trial of the Red agitator, David Benson, organizer for the Workers' Alliance, at Forrest City, where Benson was fined \$1,060 after being convicted by a jury and said that 'after the trial the lawyer for the defense was threatened by a crowd and open threats of lynching were heard.'" ("Advisor", 6/17/36.)

The Workers' Alliance is the Communist-Socialist unemployed organization of 800,000 members which amalgamated under Roosevelt auspices in the U. S. Department of Labor Auditorium, April 1936, and frankly plans riotous marches and "insurrections".

Brandeis Committee to Aid Commonwealth College

In the Commonwealth College bulletin (6/15/32), director Koch announced that Elizabeth Brandeis had formed a committee to aid Commonwealth with herself as chairman. She, like a good Red, is called "Miss" although she lives with Paul Raushenbush, a Socialist University of Wisconsin professor.

"Miss" Brandeis is the daughter of the Zionist leader Justice Louis D. Brandeis of the U. S. Supreme Court, with whom General Johnson said he kept in constant touch over the administration of the unconstitutional socialistic NRA (Paul Mallon's Column 9/20/34).

Justice Brandeis and his wife, Alice Goldmark Brandeis, are named in the Legislative testimony as the most generous individual contributors to this communistic training school, and Elizabeth Brandeis and Paul Raushenbush are also continually thanked in the Commonwealth bulletins for gifts of money and Red books. Josephine and Pauline Goldmark are old-time agitators in Mrs. Roosevelt's socialist National Consumers' League.

Aubrey Williams on Commonwealth Committee

The members of "Miss" Brandeis' Commonwealth Committee included Aubrey Williams (Roosevelt's National Youth Administration director and a financial contributor to Commonwealth), Prof. Wm. Rice (Roosevelt appointee), Rev. George Collins, and W. Ellison Chalmers (all three being executives of the red American Civil Liberties Union branch at the University of Wisconsin), Mrs. Glen Turner, and Genevieve Townsend.

Susan Brandeis Also Emulates Radical Parents

Justice Brandeis' daughter Susan is also a "Miss", although she married Jacob H. Gilbert in 1925. "In a summary of Communist activities a few weeks ago, Wm. Green, president of the A. F. of L., named Miss Brandeis as one of the important workers for the American Civil Liberties Union in N. Y. An investigation disclosed that the woman attorney is not unknown in Union Square, that open gathering place for New York Communists, where she has spoken on various occasions." She took part in the 1926 textile strike (known as a "first lesson in revolution"), worked for the election of Socialist Norman Thomas as alderman in 1927, and was an "ardent advocate" of the election of Roosevelt in 1932. (Chicago Tribune, 7/27/34.)

Frankfurter the Apostle of Brandeis

"Felix" (Frankfurter) "more than any other one person is the legal master-mind of the New Deal, although he in large part is only the transmitter of the apostolic succession of Louis D. Brandeis", says the author of "The New Dealers" (Simon and Shuster, N. Y. 1934).

"For years Associate Justice Louis Brandeis and the late Associate Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes made it a practice to take as their secretaries the two Harvard law school graduates who stood

at the head of their classes, or for other reasons were recommended by Prof. Frankfurter. . . . For the young Harvard graduates who became associated with Supreme Court justices as a result of this relationship, it was the opening of opportunity. As new secretaries came along, the old ones usually moved into responsible positions. **Many of them found their way into high places in the government when the New Deal arrived.**" (Arthur Sears Henning in his 12/22/35 Chicago Tribune dispatch.)

Garland "Free Love" Fund Supplies Cash

Commonwealth received \$24,800 from the communist Garland Fund between 1924 and 1928. Wm. E. Zeuch, then Commonwealth's director, became Roosevelt's chief of the Planning Division of the Department of the Interior. His place as director was taken by Lucien Koch, who was promoted to a "brain-trust" position in the Roosevelt administration in the fall of 1935 (Chicago Examiner 11/11/35) after the investigation, by the Arkansas legislature in February-March, 1935, of the communistic, atheistic, free love, agitational teachings of Commonwealth College had been made public.

Like the "cooperative commonwealth" of Russia, which it claims to emulate, it is supposedly self-supporting, the students working a certain number of hours per day on the farm. But like Russia, it is a failure at efficient self-support and is always scouting for donations with which to keep going.

Commonwealth Greets Roosevelt's Soviet Visitor

When Litvinoff (alias Finkelstein and a string of other names) arrived in Washington at Roosevelt's invitation to arrange for U. S. recognition of the Soviet murder-government, Lucien Koch was director of Commonwealth, and the following telegram was sent to "Mr. Litvinoff in care of Boris Skvirsky, Washington, D. C.":

"Commonwealth has long recognized Soviet Russia and its tremendous significance to the future of economic planning. It extends greetings and felicitations to Soviet Russia's able representative and invites him to visit and inspect Commonwealth, a workers' college at Mena, Arkansas, which supports itself by running a Kolhoz or collective farm. Wire answer collect. Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas."

While the wire stated that Commonwealth supports itself, another column of the college paper announced that Lucien Koch was in the East begging funds to carry on.

Gets Tax Money from Roosevelt

According to the Legislative hearings, \$5,000 from the capitalistic Carnegie Fund of New York, contributions from the wealthy Mrs. Leonard Elmhirst Committee, and \$100 yearly from radical Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis and his wife, **four scholarships from Roosevelt's Federal Emergency Relief Administration**, contributions from various radical unions, including the International Ladies Garment Workers (aided by Mrs. Roosevelt), and individuals from all

branches of the Red movement have kept their communistic work going.

Board Member Roosevelt's FERA Radical

Hilda Smith, close friend of Mrs. Roosevelt, is a member of the Commonwealth board, as well as national "Specialist in Workers' Education" for Roosevelt's FERA, notorious for its radical propaganda.

A delegation of Commonwealth agitator students were arrested as Communists when they tried to go into Kentucky to stir up trouble. Commonwealth is an organizing and training center for the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (Communist-Socialist united-front organization). They started a "Forum" for Red propaganda at Mena and are active in arranging radical conferences in the South, including a debate with the University of Texas in favor of a Communist Farmer-Labor Party.

The Commonwealth Investigation Squelched

In the fall of 1934, a prominent, patriotic Arkansas Democrat wrote me that he had read the short account of Commonwealth College in my book and was shocked that such an institution existed so near yet hitherto unknown to him. He said that he intended to see it cleaned up and did, in fact, inspire the investigation made by the Arkansas legislature subsequently, backed the introduction of a State sedition law, and confidently expected to see the gallant anti-Communist Southern legislators finish their duty in short order. Then he and his friends learned that some unseen powers were stronger than they were!

The Legislature was flooded with protests from radicals in high places, the screws were put on, the pressure was felt, the sedition law was killed, and even the reports of the committee hearings would have been buried quickly had not this patriot and his friends reprinted them for distribution.

The radicals now triumph in the fact that Commonwealth is still flourishing and jeer at the "weak" conclusion of the committee investigating it.

Has Roosevelt Administration and Other Red Connections

The Roosevelt administration is interwoven with the ramifications of Commonwealth College like material interwoven with a red thread.

"They thought we were a little hick school down here that they could close up," said Charlotte Moskowitz to a visitor of the school, with a toss of her head, referring to the Legislative investigation of Commonwealth, then just closed. "But they found out different! They found we have national and international connections!"

And she was right. She, though still a "Miss", is the wife of Raymond Koch, brother of Lucien Koch, then director of Commonwealth, who was rewarded by Roosevelt with a Government job after the investigation.

Excerpts from Legislative Testimony

The following excerpts from the testimony on Commonwealth College taken by the Joint Investigating Committee of the Senate and House of the Arkansas General Assembly are characteristic:

(Lucien Koch, 27 years of age, director of the school, now a Roosevelt appointee, being questioned.)

Ques. "Do you believe in God?"

Ans. "No."

Ques. "Do you have any religious services on the campus?"

Ans. "No."

Ques. "Do you believe in capitalism, as you understand it?"

Ans. "I do not."

Ques. "Do you own any property individually, and do you believe in the individual ownership?"

Ans. "I own very little property individually. I believe that the time has come when there must be more collective ownership of property for our civilization to be preserved."

Ques. "Now you stated that three members of the college were sent to Eastern Arkansas to assist the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, did you not, and in the same issue of Feb. 15, 1935, in which was the letter written by you, has, among other things the following: 'The meeting was arranged in a church-house by a Negro organizer (one of the outstanding Negro leaders.) Names must be omitted. **Two double barrelled shot guns and a revolver are in his room. He is ready to lay down his life if the Negroes and whites remain united.**' Did you write that statement and is that statement true?"

Ans. "I wrote that statement and I believe that statement true."

(An item from the program of Commonwealth College as printed in their paper of Feb. 15, 1935 was then brought out concerning their plan to "build revolutionary students' and teachers' organizations in the colleges of the state.")

Ques. "Do you respect the flag of the United States Government?"

Ans. "I personally am not a worshipper of symbols and I consider flags to be only symbols."

Ques. "Do you have a higher regard for other governments than the regard you have for the American Government?"

Ans. "I believe that the government of the United Socialist Soviet Republics is in many ways superior to that of the American Government. . . ." (Yet Roosevelt is paying him taxpayers' funds.)

Testimony of T. J. Thomas

"First having been duly sworn, testifies as follows to wit: I live on college property; I rent land from Lucien Koch."

Ques. "Have you seen men and women at Commonwealth College in bathing together without clothes on?"

Ans. "Sure."

Ques. "When?"

Ans. "Last summer." (1934)

Ques. "Where?"

Ans. "Down on the Mill Creek in the swimming hole."

Ques. "How many?"

Ans. "Six, eight or ten, a creek full of them."

Ques. "Does that occur often?"

Ans. "Oh, yes, pretty often."

Ques. "Did you see any indecent things in the swimming hole, that is, any actions on their part?"

Ans. "No, in the swimming pool they were just swimming."

Ques. "Now, any other place?"

Ans. "Well, yes."

Ques. "Where?"

Ans. "In the woods."

Ques. "Naked?"

Ans. "Just the same as naked."

Ques. "What were they doing?"

Ans. "You can guess the balance of it."

Ques. "Were they having intercourse?"

Ans. "Yes."

Ques. "Do you know who they were?"

Ans. "I know the girl, she was at the school last summer."

Ques. "Was she a girl of the college?"

Ans. "She came to the college when Mr. Zeuch and Mr. Goodhues were there. She was there one day when Mr. Zeuch had me to eat dinner with him, and this little girl just kinda set back. She was just 15 years old, going on 16. She just kinda pushed herself back. She said when she came she was a decent girl, but she made the remark, she says 'I am ruined'"

Ques. "Was the man involved in this act a student in this college?"

Ans. "Yes."

Ques. "What was his name?"

Ans. "I could not tell you. He was a foreigner."

Ques. "Do you know of other indecent instances in this college?"

Ans. "Yes, sir."

Ques. "Were the parties students in that college?"

Ans. "Yes, I guess I passed as close as five or six feet and could have kicked them if I had wanted."

Ques. "Did they see you?"

Ans. "Yes, and did not pay me any mind. I just walked by."

Ques. "Do you know who they were?"

Ans. "No, it was night and I could not tell exactly who they were, but I know they were students by the way they dressed, and they were just down hill from the college on the college land."

Ques. "Do you know of any other instances?"

Ans. "Well, I don't know that I do, only I know they live there together and leave there together. They just stay together when they are not married."

Ques. "Are they ashamed of their belief, or do they seem proud of their belief."

Ans. "They seem to be proud of their belief and they say there ain't no such thing as a Supreme Being."

Ques. "Have you heard Mr. Koch express himself with reference to marriage?"

Ans. "Well, nothing except I saw him one night in a play at the college, divorcing and marrying as they did in Russia."

Ques. "Was it shown in that play how they married and divorced in Russia?"

Ans. "Yes, sir. They were getting a divorce. The girl first spoke up and said 'I want a divorce'. Lucien says, 'Why', and she just made a remark 'He don't suit me'; Lucien then turned around and gave them a divorce."

Ques. "That was in a play and he was not actually giving them a divorce?"

Ans. "No, No, that was in a play, and he was showing them like they were doing in Russia. And then the girl went out and in just a short time she came back, two of them and said 'We want to get married.' Lucien says 'Alright, do you think this man will suit you?'; and she says 'Yes! we have been living together for a month and we have tried each other out and we think that we suit each other.'"

Ques. "Now, after this marriage was there anything said about this marriage being the proper manner in which to be married?"

Ans. "All that was said, Lucien Koch made the remark 'That is the way we do business in Russia, and I believe in it.'"

Testimony of L. E. Shepherd

"My land adjoins the property of Commonwealth College. I am 48 years old."

Ques. "Have you seen any indecent activities on the part of either the students or the professors in the last few years?"

Ans. "Yes."

Ques. "Will you state what those activities consist of?"

Ans. "A little bit rough just at the present time. Last summer I seen hugging and kissing and squeezing and indecent conduct right before myself and others."

Ques. "Have you seen illegal co-habitation among the students at Commonwealth College?"

Ans. "Up until two years back."

Ques. "Did you see anything unusual last summer down there?"

Ans. "Yes, the last summer they were in the swimming hole in the public place."

Ques. "Naked?"

Ans. "Yes."

Ques. "Mr. Shepherd, what do you know with reference to their belief as to a Supreme Being?"

Ans. "They absolutely deny that there is a deity and they will have

nothing to do with students or men in regard to working with them or for them unless they stand in line with their beliefs and advocate the same Russian belief that they do."

Ques. "Mr. Shepherd, what do you know from your own knowledge with reference to their belief in our American form of Government?"

Ans. "They believe in Russian Government, they teach the Russian government so we would have to work but two or three hours a day. They are Reds from the start to the finish in belief and form of government."

Ques. "Have you had arguments with Kate Richards O'Hare?"

Ans. "Yes."

Ques. "Did she advocate the Russian form of government?"

Ans. "Yes."

Testimony of Atley Delaney

(Native of Mass.; teacher in Commonwealth College.)

Ques. "Do you believe in the social equality of the white and the black races?"

Ans. "The Constitution says that all men are created equal and also Thomas Jefferson says that all men are created equal."

Ques. "Do you believe in the public ownership of the land?"

Ans. "Yes."

Ques. "You wouldn't confiscate the land?"

Ans. "We would force the owners to turn the land over but we would remunerate them for their lands by bonds."

Testimony of Charlotte Moskowitz

(Treasurer and teacher at Commonwealth College, wife of Raymond Koch.)

Ques. "Do you believe in a Supreme Being?"

Ans. "What do you mean by a Supreme Being?"

Ques. "God."

Ans. "What do you mean by God?"

Ques. "As referred to in the Bible."

Ans. "I am sure I haven't read the Bible. My religion is my own code of conduct and a code of ideals."

Ques. "Do you believe in God as taught in the Bible?"

Ans. "I told you I didn't read the Bible."

Ques. "Do you know what the common definition of God is?"

Ans. "No, my religion would be much more social."

Ques. "Do you respect the flag up there?"

Ans. "I do not respect any symbol."

Ques. "What do you think the flag is for?"

Ans. "I don't know."

Ques. "Do you respect any other country's flag any more than you respect this one?"

Ans. "I told you I didn't believe in any symbol so how could I respect any other country's flag?"

Testimony of Carl Parker

(Age 29, native of New York City, teacher at Commonwealth, 'transient'.)

Ques. "Do you believe in a Supreme Being?"

Ans. "No, sir."

Testimony of H. M. Thackery

(The secretary of the Arkansas State Federation of Labor. Named component parts of organizations forming it.)

Ques. "The American Federation of Labor has never at any time supported Commonwealth College?"

Ans. "No."

Testimony of Minor Pipkin

(Age 65 years; attorney at law; lives at Mena, Ark.)

Ques. "Have you ever represented Commonwealth College?"

Ans. "No, not the college, but when the Communist bunch came to Mena—Joe Harrison, founder of the original colony at Llano, Louisiana, came to my office with a man by the name of Benton when they incorporated the colony business. . . . Later I represented Lucien Koch's wife before he married her, in getting a divorce. I obtained a decree on the 8th day of January, 1935."

Ques. "Do you know where Kate Richards O'Hare is?"

Ans. "I only know she spent a term in the penitentiary at Leavenworth for Espionage during the World War." . . .

Ques. "I have here what purports to be a copy of a letter under date of October 25, 1934, signed by C. F. Klinefelter, Assistant Director Educational Division of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration—will you attach that letter to your testimony?"

Ans. "Yes. (extracts from the letter) 'Mr. Lucien Koch, President of Commonwealth College, has been in the office presenting the claim of his institution as a special case for participation in the college student aid program'."

(Author's note: certainly it would be a special case with Hilda Smith, the national workers' education specialist of the FERA, a member of its board, and Aubrey Williams a supporter.) "You are therefore authorized to make an allotment of funds available to the institution the first of November by Mr. Aubrey Williams. . . . I am sending a copy of this letter to Superintendent Phipps. . . . I have made some inquiries as to why one Lucien Koch would have so devilish much influence with authorities in Washington and have been reliably informed that one Aubrey Williams, who is said in that letter to have approved this institution . . . was a classmate of Lucien Koch in the University of Wisconsin."

Ques. "I believe you stated that you were the attorney for the present Mrs. Lucien Koch, in procuring a decree from her former husband, Frederick B. Maxham . . . did he live on the campus at Commonwealth?"

Ans. "At the time of my first visit there to see about getting the divorce, he did not." . . .

Ques. "After you obtained that divorce did Irene Merril Maxham marry Lucien Koch?"

Ans. "She told me she did. That is all I know about it."

Testimony of D. S. Tankersley

(Age 34; lives at Mena, Arkansas; served as deputy sheriff about four years ago.)

Ques. "Now as a peace officer, were you ever thrown in contact with the students and teachers of Commonwealth?"

Ans. "I was—about eight years ago—sometimes to make an arrest and sometimes to serve civil papers. None of these arrests since 1931."

Ques. "Now, go ahead with your statement you started here."

Ans. "Well, as I told you, I was on the force there and there was a man from Louisiana. I cannot give you his name now, but it appears to me that his name is Long, and he came down here on a hunt for one of his girls, so I put in most of the day trying to help. At last the man got her located at Commonwealth College and got a warrant before the Justice of the Peace, J. P. Smith, that afternoon late. Just before I went out there, there was a man came from Illinois hunting his girl. After this man from Louisiana had got a warrant for this young fellow, so I goes out to Commonwealth College and I stated to Mr. Benton that I wanted to see those young fellows and asked him if he could show them to me, and he goes out to his office and around to the bedroom and turns the lights on and he pointed the two young fellows out to me. Them and their girls. They did not have beds, but had pallets, and there were four rows of pallets and a walk between the pallets and they were paired off in the same pallet clear across the room. The room was about 18 feet long."

Ques. "How many were in the room?"

Ans. "About 25 or 30 couples of them." . . .

Ques. "How were they dressed?"

Ans. "Dressed in their night clothes, the four I got out of bed were. I got the two young fellows and the two girls. I did not have warrants for the girls, but taken them along to hold as witnesses for the examining trial the next day."

Ques. "Now, do you mean to testify that you went out to the college to arrest those boys that the fathers of the two girls had sworn warrants for, and found approximately 20 to 24 men and women sleeping together in the same room on pallets?"

Ans. "Yes."

Ques. "Were they ever tried?"

Ans. "When trial came up the girls were held to recognizance for appearance before the Grand Jury and when the Grand Jury indicted them, the same court would try them, but before they went to trial the old man from Louisiana made a proposal to this young man that if he would marry his girl that he would

give him a little land and tools and the prosecuting attorney got the man to withdraw the charges against the boy by paying the cost of the court and him and the girl would marry and I got them the license and he could take them back home. When the old man in Illinois seen what the fellow from Louisiana was doing, he made the other young fellow the same proposition and he married the girl. . . . Now, if you will go out to the college on Sunday afternoon, or any nice warm afternoon, you will see them all on them hills just lying around like they were on them pallets." . . .

Ques. "What were they doing over there lying on the ground on those leaves?"

Ans. "They were lying there on the leaves and they seemed to be loving."

Testimony of Irene O'Roark

(Lives in Marked Tree, Arkansas; age 28; married; has two children; has two brothers, among others, who have been to Commonwealth College.)

Ques. "What kind of disposition did Marion Noble" (one of the two brothers) "have when he was in High School?"

Ans. "Well, very mild tempered. Just an ordinary boy. . . . He finished high school at 18 or 19 and went right to the University of Arkansas, where he stayed more than a year. . . . He went to Commonwealth College about four years ago. He traded a Delco Light system for his expenses at Commonwealth."

Ques. "Did you talk with him about the school?"

Ans. "Not very much. He did not say very much about it at that time. He came from Memphis to my house in December, 1934. . . . He had been in California, working in the Radical movement. He had taught in a labor school in California."

Ques. "Now during his stay of three or four weeks at your home, did you talk with him then as to his beliefs in Socialism and Communism?"

Ans. "Yes. That was all he talked about."

Ques. "Did he state he was a communist?"

Ans. "Yes."

Ques. "Did you ask him where he got his belief or teachings?"

Ans. "Well, he was not a Radical until he went to that school. I know that."

Ques. "Did you discuss with him his religious belief?"

Ans. "Oh, yes. . . . He is an atheist now; does not believe in God or anything, so he said." . . .

Ques. "What is his belief as to free love?"

Ans. "They do not believe in marriage at all."

Ques. "Does he believe Russia is a better government than the United States?"

Ans. "Oh, yes, it is the only thing that will save America, so he says." . . .

Ques. "Did your brother have a lady (Mae Wolf) with him when he came to your home in Marked Tree?"

Ans. "No, but he carried her to my sister's home in Memphis." . . .

Ques. "Was he married to Mae Wolf?"

Ans. "Not that we know of."

Ques. "Did you discuss that matter?"

Ans. "Yes, he first told me that he was married, then owned up that he was not."

Ques. "Do you have a younger brother?"

Ans. "Yes."

Ques. "What is his name?"

Ans. "I. J. Noble."

Ques. "How old is he now?"

Ans. "Fourteen, I believe."

Ques. "Did he visit Commonwealth College last year?"

Ans. "Yes, I would say about July."

Ques. "Did your younger brother express any astonishment after returning from the college about conditions?"

Ans. "Yes, he was very much upset about it."

Ques. "What did he say?"

Ans. "He told of the boys and girls living together and about the use of profane language."

Ques. "You say he was not like that when he left home?"

Ans. "He talked about the bathing parties of the men and women and he said that at first he thought he would never get used to it, but he said he finally got educated to it. There must be a creek or river near Commonwealth College because he spoke freely of the mixed bathing parties in the nude and how beautiful the ladies were."

Ques. "Did he know any of the Soviet Union Songs?"

Ans. "Yes, he would sing songs about the Soviet Union. They sing songs about the Soviet Union at Commonwealth and he would sing these songs until the world looked level."

Ques. "What did he say about the Red flag?"

Ans. "That it was the only flag and would be the only thing that would save the world."

Ques. "Mrs. O'Roark, did your brother state to you what his position was with reference to social equality of whites and blacks?"

Ans. "Yes, he was very much in favor of social equality and he says negroes are as good as any white person, and should be treated as same."

Commonwealth "Museum of Social Change"

The Museum of Commonwealth College referred to by Howard Kester in his pamphlet on the activities of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (see page 243) is being assembled for the benefit of those Reds who, "after the revolution", will wish to see how we "bourgeois" lived and worshipped in these "dark" pre-Red-revolutionary times. Not only relics such as the hangman's rope for Reds, referred to in

this tale, are preserved, but, to quote the Commonwealth bulletin of 2/15/35:

"Exhibits for the Museum of Social Change flood in, and now we're in need of scrap books, glass cases and display cabinets of all sorts to properly preserve and show hundreds upon hundreds of class conscious souvenirs. . . .

Mencken, "Leading Contributor", Called "Basically Intelligent and Radical"

"The section devoted to religious relics is outgrowing the others. **H. L. Mencken is still leading contributor to this morgue** and a week doesn't pass without a bulky envelope or package from Baltimore, crammed with significant stuff that's right up our alley. . . .

"Supporting capital with one hand H. L. helps build the monument to its decay with the other, and that keeps him pretty busy washing hands. If all reactionaries were as basically intelligent and radical as Mencken our Museum would soon outgrow its present roomy hall.

"An anonymous donor sends in a swell Mason's symbolic apron in which the true brother performs his rituals and in which he is buried. It is made of white kid and would cut up into half a dozen ritzy pairs of pall-bearer's gloves. We still lack a baptismal font, a Holy Roller's phial of anointment ointment, a bootlegged pint of holy water, a Jewish praying shawl, and a rabbi's circumcision knife."

Active Organized Red Minority Cows Legislature

"LEGISLATURE KILLS SUPPRESSIVE BILLS. Voted Down by Large Majority when Protested by Entire Nation", was the triumphant headline in the Commonwealth bulletin of April 1, 1935:

"Because thousands of protests came in from all over the nation, the Arkansas legislature did not pass any law or resolution under which Commonwealth can be destroyed." (The Committee did issue a distinct warning that Commonwealth should be watched and censured it severely for its communistic teachings and strike agitations.)

Of course, the individual members of the Arkansas Legislature could not have been expected to know how the radicals habitually work these "mass protests". When the call goes forth through the Red press and organizations to send protests or appeals for some Red cause imperiled by the law, or for some jailed Red criminal, so many of the Red clan and breed petition and threaten those concerned with these Communist cases that their busy minority of thousands seems, to those being deluged, a majority of millions, particularly since patriotic anti-Communists seldom bother to even talk about such cases, much less to back up or encourage legal authorities in any way.

Jane Addams One of Pleadings for Commonwealth

Also, the radicals have impressive helpers in high places who camouflage themselves as "liberals", neutrals, mere lovers of free speech and justice and who are built up in the public eye as such.

How could Arkansas legislators withstand, for example, the plea of Jane Addams, since the press of America, in spite of more than one Congressional exposure of her Red activities, has devoted itself to building up but one side of the picture of her career, that of a kindly social worker?

Her work, however, as professional "protestor" in behalf of Communist cases for the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, on whose national committee she served for ten years, is particularly praised in one A.C.L.U. report. Not only was she associated in this A.C.L.U. work as fellow committee member with Wm. Z. Foster and other Communist Party heads, but principal Red Revolutionary leaders from foreign countries made Hull House their Mecca and Chicago headquarters. Lenin called Borodin from his Hull House teaching to take charge of the Communist revolution in China.

These "Protestors" Condone Commonwealth's Scarlet Record

The Commonwealth bulletin (4/1/35) proceeded to quote some of the protests which had turned the trick, saying: "The following are extracts from a few of the hundreds of statements and protests that have been made since the legislative investigation began":

"Jane Addams, '... I am sure you know you have my profound sympathy in the difficulties you are encountering.'"

"Tucker P. Smith, director of Brookwood Labor College" sent protests in the name of a teacher conference at Brookwood Labor College (the communist-Garland-Fund-supported institution to train agitators denounced by the A. F. of L. for its communistic teachings, to which Roosevelt's TVA Government-managed Cooperative sent one of its members on its profits).

"International Labor Defense" (Communist Party's legal aid society): "'We are taking steps to get a real protest started against the investigation of Commonwealth College.'"

"Alexander Meiklejohn, former director of Experimental College, University of Wisconsin: 'I am terribly sorry that the wolves are after you. . . . Please let me know if I can be of help in any way.'"

"H. L. Mencken: 'Bring it (Commonwealth) to Maryland Free State, and I'll give you an unconditional guarantee of free speech . . .'" (He is now "washing hands", as the Commonwealth bulletin calls it, by attacking Roosevelt.)

"Bishop Francis J. McConnell, president Methodist Federation for Social Service, and Ralph P. Urmey: 'In behalf of tolerance and civil liberties guaranteed by federal constitution we urge you to use your influence against proposed Arkansas sedition bill and against interference with Commonwealth College which progressive educators and liberals of America have watched with interest since its start.'"

"Eugene W. Sutherland, chairman Conference of Younger Churchmen of the South: 'There is nothing praiseworthy enough that can be said of those like Lucien Koch and Ward Rodgers and Howard Kester and Powers Hapgood and others who are bearing the brunt

of the struggle for human rights in Arkansas. Please let us know how we can help."

"The United Farmers' League." (This farm organization of the Communist Party backed them enthusiastically.)

"Frank Graham, president, University of North Carolina" (also of the board of the communist State University of Moscow summer school for training Americans in communism, and a Roosevelt appointee): "Please wire me by Western Union contents of sedition bill. We have helped kill bills in last two legislatures here. Will gladly help."

"Leo Gallagher" (attorney for the communist International Labor Defense): "'Entire nation condemns efforts of Arkansas legislature to destroy academic freedom and civil liberty.'"

That phrase "academic freedom and civil liberty" is worked to death by Communists working to destroy **all** freedom and **all** liberty.

The radicals' mouthpiece in Congress, **Thomas R. Amlie**, also protested, saying the investigation was "an unmistakable effort to destroy the civic liberties of the people in the state of Arkansas and consequently a matter of direct interest to every sincere American citizen."

How the Reds do flock from every State, even from foreign lands, with their protests to help each other out, all crying for "civil liberties", whenever Communism is threatened with suppression by Americans whom Communism would strip of every civil liberty.

Corliss Lamont, atheist writer for the Communist Party and head of the communist Friends of the Soviet Union, and **Winifred L. Chappell**, co-executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, who is on Commonwealth's board and summer teaching staff and who served on a Communist Party campaign committee in 1932, also leaped to the rescue with protests. To the average citizen, the name "Corliss Lamont", whose capitalistic "pink" father is one of the Wall Street firm of Pierpont Morgan, and the seemingly churchly name, "Methodist Federation for Social Service," sound anything but communistic. Yet Corliss Lamont is very active in the Communist movement, and Bishop McConnell's own bravado, but true, words concerning the Methodist Federation in its bulletin were: **"We simply cannot be respectable."**

Non-radicals who are blissfully unconscious of how much they do not know about the Red movement are easily maneuvered.

"Board of Counselors" of Commonwealth College

The Commonwealth College board of counselors as listed on their letterhead of April 1935 includes:

Oscar Ameringer*, editor of the revolutionary socialist "American Guardian", which graces TVA library tables, stamped with "Tennessee Valley Authority, Norris Library." He was indicted under the U. S. Sedition law during the war.

Roger N. Baldwin*, president (1935) of the communist Garland Fund; national director of the Communist-aiding American Civil

*See "The Red Network" for further affiliations.

Liberties Union. He says his "goal is Communism" (Harvard Year Book 1935).

John Bosch, now head, since Milo Reno's death, of the radical National Farmers' Holiday Association.

George S. Counts*, American advisor of the communist Moscow State University Summer School in Russia; translator and eulogist of Communist M. Ilin's Soviet "New Russia's Primer", which puffs Communism and criticizes American principles; etc., etc.

Clinton S. Golden*, a director of the communist Garland Fund and a Roosevelt appointee.

Carl Haessler*, teacher at the Communist Party's District No. 8 "Workers School" of revolution, Chicago; his own description of the Red strike he stirred up while in Leavenworth prison during the war is reprinted in "The Red Network", page 54; managing director communistic Federated Press. He teaches at Commonwealth during the summer.

Alice Hanson, former teacher at Commonwealth and committee member of the communist All-America Anti-Imperialist League; elected treasurer of the University of Chicago chapter of the Communist-Socialist coalition, the American Student Union (Daily Maroon 1/17/36); etc., etc.

Florence Curtis Hanson*, of the American Civil Liberties Union, secretary-treasurer of the Garland-Fund-supported radical American Federation of Teachers; etc.

E. C. Lindeman*, connected with the communist American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia and many kindred activities.

Alexander Meiklejohn*, of the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union; vice president of the red League for Industrial Democracy; etc.

Scott Nearing*, a very prominent Communist and a Garland Fund director from the beginning; etc.

Isaac Max Rubinow*; Russian-born and bred; national Secretary of B'nai B'rith; vice-president of the socialistic American Association for Old Age Security; etc. (See under Roosevelt Appointees, etc.)

Luther Ely Smith, a St. Louis attorney; financial supporter of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Hilda W. Smith, Roosevelt's national "Specialist in Workers' Education" for the FERA.

Lucien Koch was director and Charlotte Moskowitz, Secretary-Treasurer.

Since Koch moved to Washington to be honored with a responsible U. S. Government position by Roosevelt, Richard Babb Whitten of New Orleans has been director. He is a member of the Revolutionary Policy Committee of the Socialist Party (see p. 337, "The Red Network"), who state that they wish to "make every effort in promoting the world revolution", to secure "governmental power for the victorious revolution by arming the workers", "by preparing the working class to turn imperialistic war into class war", to seek a "united

*See "The Red Network" for further affiliations.

front" with other Red revolutionaries, and that they "make no fetish of legality" (from their bulletin of April, 1934; 554 W. 114 St., N. Y. City).

Communist Editor to Advise Roosevelt

The Commonwealth College bulletin of 6/15/36 stated that Chester A. Arthur, Jr., Pacific Coast editor of the Communist Party's "Labor Defender" (International Labor Defense organ), was spending a few days at Commonwealth.

To quote: "He is touring the country for the purpose of studying labor and economic conditions and writing articles based on his observations. Arthur has been asked by Pres. Roosevelt to make a report of his survey to the White House."

Roosevelt, evidently, simply cannot do without Communistic assistance, and the Commonwealth variety holds a particular attraction for him, it seems.

"HARRY HOPKINS' 'PROFESSOR OF COMMUNISM' "

Hilda Smith of Commonwealth's Board

Hilda W. Smith, Roosevelt's FERA "Specialist in Workers' Education", is at the same time a member of the board of the communistic training school for agitators, Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas. The affiliated Summer Schools for Workers, headed by Hilda Smith, received a donation from the communist Garland Fund (Nov. 1934 Fund Report) and, in addition, are financed by the Federal Government Relief Fund with the endorsement of Mrs. Roosevelt. (National Republic 11/35.)

To quote the "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column (10/3/35) written by Allen and Pearson:

"When Hilda Smith was dean of women at Bryn Mawr College, listening to the tribulations of young girls, she thought she had a problem on her hands. But now she has traded that for the immense job of teaching 1,200 teachers how to teach 50,000 workers. Dr. Smith is a mild mannered woman of 50 with graying hair and soft kindly blue eyes. Sometimes she is called **Harry Hopkins' 'professor of Communism'**.

"'We don't teach Communism', she says with a faint smile, 'But we allow discussion of it provided the other side is presented as well'.

"Her job is to take teachers off relief rolls to teach workers who are on relief rolls. They call it the program for workers' education, now two years old."

They Get It Anyway

"Some cities don't like the idea of having workers discuss political and economic questions. But Hilda Smith's staff ignores this. They have the 100% backing of Harry Hopkins. In one southern town, permission to use the local school house was denied. So the FERA teacher got his workers together, piled them, plus a blackboard, into

his car and drove out into the woods. Here he hung the blackboard on the car and lectured to the class sitting on tree stumps."

Government Supplies "Communitistic Literature and Radical Instruction"

The N. Y. American of 8/8/34 said: "Communitistic literature and radical instruction are available to students of the New York Summer School for Workers, 302 35th St., an institution maintained by U. S. Government funds, it was revealed last night. The FERA is paying salaries to 15 teachers, and the 75 students receive lunches and \$8 a week from the C.W.A. it was revealed. Students questioned concerning the curriculum asserted they are given so-called revolutionary material for study and also have been told that the government's economic system should be supplanted by Socialism . . . they asserted that teaching of Marxism and Socialism were part of their curriculum and that they debated the subjects as part of their school work. Hilda Smith, of Wash., D. C., principal, denied vehemently that Communism was taught in the school. She admitted certain books dealing with radicalism were available to the students. . . . One of the most popular books in the school, it was said, is 'What Every Worker Should Know'. It is by EARL BROWDER, HEAD OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A."

Federal Grand Jury Association Protests

An International News Service dispatch of 5/10/35 said: "Nothing whatever to say", was the only word from the office of FERA administrator Harry L. Hopkins on the charge of the Federal Grand Jury Association for the Southern District of New York that approximately 20,000 students are being taught Communism through federal relief funds. . . . In a letter signed by James H. Burnett, president, the association declared its members had first hand knowledge of subversive activities directed against the American form of government gathered through their service on federal grand juries. The letter reads: 'Convincing evidence has been brought to our attention that public funds of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration were used to pay adults \$8 per week to be taught communism and subversive doctrines. We understand that there are some 20,000 such students in more than twenty schools for workers scattered throughout the country and that the graduates were to become instructors and leaders in activities intended to bring about the overthrow of our government.'

"How to Overthrow the U. S. Government"

"Among the subjects taught in the schools, the association disclosed, were:

"How to foment a strike.

"How to take over the industries of the United States, especially the munitions plants." (Mrs. Roosevelt urged taking over all U. S. munitions plants under Government ownership at her Chicago lecture 11/1/35 (Chicago Tribune and Chicago Daily News 11/2/35).)

"How to bring about the general strike, and then seize and operate the plants.

"How to overthrow the United States Government and establish a Soviet Union."

Moscow Primer Used in FERA Schools

A copy of a Moscow-printed primer used by N. Y. FERA Schools was delivered to Chairman John W. McCormack of the House Committee on Un-Americanism by Archibald Stevenson, secretary of the patriotic National Civic Federation; to quote the press report (Chicago Tribune 4/4/35): "Stevenson told McCormack that he had affidavits from FERA teachers that the primer was being used. He said that 100,000 copies had been printed in English by the publishing house of U.S.S.R. and that the book had been approved by the Russian Commissariat of Education. One page depicted a Russian woman distributing soup to school children and the lesson read as follows: 'We get hot lunches every day. All children in America do not get hot lunches. Only the children in the Soviet Union get hot lunches in school every day.' Other lessons praised leaders of the Soviet government and attacked the United States."

Mrs. Roosevelt Defends Hilda's Red Teachings

Hilda Smith had been widely criticized in the press for some time when Mrs. Roosevelt came to her defense with a "free speech" argument typical of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, which is so dominant in the Roosevelt administration. To quote (Chicago Tribune 10/23/34):

"Mrs. Roosevelt today endorsed as a 'tremendously good thing' the plan tried out this year for the first time, of educational camps for unemployed women.

"As an outgrowth of her idea of a camp for unemployed girls, which resulted in the organization of Camp Tera, on Bear Mountain in New York, 28 schools and camps for unemployed women were established last summer in 28 states and the District of Columbia, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF MISS HILDA SMITH, specialist in workers' education of the Federal emergency relief administration.

"Mrs. Roosevelt also specifically approved today the policy, which was the subject of some criticism last summer, of including in camp discussion of the principles and platforms of all political parties and schools of thought, not excepting Communism and Socialism."

Communist Discussions O.K. Under Hilda's Direction

"I don't see how they could be left out of such general discussions', Mrs. Roosevelt declared. 'They are part of the whole picture in any discussion of politics or economics. And I personally feel that the more knowledge and intelligence people who live in a democracy can bring to their problems, the better. After all, one can't live in this world without hearing about these things, and it is certainly better and more valuable to have a democratic discussion of such subjects under intelligent DIRECTION and LEADERSHIP than to

leave them to be talked about by individuals with perhaps a narrower background and less breadth of vision to assist their understanding.' " (Observe the words "Direction" and "Leadership".)

"The New York Summer School, the Oberlin resident school for women, and the Chicago training center, were among those denounced by critics as promoting dangerous radicalism and fostering treason through failure to suppress discussion of Communism in their open forums or to withhold from the students literature in their libraries on the subject of Communism and Socialism."

"Honest Harold" Ickes, Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior, whose speech is distributed as Red propaganda by the notorious Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, urged the discussion of Communism in schools with a similar argument (AP 6/5/35).

"Star Spangled Banner" Taboo—Communist "Internationale" Not

Joseph F. Thorning, S. J., writing in "America" for 10/5/35, says: "The condition of the schools that are supposed to train the FERA workers is deplorable . . . in Olivet, Mich, the Mayor testified that in the FERA school which was supposed to train teachers for the unemployed it was forbidden to sing the **Star Spangled Banner**, although the **Internationale** was frequently chanted with enthusiasm and other Communistic propaganda was so rampant that the citizens of the community would never tolerate a re-opening of this FERA school. In short, there are clear indications that the whole relief program has not only been shamefully exploited by Communist agitators but that elaborate plans have been formulated in order further to divert Government funds to the purposes of disorder, subversions, and revolution."

Olivet, Michigan, "Shuddered"

George B. Ely, Purdue University graduate and president of the village said: "The people of the village shuddered through six weeks of communistic activity and we hope never to have to go through it again. Men of Olivet wanted to take matters in their own hands and drive these teachers out of the village, but I helped dissuade them and to add insult to injury, a lot of these crackpots spent the money the government gave them on beer."

The National Republic (Oct. 1935), reporting this, says: "Reverberations of the charges also come from Patrick D. Burns, a Detroit student, who says he 'quit the school in disgust, when some of us who wanted to sing the "Star Spangled Banner" were booed!' He accused Miss Hubbard, Miss Schmidt and Colston Warne (an instructor at Amherst) of teaching radical theories in the FERA school. . . . Dorothy Hubbard was director of the FERA and 35 teacher students were enrolled.

Communist Teaching Charged at Other FERA Schools

"Not many months ago similar charges were made against FERA schools in California, Minnesota, Ohio, New York; Commonwealth College, at Mena, Ark., and Highlander Folk School, in Tennessee.

Although the charges against these schools were substantiated by definite proof, there were many denials from the 'higher-ups', in charge at Washington, D. C. However, Hilda Smith, head of the schools, admitted that Communism was being studied in the institutions and the study of Communist literature had been encouraged by her. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt openly endorsed Miss Smith's program for these schools even though she had been informed of the Communist teachings therein."

The Red Program Continues

I have the personal report of a teacher who studied in a Minneapolis FERA school (directed by Roman Becker), who was so enraged at the communistic propaganda fostered there that she has been seeking ever since to find some way to let the people know the facts.

Long after Mrs. Roosevelt's initial defense of Hilda Smith, the Seattle Business Chronicle, sadly wrote under the caption "Training Teachers for Revolution?" in its Sept. 1935 issue:

"FERA is engaged in training 1,250 teachers to conduct 'workers' classes' in 30 states this fall. Hilda Smith, FERA specialist in 'workers' education', declares that 'wage earners are becoming increasingly eager to understand the complex economic and social questions affecting their lives as workers and citizens.' . . . All this may be very well, but it has been shown that in many of these 'workers' classes' Communism is not pictured in its true light but as an ideal form of government vastly superior to the one existing in this country. The grim humor of the situation is that money wrung from American taxpayers is used to foster and spread communistic and socialistic theories—as though a victim must be compelled to pay for his own hanging."

"Out-Redding" a Radical

Chas. Smith, 550 Lincoln Ave., Calumet City, Illinois, a former principal of the Calumet City High School, attended the FERA training school at Judson Court, University of Chicago. He was a strong Roosevelt supporter, he said, according to the Chicago Tribune report (8/13/34), and stated, to quote: "I thought I was pretty radical until I got into that place."

"The students numbered twenty-three men and twelve women. Four were Negroes, two men and two women. All lived in one wing of Judson Court, one of the model dormitories of the University, and attended classes in the dormitory. Sometimes they sang the "Internationale" but several walked out on the "Star Spangled Banner". The students received \$18 a week in federal money from the Illinois Emergency Relief commission.

"We were taught parliamentary law, labor legislation, economics and labor organization. Collective bargaining was stressed in the latter. In other words it was largely the technique of strikes which we learned."

"In one class, Mr. Smith recalled, the students prepared papers on what they considered an ideal plan of government for this country."

Jeered for Not Advocating Violent Revolution

"Mr. Smith and several other 'reactionaries' worked on a plan which they proposed in opposition to more revolutionary plans." (It was, in fact, a radical, Socialist plan.)

"Our plan", said Mr. Smith, "was ridiculed and panned because it did not provide for a revolution."

"In our plan we provided for the government's taking over by right of eminent domain all basic resources necessary to produce food, clothing and shelter . . . but because we maintained . . . that our form of government did not need to be replaced by any Communistic or Marxist form, our plan was jeered by many of the students."

"Instructors in the classes alluded to the American Legion as 'the American Fascisti' and at least one of them, Mr. Smith charged, spoke in class of 'organizing the workers to fight the bosses'."

"Miss Louise Gilmore, 27 years old, director of the training schools . . . a candidate for the degree of doctor of Philosophy at the University of Chicago" said the "'Internationale' was sung only twice, at gatherings to teach folk dancing." (Author's note: "Now I'll tell one!")

Feeding Communist-Led Revolt

The Communist-organized and led general strike of 1934 on the West Coast was intended to lead to a revolutionary uprising. A virtual state of civil war actually existed for several days.

During this time, the N. Y. Post, owned by Roosevelt's radical friend, "Dear Dave" Stern, under the caption, "FERA to Feed All Comers in Coast Strike Areas", cheerily reported:

"The Federal Emergency Relief Administration can feed women and children against any strike resistance. This hitherto unused power has been quietly explored and confirmed by the Government's legal counsel."

"Robert H. Hinckley is special representative of the FERA on the Coast. His duty is to see that no one goes hungry. Apparently the FERA will make no distinction between families of strikers and the general public—all will be fed if necessary." (N. Y. Post 7/20/34.)

Retain Communist Party Instructor

A dispatch from Tucson, Arizona, reported (Chicago Tribune, 8/8/34):

"How the government operated a summer industrial school held at Occidental college, Los Angeles, for training social workers, employed as an instructor Miss Miriam Bonner, a former instructor in a communist party school in San Francisco, was told by G. S. Ballam. . . .

"Mr. Ballam has just returned from the government operated school where he and four other Arizonans were sent, at federal ex-

pense, for instruction. The summer school closed last Friday. Mr. Ballam brought back with him an armful of communist propaganda.

"A story was told by him as to how Miss Bonner, who was hired to teach English, used her classes for the purpose of propagating communism. The students became so resentful of her teachings, Ballam said, that the directors were forced to curb her activities. Nevertheless, she was retained until the close of the summer school."

Patriotic Societies Waste Sweetness on Desert Air

A protest setting forth charges of communistic FERA teachings, backed by affidavits and other proofs, was sent to the "Members of the House of Representatives, The Congress of the United States," 2/14/35, signed by representatives of the following patriotic societies: National Civic Federation, Daughters of the Revolution, New England Women, Daughters of 1812, Daughters of the Union, Daughters of the American Colonies, Daughters of the American Revolution. In the protest, this resolution appears:

"Resolved that we do protest against the appropriation by the Federal Government of any money for these purposes and urge upon Congress the enactment of mandatory legislation forbidding such use of Government funds."

They "wasted their sweetness on the desert air"! The Roosevelt radicals are in the saddle. They are, with our tax money, buying and paying for the preparations for the Marxian "new social order".

Communism Charged at Camp Jane Addams

"American Legion's Expose: Red Teaching Charged At Camp Aided by U. S.", is the heading of this New York American dispatch (7/3/36):

"The Rockland County American Legion yesterday adopted a resolution charging that girls at Camp Jane Addams, a Federal project in Bear Mountain Park, were being taught Communism.

"The Legion was told at a meeting in Piermont, N. Y., that Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt is interested in the camp and that her daughter, Mrs. John Boettiger, is a member of the camp board.

"The charges, brought before the eight Rockland County Legion posts by an unidentified Legionnaire, included the accusation that 150 young women at the camp were addressed daily by Communist leaders from New York, who 'discussed ways and means to overthrow the Government.'

"Also, that American anthems, including 'America', were parodied in such a way as to slur the United States and the capitalistic form of government.

"Michael Grossman of the Rockland County Veterans of Foreign Wars, a guest at the Legion meeting, corroborated the unidentified Legionnaire's charges."

Keeping Red Teachings Secret

"He told the Legion that 'visitors are barred from the camp because the camp management desires to keep communistic activities a secret.'

"Only a week ago, Grossman concluded, he had brought the situation at the camp to the attention of Senator Copeland, who had promised an investigation.

"Camp Jane Addams includes several buildings and extensive playgrounds. Most of the campers are from New York City. The camp is operated as a cooperative enterprise with the girls doing all the camp work."

The N. Y. American (7/4/36) quotes Mark A. McCloskey, N. Y. State director of the National Youth Administration, as saying, in reply to the charges: "We are not teaching propaganda of any sort there We have classes in the camp in current events and Communism undoubtedly is mentioned *objectively* as an existing form of government, just as is royalism and capitalism."

Mrs. Roosevelt and Daughter Personally Involved

"Formerly called Camp Tera, the institution has the support of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, wife of the President. Their daughter Mrs. John Boettiger is a member of the camp board."

One is not surprised at the Roosevelt change of name from "Camp Tera" to "Camp Jane Addams" or at the charges of Communism, if one is familiar with the Government manual of Communistic literature for all Government workers' education classes put out by Hilda Smith, "Harry Hopkins' 'Professor of Communism'", with Mrs. Roosevelt's consistent radicalism, and with Jane Addams' long Red record.

Camp Named After Mrs. Roosevelt's Red Friend

Many good Americans, long fed exclusively on sentimental press-agent material featuring the humanitarian side of Jane Addams' career, are so completely ignorant of what the Red movement is, that they cannot realize, or scarcely believe even if told, as I could not until I was forced to by the irrefutable record, that Jane Addams was the supporting "mother" and "guide" of the principal Red subversive movements in the United States. One inwardly bitterly resists altering a fixed mental picture even though it has been a distorted one. It was unfortunate that Jane Addams held the misguided idea that helping the Red Revolution would help the poor.

Not only has the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy, leader of the present Red Front in America, long held its Red yearly conferences at the Bowen Country Club of Hull House, but, also, Hull House windows have displayed the placards of succeeding Communist cases, such as those of Anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti (Felix Frankfurter's fervid activity), who died yelling "Long live anarchy!" Communist plays, forums, meetings and congresses are regularly held there, now, as always. Only recently, a two-day con-

gress of the Communist Party's International Labor Defense took place there. Jane Addams herself helped organize and direct the communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union with the foremost Anarchists, I. W. W.s, Communists and revolutionary Socialists for ten years, and accepted money for her "peace" activities from those same Red leaders directing the communist Garland Fund.

Jane Addams and the Roosevelt Regime

Interwoven with and basically paving the way for the Roosevelt regime in society, educational and social settlement circles have been: her radical proteges and associates covering the Nation with their activities, some now being Roosevelt appointees; her faithfully nurtured Socialist public ownership organizations, in which she acted as officer; her close cooperation with such Communism-supporting settlement heads as Mary McDowell and with Communist Engels' apostle, Florence Kelley, and Lillian Wald, Mrs. Roosevelt's close associates. (At Lillian Wald's Henry Street Settlement, the communist American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia was born, with Jane Addams and Lillian Wald both serving as officers); her communist Garland-Fund-supported Women's International League for Peace and Freedom "pacifist" activities; etc., etc. (See "The Red Network".)

Her radical clique stand with, around, and in the Roosevelt regime, interweaving its fabric with a thousand strands. She was offered a Roosevelt appointment but declined it. Mrs. Roosevelt in a radio broadcast, naturally, chose Jane Addams as one, in her opinion, of the eleven greatest American women, along with other radicals.

Roosevelt Radicals Honor Their Leader

"Green" Americans thought that the Twentieth Anniversary celebration of Jane Addams' Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and of her 75th birthday, was held in Washington May 2-3, 1935, not as a tribute to her radicalism but solely in honor of her kindness to the poor on funds collected from the rich, and her services to "peace" (backed by Red class-war money).

But the Roosevelts, "Honest Harold" Ickes* and Mrs. Ickes, John A. Ryan*, Wm. Allen White*, Mrs. Louis D. Brandeis*, Henry Morgenthau, Robert Maynard Hutchins*, Mrs. Gerard Swope (vice-chairman of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom), Grace Abbott*, Chas. Clayton Morrison*, Wm. Allan Neilson*, Henry Noble MacCracken*, Mary Woolley*, Lola Maverick Lloyd*, Sophonisba P. Breckenridge*, Rosika Schwimmer*, Sen. Gerald P. Nye*, Dr. Alice Hamilton*, Caroline O'Day, Josephine Roche, Sidney Hillman* (whose pro-Soviet Amalgamated Clothing Workers was organized at Hull House when they were ousted for radicalism from the A. F. of L.), Hannah Clothier Hull* (president of the Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom and Mrs. Roosevelt's radio substitute)—these—better perhaps than Owen D. Young and Walter S. Gifford, and a very few others composing the anniversary committee

*Listed in "The Red Network".

and functionaries—knew why they were joining with Lenin's widow, Krupskaya, and Mrs. Litvinoff (Finklestein) of Soviet Russia in honoring Jane Addams.

Washington Turned Over to Radicals' Jubilee

The city of Washington was turned over to the Jane Addams' celebration, streets were barred off, and loud speakers were installed to broadcast the messages of praise from English Socialist Arthur Henderson, French "pacifist" Paul Boncour, Mrs. Litvinoff, Lenin's widow, "Miss" Krupskaya, etc., from across the sea, and the honoring speech of Troyanovsky, Soviet emissary of the atheist murder-government from Washington. Any anti-Communist would consider praise from such sources utter condemnation.

Reds Join in Praising Her Leadership

The Communist Party's mouthpiece in Congress, Vito Marcantonio, eulogized her, as did also Hungarian Jewess Rosika Schwimmer (exiled for radical activities and denied American citizenship by our courts), Nellie Tayloe Ross (Roosevelt appointee), and radical Senator Nye at an informal supper held at the Y. W. C. A. in Washington.

In connection with the celebration, Mrs. Ickes, Mrs. Hull and Soviet Ambassador Troyanovsky were photographed together (Washington Post 5/4/35).

But What, Really, Does Hilda Smith's FERA Teach?

I have before me Hilda Smith's Government manual entitled

Books, Pamphlets and Other Materials

Recommended for

**Libraries of Training Centers for Workers Education and
Teachers of Workers Education**

**Prepared by Office of Specialist in Workers' Education,
Division of Emergency Education Projects, Federal
Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C.**

Under "Labor Papers", four are recommended. These are: the **Daily Worker**, self-styled "**Central organ Communist Party, U. S. A. (Section of Communist International)**"; "**Labor Action**", organ of the communist **American Workers' Party**, formed by the Trotsky Communists and A. J. Muste's followers; "**Workers' Age**", organ of the **Communist Party (Opposition)**, organized by Jay Lovestone, etc., when expelled from the Communist Party U. S. A. by Moscow, because of petty disagreement; "**New Leader**", organ of the **Socialist Party**.

Various radical union papers are also recommended.

Under "Reference Books and Periodicals" are: the "**American Labor Year Book**", financed by the communist Garland Fund and compiled at the red Rand School by Nathan Fine; the communist

"Labor Fact Book", put out by the official Soviet publishing house in the U. S. A., International Publishers; U. S. Department of Labor releases. These U. S. releases evidently, under the Roosevelt regime, are considered to be in harmony with the other recommendations.

The red League for Industrial Democracy*, Brookwood Labor College*, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union*, Rand School*, Hilda Smith's Affiliated Schools for Workers, N. Y., are listed as reference sources.

Revolutionary Magazines Recommended—And Federal Council Bulletin

The revolutionary Socialist periodicals "New Republic"* and "The Nation"*; the socialistic "Survey"* (Mrs. Roosevelt is a sustaining member of Survey Associates, its publishers); the "Information Service" of the Federal Council of Churches (see page 259), which is also a part of the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy curriculum; the socialistic American Association for Labor Legislation* "Review"; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* monthly "Crisis" (see page 226); "Cooperation", organ of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A.* (see page 295); "Opportunity", issued by the National Urban League (see page 230); "Social Security", publication of the American Association for Old Age Security*; are recommended as "Newspapers and Periodicals of General Value."

Books by Red Authors of Varying Hues

Under "Economics and Social History", the recommended books include those by: Anthony Bimba*, of the **central committee of the Communist Party**, who, when sued for blasphemy in Mass., was defended by the communist Garland Fund, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism; Lewis Lorwin, Russian born pro-Soviet connected with "Miss" Perkins' department; A. J. Muste*, **head of the communist American Workers' Party**; Theresa Wolfson* (her book published by the Soviet publishing house, International Publishers); Socialist James O'Neal* (his book published by red Rand School*); John Commons*, long-time president of the National Consumers' League with Mrs. Roosevelt as vice-president, contributor to communistic Commonwealth College, etc.; Katherine Pollak* of red Brookwood Labor College.

The lists are amazingly free of non-radical material. The whole handbook is one red network.

Another Choice List—Not a "White" in a Carload

To continue, under "Current Economics and Political Problems", radical books listed are by: Nathan Fine*, Russian-born Red of the red Rand School, who compiled the American Labor Year Book; Arthur Calhoun*, an instructor in the Communist Party's school of revolution and lecturer for Mrs. Roosevelt's National Women's Trade Union League*; Harry Laidler*, of the L. I. D.; Stuart Chase*; Paul H. Douglas*; Mary B. Gilson, University of Chicago instructor who boasts of her membership in the Communist-aiding American Civil

*Listed in "The Red Network".

Liberties Union; "Red Mary" Van Kleeck*, co-author with Communist Earl Browder of a Communist Party pamphlet; Tom Tippet*, Red agitator; radical Colston E. Warne*, who leads pro-Soviet tours to Russia; pro-Communist Louis Adamic; "brain truster" David Coyle; the Communist Party leader, Robert W. Dunn; Soviet author M. Ilin ("New Russia's Primer", a Communist propaganda book translated from the Russian by radical George S. Counts); George Soule ("A Planned Society"); Norman Thomas ("America's Way Out", etc.); Communist V. F. Calverton.

Our Task To Hasten Revolution

Calverton's "For Revolution" is recommended with this note: "The aim of the pamphlet is to show that the task which confronts us is not to work to avert revolution, but to hasten it, in order to avoid worse chaos."

Other radical books recommended are by: Roosevelt appointee Henry "Hi-Bred-Corn" Wallace* ("America Must Choose"); Wm. F. Ogburn* ("Social Change and the New Deal"); "brain truster" Mordecai Ezekiel; Harry D. Gideonse*; Abraham Epstein*; Rex. Guy Tugwell*; E. C. Lindeman*; W. H. Kilpatrick*; Horace Kallen*; H. A. Overstreet*; Harold O. Rugg*; Bertrand Russell*, the British purveyor of immoral sex teachings and atheism; and "Looking Forward" (to Marxian dictatorship?) by the Reds' good angel Franklin D. Roosevelt, by whose authority such a list is published at Government expense and the teaching of such communistic literature to thousands and thousands financed, despite the entreaties and protests of loyal American citizens!

Who Is Guilty of Treason?

"Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, OR IN ADHERING TO THEIR ENEMIES, GIVING THEM AID AND COMFORT."

These are the words of Article III, Section 3 of the United States Constitution.

Technically, there can be no "treason" during peace times. But President Roosevelt implied in a recent speech that we are "at war" and stated that he had enlisted for its duration. Of course, the Constitution promises to mean little, anyway, if Roosevelt remains in power. "Peace-time treason" as well should come under the above provision of our Constitution.

In my opinion, Benedict Arnold's treasonable act against the United States, by comparison with Roosevelt's aid to Communists and Communism, should rank as a petty misdemeanor. Had we remained a British colony, we would have suffered no such fate as Communism has in store for us.

ROPING THE NEGROES INTO CLASS WAR

Browder Reports to His Masters on Negroes

Earl Browder as secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A., in his report on the progress of the Party before the Comintern Congress

*Listed in "The Red Network".

in Moscow, 1935, "spoke in detail of the great strides in Negro work, centering around the Scottsboro, Herndon and Negro rights struggle" (Communist "Daily Worker" 7/29/35).

Some twelve years ago the patriotic expert, R. M. Whitney, cited in his booklet, "Back to Barbarism", published by the American Defense Society, the various resolutions, identical in theme, passed by the I.W.W., the Socialist Party and the Communist International for the purpose of roping the Negroes into the Red "class struggle."

The Comintern Sets Its Net

For example, the Fourth Congress of the Comintern at Moscow passed resolutions (as printed in the communist "Worker" 3/10/23) which included these:

"1.—The Fourth Congress recognizes the necessity of supporting every form of negro movement which tends to undermine or weaken Capitalism or Imperialism or to impede its further penetration.

"2.—The Communist International will fight for race equality of the negro with the white people, for equal wages and political and social rights.

"3.—The Communist International will exert every effort to compel trade unions to admit negro workers to membership, or, where the nominal right exists, to agitate for a special campaign to draw them into the unions; failing in this, it will organize the negroes into unions of their own and especially apply the United Front tactic to compel admission."

The Socialist Party Maps a Plan

Back in 1919 the Socialist Party put out a book entitled "Socialism Imperiled or—The Negro—A Potential Menace to Radicalism" (a menace unless he were radicalized). This laid out a program which has been followed to the letter. Its Socialist advice contained this:

"It should paint the advantages of the cooperative commonwealth, and point out the inevitable destruction, if any of its component groups is exploited and discriminated against.

"It should expose the sham democracy today existing in America, with special reference to negroes.

"It should point out that Christ, William Lloyd Garrison, Horace Greeley, John Brown and Abraham Lincoln were abused as radicals in their day, and that today they are esteemed as among the world's great benefactors.

"IN SHORT, IT SHOULD AIM TO CHANGE THE RACE-CONSCIOUS NEGRO INTO A CLASS-CONSCIOUS WORKER."

"In supporting radical negro publications FINANCIALLY, white radicals will be making their best investment."

Whitney's comment was:

"From the present outflow of negro radical writing it would seem that not a little 'white radical money' has been 'invested'."

Be One of the 2,000,000 SIGN YOUR NAME!

1935
Petition Circulated
by Communist Party
for Party Organizer Herndon



for the freedom of
ANGELO HERNDON

to

Gov. TALMADGE, Georgia

A PETITION

Sponsored by the following organizations:

American Civil Liberties Union
American League Against War and Fascism
Communist Party
International Labor Defense
League for Industrial Democracy
National Student League
National Unemployment Council of United States
Southern Tenant Farmers Union
Share Croppers Union

WHEREAS the Georgia insurrection law of 1866, has been used to attack workers organizing for the improvement of their conditions, and

WHEREAS Angelo Herndon is sentenced under that law to 18 to 20 years on the chain gang for demanding bread for hungry people, and

WHEREAS 18 others are indicted for similar "crime"

THEREFORE we urge upon you action for the immediate repeal of the so-called insurrection statute, the dismissal of the eighteen indictments under it now pending in the courts of Georgia and unconditional freedom for Angelo Herndon.

WE, the undersigned, affix our names in this drive to secure 2,000,000 signatures to be presented to you in your capital by a delegation representing us.

INSTRUCTIONS: This petition when completely filled is to be mailed at once to the ANGELO HERNDON PETITION COMMITTEE, 20 E. 11th St., N. Y. C. All names should be written clearly in ink or indelible pencil.

Facsimile of Communist Angelo Herndon Petition. Note sponsoring organizations.

Roosevelt-Supporting Radicals Set Pace Long Ago

As Whitney said: "Class-Conscious' workers began to give prominence to the negro in all their discussions. Various organizations, such as the League for Industrial Democracy and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, put negro members on their executive board and their official staff.

"Several labor organizations, particularly those having a large Jewish and alien membership, have been opened to negroes on terms of equality.

"The United Mine Workers, as an organization, has hundreds of negro members. The International Longshoremen's Association, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the New York Waist and Dressmakers' Union all take in negroes on equal terms with the white members."

Incidentally, the New York Times of 6/15/36 announces that those very unions mentioned above, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union with 200,000 members, the United Mine Workers with 540,000 members, plus the socialist Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union with more than 150,000 members and the socialist American Federation of Hosiery Workers have endorsed Roosevelt for re-election.

Agitating Social Equality

Whitney continues: "Negro newspapers and magazines, some of which were formerly conservative publications, devoted to the best interests of the negro, and, in the case of newspapers, giving him the straight, uncolored news, are now poisoning the minds of their colored readers with communistic doctrines, and dishing out all the news with Marxian dressing. That such publications are financed by some branch of the communist party, if not directly from Moscow, seems unmistakable.

"Radical white speakers appear before negro audiences wherever and whenever they can. They visit negro schools and colleges and talk about a race equality they feel no more than the negro does. They paint a terrible picture of the oppression of negro workers, a picture that is false, but which they manage to impress upon some of the less balanced negro minds as true.

"They are sending out 'paid negro speakers' to tour the South, and other parts of the country where there are colored citizens. For the South they have selected men who are particularly well fitted by birth and antecedents to reach the Southern negro. One of these men is William Pickens, clever, well educated field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and on the official staff of the League for Industrial Democracy, which numbers so many of the white Intelligentsia among its members. Pickens' college degrees have not taken from him the stamp of the Southern darkey.

"Abram Baroff, secretary of the International Ladies Garment Workers, is reported in the New York Herald of August 29 as having

said that there were fifteen hundred negro women members of this organization, and that it has admitted negroes to membership ever since its organization.

"The Jews are accounted, by radicals, the best organizers of negroes for radical work. Up to the time of the Russian revolution it was said that no negroes were radicals except a few foreign born or reared black men, and one or two who had come under the influence of Jewish radicals."

Mongrelizing the Races for Communism

Just as Socialism proposes to enforce sex equality and rob mankind of its natural birthright of an individual mother and father and home, of belief in God and His commandments, so it proposes to obliterate racial lines everywhere by enforcing social equality and social intermingling and promoting inter-breeding.

The inter-racial idea is one of the strongest dogmas of Socialism-Communism. Wholesome, self-respecting, honest friendship between the separate races is not what is sought at all. This is bitterly derided as mere "bourgeois" race "chauvinism" or pride. There must be a complete surrender of individuality, blending and inter-marriage to satisfy Communist objectives. Social intermingling is the opening wedge, coupled with Red agitations among the Negroes.

I like and admire self-respecting Negroes whom I know. They are my friends, in truth. We grieve over their misfortunes and rejoice when they acquire property and neat homes through ambition, hard work and American opportunity.

Negro Flattery Traps To Enslave

One having real sympathy with the Negro people in their struggles up from savagery to Christianity, hates to see the organized Communist attempts to drag the Negroes back by ensnaring them with fawning and insincere social flattery into the tyrannical Socialist system under which they, as well as we, would lose all racial distinctions, liberty and religious freedom. And, perhaps, the finest quality of the Negro people is their innate reverence for God.

Booker T. Washington, a wise Negro leader, once said that the races should be as separate and distinct as the fingers of a hand and as united in the service of humanity. Reds, one and all, heap abuse upon him for this attitude.

God created many species of animal life equally precious in His sight, but unlike, unequal, and not intended to inter-breed—dogs and cats, birds and fish, horses and cows, etc.

Had He wished to create just one uniform form of life or just one race of men, He could have done so. The sexes and races may take pride in their distinctive characteristics, or agitate to become one mongrelized mass, but they cannot be both distinctive and uniform.

Marxism Would Destroy Individuality

It remained for Karl Marx to insist that agitation must not cease until the races and sexes be poured into one melting pot to be moulded into one mass, as planned by Marx, **not by God.**

The regrettable fact is that it is the Marxians, not the sound Americans, who have long been spending great amounts of money and energy to spread their doctrines among the Negroes with the expectation that this will bear fruit.

Wherever one goes in Red circles, whenever one reads Red literature, one sees the relentless and artificial efforts being made to break down racial lines. One Socialist Methodist minister in Evanston, Illinois, Dr. E. F. Tittle, makes a practice of having Negro performers in his church. He introduced Negro men as partners for the white girls in his young people's church dances, saying that it was time now that the races learned to mingle with each other, it was reported, until his parishioners complained.

Radicals Always Urging "Closer Race Relations"

The pro-Socialist clique of the Federal Council of Churches assiduously promote the interchange of pulpits between Negro and white ministers, designating a special "Race Relations" Sunday for this purpose, and its Department of Race Relations has carried on correspondence and consultation with the Roosevelt Departments of Labor and of the Interior on behalf of Negro equality, according to their reports. They also foster "inter-racial" committees to promote "closer race relations", and agitate the Scottsboro and Herndon cases, etc.

When one considers that every "pink" as well as outright Socialist and Communist organization is engaged in radicalizing and flattering the Negroes, the resistance of the Negroes to Socialist doctrine is more surprising than the number who embrace it.

On the face of it this is all merely very pleasant, very innocent brotherliness toward the Negroes unless one sees the Red Socialist claw in the background—and it is surely there.

"Closer" Race Relations at Communist Meetings

I have never attended a Communist Party mass meeting without observing the public petting of Negroes and whites. This is a deliberate and staged policy. At one meeting three burly Negroes were pawing their white girl companion, a college-type blonde wearing a squirrel coat. At the huge American League Against War and Fascism Congress in Chicago, a Negro in front of me sat with one arm around his white girl companion; with his other hand he stroked her leg.

On 10/16/35, at the Earl Browder meeting, which I attended, one white woman so persistently petted at her bored Negro male companion, putting her arm around his neck then taking it down again, without eliciting any attention whatever from him, that I facetiously remarked to my friends that if I were in her place I would hunt a more responsive beau!

Heaven spare the Party "comrade" who at the mixed black and white Communist dances fails to dance with partners of the other race! He would be spotted at once under suspicion of "race chauvinism".

Red Expelled for Race "Chauvinism"

One expulsion in the Communist Party, as printed in all its details in the Daily Worker, was most amusing. The expelled member was a Communist father who was ired when his young white daughter was brought home in the early dawn by two Negro swains, also Party members, and threatened them with a shot gun. One of these Negroes was also afterward expelled from the Party for saying he thought the father had some justification for his anger. The other Negro, who made a racial Communist issue of the incident, was backed by the Party as a hero and the father in his expulsion was held up as a terrible example of bourgeois racial chauvinism, and a disgrace to Communism and to "workers" everywhere.

Of course, all Reds, including the esthetic intellectuals who dislike soiling their own lily white hands, lick their lips with relish at the thought of the great burly Negro "masses" doing the dirty work of the Red revolution which they expect to command from safe positions.

Wm. Z. Foster, Communist Party head, has long hopefully predicted that the backbone of the Communist revolution in the U. S. A. will be the Black Belt.

Norman Thomas Cheered for Negro Agitations

At the same Communist Party mass meeting (10/16/35), when Earl Browder, Secretary of the Party, announced that Norman Thomas, Socialist Party head, was leading their united front agitations for "Negro rights" in the South, a mighty cheer went up for Thomas.

While the Communist Party's Share-Croppers Union and the Socialist Party's Southern Tenant Farmers' Union have combined forces and are now agitating strikes in the South, Norman Thomas' League for Industrial Democracy is breaking into the South through the colleges and by organizing forums and sending one speaker after another over the circuit. The L.I.D. also conducts nationwide broadcasts featuring Roosevelt "brain trusters" as speakers (see page 21) and has combined its student section, with the public blessings of Thomas and Browder, with the Communist Party's National Student League (12/35), and its unemployed section, the Workers' Alliance, with the Communist Party's Unemployed Councils, in the U. S. Department of Labor Auditorium at Washington (4/36), forming, under Roosevelt sponsorship, a revolutionary organization claiming 800,000 members in forty-one States (see page 19).

Communist Plans for a Negro Soviet South

The platform of the Communist Party's "League of Struggle for Negro Rights" (2162—7th Ave., New York City), is entitled "Equality, Land and Freedom—A Program for Negro Liberation" (price

5 cents at all Communist "Workers' Book Stores"—See facsimile, p. 248).

It demands, to quote, "the confiscation without compensation of the land of the big landlords and capitalists in the South and its distribution among the Negroes and white small farmers and sharecroppers.

"These plantations are concentrated in what is known as the Black Belt—that continuous territory stretching from the eastern shore of Maryland through the southeastern corner of Virginia, cutting a strip through North Carolina and comprising practically the whole state of South Carolina, passing through central Georgia and southern Alabama, engulfing Mississippi and the delta regions of Louisiana and Arkansas, including the southwestern tip of Tennessee, and driving a wedge into Texas."

Promises Negroes Government Control

"On this continuous strip of land the Negro people form the majority of the population The League of Struggle for Negro Rights declares that the territorial unity of this continuous stretch of land must be proclaimed and established. It declares that upon this territory must arise that political state over which the Negro majority will have governmental authority.

"The Negro nation cannot be free as a people until they have complete right to set up their own government. . . .

"This means that the territory now known as the Black Belt, described above, be recognized as a distinct political unit, regardless of the state borders which at present cut across this territory. It means that the Negro majority have governmental and administrative control and authority over this entire territory, with the right to set up its own governmental and judicial institutions, to elect its own officials, to make laws, to set taxes, to dispose of public property, to organize its own armed forces for the protection of these rights It means a decisive struggle against the whole ruling class machinery, in and out of the Black Belt, which has held the Negro people in a vise of iron.

"And finally, the right of self-determination means that the Negro people in the Black Belt have the right to choose freely for or against complete separation from the Federal Government, no matter what its form, in existence at that time in the United States."

There is a long list of social equality demands entitled "Bill of Civil Rights for the Negro People", insisting that colored teachers be allowed to teach white school children and that inter-marriage be legalized. Etc., etc.

The National Council of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights as listed in the back of their booklet includes: "The principal white Communist Party leaders such as Wm. Z. Foster, Earl Browder, Clarence Hathaway, Israel Amter, Joseph Brodsky, Robert Dunn, Wm. Dunne, Gil Green, etc.; also such Moscow-trained Negro agitators as the often arrested Herbert Newton, whose wife Jane Emery

is the daughter of a fine patriotic father, a former national commander of the American Legion. She imbibed her Communism at college and is the mother of Newton's colored baby.

Communist Herndon—Leader for a Soviet South

Another of the council leaders is Angelo Herndon, Communist Party organizer in Georgia. Since his conviction for his treasonable agitations for a Soviet South, he has been touring about the country freed on bail raised by the Communist Party and its capitalistic followers like Corliss Lamont, and being lionized by such "select" Eastern Colleges as Vassar and by the University of Chicago, where he spoke in Mandel Hall, etc.

Honored by Capitalistic White Women

I attended a luncheon in February, 1936, at the Woman's City Club, Chicago, given in honor of Communist Negro Angelo Herndon, **agitator for a Soviet South**. At the speakers' table, he sat at the right of the white, perfumed, lady president of the club. On his right was a young white woman, Miss Eldredge, who rolled her eyes continually as she spoke expressing her appreciation of the opportunity to serve as co-chairman of the Chicago branch of the communist "Angelo Herndon Defense Committee", with the hefty Negro, "Dr." Burton, who sat at the lady president's left.

On Miss Eldredge's right, seated at the end of the table, was a very dressy colored woman, Mrs. Wendell Green, who arose and, in a manner heavy with affectations of culture, in a "fruity" voice, bespoke her thanks to Mary McDowell, the radical queen of this entourage, for having made her a member of this select white Woman's City Club and a member of its "Inter-racial Committee", which was sponsoring this Herndon luncheon and which had been founded by Mary McDowell, who had served as its first chairman. (See "The Red Network" for Mary McDowell's present affiliations as A.C.L.U. national committeewoman, etc., and as former director of the communist Garland Fund, etc.)

Mary McDowell Asks Help for Herndon's "Work"

Young Negro Herndon, smirking with pardonable self-satisfaction at the adoring attention which surrounded him, proceeded to relate a distorted tale along typical Communist "sob" lines, drawing a picture of unrelieved suffering with himself as persecuted saviour and liberator. He was frequently enthusiastically applauded by the tense spinster lady reformers and Y.W.C.A. workers around me, and as he was being hurried away by a little scar-faced Yiddish pilot, to speak in Milwaukee, Miss McDowell arose heavily and said that she had been interested from the beginning in "this fine young man" and had been sending along her little dollar bills to him to help him in his "work". She said that we all had other demands on our purses, of course, and should have, as we should live by sharing, but that we could all do a little to help him. Even if we only sent him a dollar apiece, she pleaded, if ALL of us did that it would amount to some-

thing. "These people need money", she urged, "to carry on their work and we should help them!"

Miss Eldredge, again rising and rolling her eyes, said coyly that she would be waiting "right outside the door" to receive contributions.

"To help them with their work of building an atheist Soviet South by bloody Communist revolution and theft! What a request!", I thought, as these appeals were applauded by women, well fed, clothed, and educated under the American capitalistic system! I wondered how they would like to be numbered among the Southern homeowners to be dispossessed and terrorized by such a revolution.

The Roosevelts and Social Equality

The New Republic, "advocate of revolutionary Socialism", admirably says (6/10/36): "President Roosevelt and his wife have opposed social discrimination against the Negro, and partly because of this fact it is reported that in the election he will receive the support of many thousands of Negroes in Northern states who have always heretofore voted the Republican ticket."

Omitting the disgraceful carpet bagging era, the Republican Party has stood for political and economic opportunity and freedom for the Negro people but has not stood for racial inter-marriage and social intermixture, nor have the best Negroes.

Well-meaning Negroes are often surprised when shown that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League are steered by communistic whites and have received thousands of dollars from the communist Garland Fund because they serve specific Red purposes. They break down racial lines, agitate Negro social equality, in fact continually file law suits demanding it, and feed the Negroes with continuous radical propaganda under the guise of friendship to the race.

Mrs. Roosevelt Recruits for Radical N.A.A.C.P.

Mrs. Roosevelt's picture appears in the 4/20/35 issue of the Washington "Afro-American" addressing a meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the Metropolitan African M. E. Church. The huge caption at the head of the page is, **"FIRST LADY HELPS NAACP GET 600 NEW MEMBERS"**. Beneath are the sub-captions: **"MRS. F. D. R. FOR ANTI-LYNCH BILL", "WAGE EQUALITY IS NEEDED SHE SAYS", "FIRST LADY AIDS MEMBERSHIP DRIVE WITH ADDRESS SUNDAY."**

Directly under the column featuring her speech is a picture of students coming out of the State University of Moscow, showing a burly Negro student grinning at his white girl companion, described as: **"RUSSIAN STUDENTS leaving summer school of Moscow. Dr. A. L. Locke, professor of philosophy at Howard University, will attend this summer school as a student. American students are getting special invitations from Russia."**

Howard University is the U. S. Government-supported institution for Negroes in Washington, D. C., accused of communistic teachings.

The N.A.A.C.P. has received subsidies of thousands and thousands of dollars from the communist Garland Fund. Even when almost depleted, the Fund, according to its 1934 official report, gave the N.A.A.C.P. \$8,082.

The official report of the Communist Party's fourth national convention stated that it had penetrated the N.A.A.C.P. On its national board, until her death was Communist Engels' apostle, Florence Kelley (Mrs. Roosevelt's friend and fellow officer of the National Consumer's League), Clarence Darrow (leader of numerous Communist and Socialist organizations and a Roosevelt appointee), and Felix Frankfurter (the Austrian-born radical of the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, denounced for his Bolshevik-like activities by Theo. Roosevelt). Frankfurter is, according to General Hugh Johnson, the most influential person in America with the President, having constant private entree to the White House. Radicals Oswald G. Villard, John Haynes Holmes, and the late Jane Addams (fellow worker with Florence Kelley) have also guided the N.A.A.C.P. actively.

Mrs. F.D.R. Stresses "Equality"

To quote from the Afro-American report of Mrs. Roosevelt's speech for the N.A.A.C.P.: "Considerate and kind, Mrs. Roosevelt did not use the word 'Negro' or 'colored'. She said all of us in this country need to work for equality of wages and equality of opportunity, regardless of race, creed or color. Mrs. Roosevelt said she had seen a great deal of the work of the N.A.A.C.P., and counted Secretary White as a friend. In return, Mr. White said that one of the best workers for the enactment of the anti-lynch bill was Mrs. Roosevelt."

The N.A.A.C.P. is cooperating with the Communist Party at this time to liberate Angelo Herndon, Communist Party organizer.

Communist Herndon Riot Before the Supreme Court

The editor of this very paper reporting Mrs. Roosevelt's speech, George Murphy, Jr., is mentioned in the columns of the communist Daily Worker (6/6/35) as a participant in a Communist riot before the Supreme Court protesting the conviction of Angelo Herndon, convicted of sedition in Georgia. To quote:

"'Herndon jailed for demanding bread; demand his freedom!' read one of the signs held in front of them by the marching pickets. Others: 'Free Angelo Herndon!' 'Abolish vicious anti-labor laws', and 'Unity of all workers will free Angelo Herndon!'

"Outnumbering the demonstrators, the cops rushed forward from all sides, tore the placards from the pickets' hands, and shredded them."

The Roosevelts' Negro Guest Participates

Among the sponsors and participants who thereupon formed a permanent committee to aid Herndon were: Gardner Jackson, Roosevelt's AAA appointee, exposed by Congressman Fish as a donor to Communist funds; Dorothy Detzer, exec. sec'y. of the communist-Garland-Fund-supported Women's International League for Peace and Freedom so highly honored by Mrs. Roosevelt; George E. Haynes, Jr., son of the Federal Council of Churches official; a Y.W.C.A. representative (as usual); numerous Communist Party organizers; Mrs. Chas. Edward Russell, wife of the Socialist Roosevelt appointee; and, to quote: "Madame Lillian Levanti, famous Negro soprano who last year sang at the White House at the invitation of President and Mrs. Roosevelt."

Democratic Papers Criticize Red Negro Attitude

The Florida Beacon (9/35) quoted comments from various Democratic Southern papers. One from the Jacksonville Herald under the heading "New Deal Stands for Social Equality" says: "Jim Farley, head of the National Democratic Party has been making a strong play to the Negro vote throughout the nation. President Roosevelt now has a Negro as one of his Assistant Attorneys General.

"The Democrats carried Pennsylvania by lining up the Negro vote in that state."

Forced Social Equality

"The Democratic Governor and Democratic Legislature of Pennsylvania have the 'honor' of making their state the first in the Union to pass a mandatory Social Equality Bill between whites and blacks.

"After Sept. 1st, restaurant, hotel, beauty parlor, dance hall and other places of business and amusement in Pennsylvania which refuses admission or in any way treats the Negroes separately from the whites will suffer a \$500 fine and 60 days in jail.

"The New Dealists now operating the National Democratic Party seem determined in an effort to win the votes from thirteen million Negroes in this country, not only to follow the Republicans and give them some political jobs, but, to stamp out the color line in social affairs.

"The only Negro member of Congress is a Democratic New Dealist. Negroes go Democratic. Grand Exalted Ruler of the Negro Elks and Negro editor Vann were given a reception in the office of President Roosevelt last week. The reason behind all this was that in 1934, under the adroit tutelage of Jim Farley, Exalted Ruler Wilson and Editor Vann swung 170,000 Negro votes to the New Deal and for the first time since the Civil War Pennsylvania went Democratic.

"Since the New Dealist Democratic Party is nationally against Thomas Jefferson, against the Constitution and the Supreme Court, against private industry, property and business, against State rights and in favor of making it a crime not to mingle socially with Negroes, the question may well arise in 1936 in Florida and the South just how far we are bound to go as Democrats in its support."

Roosevelt "Importations" from Mongrel Russia

The Avon Park, Fla., Times, under the heading "President Roosevelt Must Choose", says: "This New Deal monster is not Democratic, it is not American, it is not white. Its economic theories, its governmental plans, its social equality laws are importations from mongrel Soviet Russia.

"The South has much reason to love the Democratic Party. It will not vote for alien ideas of the 'Dictatorship of Bums' " ("proletariat", as the Reds call them) "and the 'Negro Supremacy' regardless of the attempts to purchase millions of votes with the misuse of government funds or of the sacred name of Democracy which has been stolen by the New Dealists. The New Deal is not only Communism but it is black Communism."

The Rosslyn (Virginia) Chronicle, under the heading "The Negro and Social Equality at the White House", says: "Numerous Negroes of prominence have been appointed to high salaried key positions in Washington.

"Dr. Wm. J. Thompkins has been appointed Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia. He is from Kansas City and owner of the Kansas City American, a leading Negro newspaper. He has white deputies and both white and colored clerks. His salary is \$6,000 per year."

Flattering Negroes With White House Social Attentions

"On January 3, 1935 the Kansas City American, a Negro Newspaper, published the statement that Mrs. Roosevelt entertained at tea a Negro woman named Coarlie Franklin Cook and that she also entertained at luncheon the former Negro Congressman DePriest and his wife, of Chicago." (But this flattery has not won DePriest.)

"At a White House reception to the Judiciary, Negroes and whites were mingled together and ate at the buffet luncheon on terms of social equality, with the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, many of the Negroes having their wives with them.

"Robert Lee Vann, owner of a Negro newspaper, the Pittsburgh Courier, has been appointed to the position of Special Assistant to the Attorney General of the United States at a high salary. He is provided with two white stenographers. There are forty white women stenographers in the division in which he works. He can use any of them if needed.

"Wm. H. Hastie has been appointed Assistant Solicitor for the Department of the Interior, salary \$5,500 per annum. He is a Negro politician and lawyer. Louis H. Mehlinger of Mississippi, a Negro, has been appointed Special Assistant Attorney General of the United States, salary \$4,500. What senator from Mississippi got him the job?

"James Pryor, a Negro, is confidential secretary to President Roosevelt. Robert H. Weaver, a Negro politician, has been appointed Special Assistant to Secretary Ickes, salary \$6,000 per annum. Lawrence Oxley of North Carolina has been appointed a special assistant at a high salary in the Labor Department."

Negro Appointee is Official of Radical Urban League

"Eugene Kinckle Jones, a New York Negro politician, has been appointed a Special Assistant to Secretary Daniel Calhoun Roper, Secretary of Commerce, at a salary of \$7,500 per annum. This Negro is Secretary of the National Urban League" (for which Mrs. Roosevelt was a speaker). "It has headquarters in N. Y. and the wife of our President puts herself on the plane of equality with this and other Negroes in the League. The Negro office holders above named are provided with white stenographers."

Mrs. F. D. R. Addresses Radical Negro-White Urban League

"FIRST LADY TO GIVE URBAN LEAGUE TALK—Organization to Observe Anniversary Here Tomorrow Night", headed the report in the Baltimore Sun (12/11/35) which said:

"Final plans for the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the National Urban League to be observed here tomorrow night are nearing completion . . .

"Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who is driving to this city for the occasion will speak on 'The National Urban League' . . .

"Mrs. Roosevelt will have an escort of eight Negro Boy Scouts from Troops 275 and 276. They will accompany her to the speaker's platform."

The Associated Press, 12/13/36, reported her speech before this radical organization, making a flattering appeal for racial equality. To quote:

"'We have long held in this country that ability should be the criterion on which people are judged', Mrs. Roosevelt said, 'but it seems to me that we must come to recognize that as the criterion in dealing with all human beings and not place any limitations upon their achievements except such as may be imposed by their own character and intelligence.'"

Negro Agencies Red-Supported

The National Urban League whose representatives interlock with the leading radical organizations, is another communist-Garland-Fund-supported agency. For example, the official report of the Garland Fund, issued Feb., 1929, on page 23, under "Negro Agencies", lists a donation of \$15,000 to the "National, New York and Brooklyn Urban League—for expenses of money-raising campaign." The report issued Feb., 1926, on page 24, lists a donation of \$1,000. The report of July 31, 1923, page 16, lists a \$500 loan. The 1926 report lists another gift of \$2,000. Etc. And the Red trustees of the Fund giving this money state that they donate only for radical purposes.

The N.A.A.C.P. received \$31,552 between 1925-28 alone, from the communist Garland Fund. Negro propaganda organizations together received \$64,511 in this same period, according to the official report issued Feb. 1929.

National Urban League Leaders

L. Hollingsworth Wood, a founder and national committeeman of the notorious Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, has been president of the National Urban League since 1918. It has affiliates in forty-five cities employing a total of 206 workers and, while undoubtedly the League enlists the aid of some non-radical humanitarian innocents, its boards are well directed by experienced radicals, many being American Civil Liberties Union leaders.

Among the National and Chicago Urban League leaders have been or are: James H. Dillard, Mrs. H. G. Leach, the late Jane Addams, Mary McDowell, all of the national committee of the Red-aiding American Civil Liberties Union (and similar subversive groups); Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, Rabbi Louis L. Mann, Amelia Sears, the late Mary Rozet Smith, Horace J. Bridges, Robert E. Park, Ernest F. Tittle, all committee members of the Chicago branch of the infamous American Civil Liberties Union (and similar subversive groups). For affiliations of other leaders, Roberta Burgess, Abraham Lefkowitz, Graham R. Taylor, Zonia Baber, Gilbert S. Cox of the League for Industrial Democracy, Salmon O. Levinson, etc., see "The Red Network".

Corliss Lamont, another national board member, is head of the communist Friends of the Soviet Union and is a writer for the Communist Party.

Ickes Palavers for Negro Social Equality

Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior, "Honest Harold" Ickes, was the speaker, 2/26/36, for the dinner of the Chicago branch of the National Urban League. There were several hundred members and guests seated together at the Steuben Club tables, about 60% being Negroes. White waitresses waited on all of them. A colored woman escorted Ickes the length of the room to the speakers' table at which Mary McDowell and other radicals were seated.

Ickes N.A.A.C.P. Branch President

In his speech, Ickes said that he had been president of the Chicago branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (communist-Garland-Fund-supported) one year, that Mrs. Ickes had been a member of the research committee of the Chicago Urban League, and that he had also been treasurer of the Frederick Douglass Center (Negro).

He proceeded to berate the "reactionary" Republicans for their treatment of the Negroes, saying that they gave them some political jobs but in effect withheld social equality. The Negroes, he said, wanted a "New Deal" and the Roosevelt regime was giving it to them.

"Closer" Race Relations Again

Out of forty-seven Federal Housing projects under way—and he said there would be many more if the Federal Courts had not held that the Federal Government could not condemn land for housing projects—he said nineteen are "predominantly Negro tenanted" and

five others will "include Negroes" (thus mingling the races socially in twenty-four out of forty-seven projects, according to "Honest" Harold's own words).

He said that white employees of his department, more and more, were coming to him to compliment him on his inter-racial policy of placing Negroes in prominent positions to work side-by-side with them in the same department, saying that they experienced because of this, a new pleasure in their work.

His whole talk tended to incite the Negroes to a sense of injustice at anything less than complete social equality and to align them through the lure of such promises with the Democratic Party.

The little radical so-called "Catholic Worker", which eulogizes leading Communist agitations and reads like the communist Daily Worker, except for studied interspersions of "religion" which "sell" it and its Red radicalism to the unsuspecting, admiringly reports (2/36 issue, page 6):

"FERA Unites Negro, White

"The Pennsylvania Emergency Relief Administration is conducting a farm project near Sanatoga, Pa. as a camp for **inter-racial cooperation**. The camp consists of four farms totaling 258 acres.

"Pending the erection of wooden barracks the men have been sleeping in army tents. In each tent by design, there is a mixture of white and colored men. Until last spring a Negro social worker was in charge of the project.

"This is the first time the government has attempted such an experiment."

Entertains Communist Youth Congress Negro Secretary

The Washington Sunday Star (1/26/36) reported that five delegates of the communist American Youth Congress (Moscow's recent triumph), which Mrs. Roosevelt later addressed, had tea with her at her invitation at the White House. These guests included the Negress Secretary of the communist American Youth Congress, Elizabeth Scott.

Quoting the report, Mrs. Roosevelt in reply to their communistic questions said: "We need some change in our educational system and perhaps some change in our social system." She said she did not believe in compulsory military training in R.O.T.C. camps." (Nor does any Communist or Socialist.)

Reds Blame Material Environment for Sin

Socialism recognizes no sin, no soul, no individual responsibility in the Biblical sense. Like red Clarence Darrow, Socialists magnify the influences of material environmental surroundings until criminality becomes little more than a mere effect, and personal responsibility for crime becomes nil.

Christianity teaches that it is man's individual will and spirit, expressed in good or criminal ways, which creates environment, and that the regenerated soul regenerates material conditions, but that if

is God's spirit, not material conditions, which must regenerate the soul.

Inasmuch as Socialism regards sex as simply a material, universal, animal appetite to be satisfied freely like hunger, the progeny to be collectivized by the State, prostitution is regarded not as a life of sin, but as an economic pursuit fraught with the discomforts of jailing and venereal disease. The blame for these misfortunes is placed upon the "social system", the law, anything, except upon the individual. Yet everyone knows there are those who are harlots by preference—there always have been—and Christians believe "the wages of sin is death".

Why Not a Party for Black and White Virgins?

The report in Time (5/25/36) of Mrs. Roosevelt's garden party to "sixty girls, mostly Negroes, aged 14 to 21", stated that "all have been thrice convicted, mostly for sex offenses. Twenty-six of the girls were syphilitic and practically all of them had gonorrhea." They were inmates of the National Training School for Girls, the District of Columbia's lock-up for female delinquents.

"Twenty matrons and several Secret Service men patrolled the South Lawn to keep the guests from escaping. Footmen in livery served them ice cream, cake, lemonade . . . Mrs. Roosevelt received each and every one with a warm handshake, and after an hour of cake-eating took them through the new White House kitchens and the State Chambers on the lower floor, gave them each a small engraved photograph of the White House."

It has been suggested that a party in honor of black and white virgins might have been a greater encouragement to national morality.

Did White House Sympathy Encourage Escape?

At any rate, Mrs. Roosevelt's appeal, as released through the press, made no mention of the need of converting these girls to a sense of shame and a resolve to mend their ways, so that they would need no institutional incarceration for venereal disease treatments. Rather, her entire appeal centered on the need for better material comforts and institutional advantages for the girls.

Encouraged by Mrs. Roosevelt's fulsome sympathy, perhaps, as an aftermath, six of the girls escaped from the institution and had to be recaptured (Chicago Tribune 5/28/36).

The Roosevelts Pose as Negroes' Comrades

In keeping with Socialism, the propensities of President and Mrs. Roosevelt and their administration appointees for having themselves photographed with Negroes, in poses of social camaraderie, have aroused comment from non-radicals.

Roosevelt had himself photographed for the press surrounded by his Negro White House guests, posed shaking hands. But when someone snapped a picture of him leaving his wheel chair, in Vincennes, Ind., the plate was immediately ordered confiscated and

destroyed by his men, and was shattered over the protests of the photographer (Chicago Tribune 6/15/36).

After Roosevelt's Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Josephine Roche, addressed the Red-supported National Association for Advancement of Colored People, she was smilingly photographed for the press with her arm around the Negress who had just been given the Spingarn medal, donated by the president of the N.A.A.C.P., J. E. Spingarn, who is himself not colored but Jewish. He has been president since 1930 and an official of the N.A.A.C.P. since 1913.

For the first time in the chief executive's offices, says a Southern paper, a Negro, Fred Pryor, serves as "a confidential secretary to President Roosevelt", and his photo at his desk "on duty in the White House" has been broadcast in the press (Kansas City Call) to show the honors Roosevelt bestows upon the Negro race.

Mrs. Roosevelt's Vote-Getting Poses with Negroes

At Detroit, Mrs. Roosevelt posed for a winning vote-getting interracial picture, showing herself grinning broadly into the face of a Negro girl and clasping one of the girl's hands which held a flower for Mrs. Roosevelt. This was reprinted for the nation's press. (Chicago Examiner 9/10/35.)

One Southern paper noted that Mrs. Roosevelt was photographed for the "Afro-American" of 12/14/35 with two Negro escorts from Howard University, one on each side of her holding an arm, but that she had refused to be photographed with ex-Governor "Ma" Ferguson, whose family is opposed to Communism. Mrs. Nalle, daughter of the Fergusons, saw and smelled Russia for herself and dislikes its principles and atheism.

Roosevelt-Supported Howard University

Mrs. Roosevelt's interest in Howard University has been shown in more than one way.

Dean Kelly Miller and Congressman Mitchell, themselves colored, made efforts to get aid from the Roosevelt administration to curb Communist agitations at the Government-supported Howard University for colored at Washington, D. C. Howard's president, as such, is listed as an employe of Secretary Ickes' Department of the Interior.

Under pressure, Ickes made a supposed investigation, but as both Ickes and the president of Howard are ardent supporters of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union (one of Ickes' speeches is now being distributed by the A.C.L.U. as propaganda), a whitewash or burial of the "investigation" was all that could be expected.

Ask Official Investigation of Communism

Kelly Miller appealed to Senator Tydings, charging that on 5/18/35, the President of Howard University himself, Mordecai W. Johnson, had presided over a meeting at Howard University at which

speakers openly advocated bloody revolution for the overthrow of the existing American order.

To quote from his appeal: "At the session of Sunday afternoon, April 19th, the conference was addressed by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Professors Dorsey and Harris of the University faculty. Mr. James W. Ford, Vice-Presidential candidate" (Negro) "on the Communist ticket during the last Presidential election, asked to be given permission to speak. He announced the well known principle of communism to bring about revolution by force. Professors Harris and Dorsey urged that the Negro should join with the forces of labor to bring about this salvation.

"I thereupon arose and stated that the only components of the labor forces that are willing and ready to unite with the Negro were those of radical or Communistic leanings and that it would be suicidal for the Negro to ally himself with any force intent upon upsetting the Constitution and promoting revolution. Two speakers in reply to my remarks passionately urged revolution through bloodshed; one of them stated in vehement tones that without shedding blood there could be no remission of sins.

"Mr. Waldman, Washington correspondent of the Daily Worker, a Communistic organ, stated not only once but twice; 'The revolution is coming notwithstanding the F. D. Roosevelts and the Kelly Millers.' President Johnson presided at this session"

President Johnson had said, 5/18/33, Mt. Olivet Church, N. Y. City (speech printed in N. Y. Age, 5/27/33): "I don't mind being called a Communist. The day will come when being called a Communist will be the highest honor that can be paid to any individual; that day is soon coming."

Roosevelt as Usual Rewards Radicalism

Roosevelt appointed Mordecai Johnson to the advisory board of the National Youth Administration (National Republic 9/35) as his response to the charges of Communism leveled against Johnson.

"Howard University Brims with Communist Doctrine", was the account in the patriotic Awakener of 11/1/35 (110 W. 42nd St., N. Y. City). To quote:

"Those close to the Howard situation declare that the incidents which led to the present charges were merely the culmination of a long campaign of Communist propaganda among the 2,500 students of the University. For some time the aggressiveness of the Communist students at Howard, aided by sympathetic faculty members, has been an open scandal in Washington. In every case of Communist picketing at the Capitol, students from Howard have been conspicuous among the leaders. Indeed, the National Student League, the official Communist student organization was born at Howard University, where its first national convention was held in December, 1933. . . ."

Mrs. Roosevelt Intervenes

"Early this year, another charge involving the waste of \$38,000 WPA money which was allotted to Howard for improvements almost resulted in the public condemnation of the President of Howard by the Interior Department. The story which is generally believed is that Secretary Ickes had already prepared a letter condemning the Howard prexy, when Mrs. Roosevelt intervened and persuaded him to drop the matter." (He probably needed very little persuasion.)

One always hears from American Civil Liberties Union followers the glib reply that they are merely upholding "free speech" when they are charged with sponsoring Communist propaganda. Mrs. Roosevelt and Secretary Ickes, both used this "phonograph record" argument when they opposed repression of Communist teachings in the schools.

Mordecai Johnson Eulogizes Communist Russia

Dr. Johnson's fulsome eulogy of Communist Russia delivered at Howard University (6/9/33), in which he declared a new religion, Communism, was being evolved there, was reported in the Negro "Chicago Defender" (6/10/33). To quote:

"Dr. Johnson urged his hearers not to allow the words Communism and Socialism to blind their eyes to the realization that on Russian soil today—it makes no difference what mistakes are being made or what crimes are being committed—there is a movement for the first time in the history of the world to make available the natural resources for the life of the common man."

New Deal Negro Attitude Marxist

The studied, insincere and obsequious flattery by the Roosevelts and their radical supporters of the Negro people is without precedent in any American political party. However, it is no accident but follows, as closely as other parts of the Roosevelt Socialist program, the old well-laid, well-thought-out plan of the Marxists to enlist and use the Negro to change the American system of government and the entire social order.

RED INROADS IN THE SOUTH

Southern "Bible Belt" Hard to Penetrate—Making Progress Now

In spite of the fact that the Southern "Bible belt" has been the most difficult for Socialists and Communists to penetrate, advances are being made all along the line now, centering largely around certain radical educators in Southern colleges, a small group of Southern intellectuals radicalized in Northern colleges who operate committees and socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy lecture forums, Negro and poor white share-croppers being assiduously organized by Reds, and a few out-and-out ulcerous Red training schools such as Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas, and Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn. Scripps-Howard pro-

Socialist newspapers and a few other Southern papers operated by radicals support the movement. The people at large do not.

Groups such as the communist John Reed Club have long been under the protecting wing of the University of North Carolina headed by Frank P. Graham (Roosevelt appointee), whose boast of his defeat of State sedition bills appears in the chapter on Commonwealth College (p. 204). He and Howard D. Odum, Prof. of Sociology and director of the School of Public Welfare of the University of North Carolina, were fellow advisory board members of the Soviet Government's Moscow State University Summer School formed to recruit American college students to go over to Soviet Russia to be trained in communism and atheism (the day's first course scheduled for 1935) by Soviet revolutionary experts, Hallie Flanagan, head of Roosevelt's communistic Federal Theatre Project, Wm. Allan Neilson, etc., being fellow members. (See "The Red Network", p. 255.)

Highlander Folk School

When the American Legion attempted to block a \$7,000 payment from Roosevelt's FERA to the Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn., wrathful resolutions against any possible delay in payment were passed by the communist-socialist All Southern Conference for Civil and Trade Union Rights, in session May 26, 1935.

Highlander is closely associated with Commonwealth College. One of its founders, Myles Horton, in describing its work and founding, in the radical Social Frontier (1/36); thus explained the choice of location:

"Here in the mountains, should the economic situation become pressing enough, the people could be made to understand that the socialization of property would give them more personal freedom than would ever again be possible under the existing profit system."

"Here was an opportunity to direct the American revolutionary tradition towards a cooperative society operated by and for the workers. Ideas of revolt run through many of the songs written by workers, some of which are sung as ballads. Many strike songs are as class-conscious as the writings of Karl Marx, and much simpler.

"Having decided to concentrate on the farmers and industrial workers in the southern mountains, the problem arose of how to go about the job."

Educating for New Social Order—Leading Reds Adorn Committee

"The Highlander Folk School, located on a mountain farm, within five hours' drive of a number of industrial centers, was opened November, 1932, to provide an educational center for southern workers, for the purpose of educating rural and industrial leaders for a new social order. . . . We were fortunate in securing for our advisory committee Reinhold Niebuhr, George S. Counts, Norman Thomas, Mary Van Kleeck, and other outstanding social educators." (All leaders in the Socialist-Communist united front movement.)

He describes the participation of Highlander students in the United Mine Workers' and other strikes as part of the curriculum and says:

"In an effort to help build a militant labor movement and to give **experience** to our students, the school moved from Monteagle and is stationed for a week in a mill town near Chattanooga. Teachers and students are scattered in the homes of striking hosiery workers. We meet one hour each day for discussion. The remainder of the time is spent at union meetings or **on the picket line**. A Washington's Birthday parade, which we helped organize, led by the local High School band, ended as a mass picket line in front of the Daisy Hosiery Mill. Four hundred shots were fired into the unarmed paraders by armed guards inside the mill. Our librarian and four other men and women were shot. As a result of the parade, the three Richmond Hosiery Mills were forced to deal with the union officials. **Aside from the educational value to our students, we were able to broaden the outlook of the strikers.** The school has been asked to do **educational work** for the American Federation of Hosiery Workers in Tennessee and neighboring states."

Comment on such Highlander Folk School "educational work" seems unnecessary.

Radical "Peace" Strikes

As an example of Red inroads being made in the South, the following description of the revolutionary "Peace" Strike in the Socialist Call (5/2/36) is of interest:

"In the South 18,000 students at Negro colleges joined the walk-out. . . . The strike was sponsored nationally by the American Student Union formed last December by the merger of the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy." (Communist and Socialist Party organizations, respectively.)

Militant Leftist Union Plans for South

The same paper announced, under the heading "Three-Union Bloc Plans to Invade Open-Shop South";

"Plans for a drive by the clothing union bloc to organize the south were announced at the 25th annual convention of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers." (Socialist.)

"The drive, a cooperative one, would link forces of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union with the hosiery workers, in an intelligently directed educational organization campaign spread over a number of years, Leo Krzycki of the Amalgamated's general executive board told the delegates.

"Southern Organizer George L. Googe of the American Federation of Labor, the United Mine Workers District 19 and numerous city and state central bodies have pledged aid in the campaign."

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union has come out in its paper for the formation of the communist Farmer-Labor Party with

State and local candidates but with Roosevelt as the Presidential candidate (Daily Worker 6/17/36).

These unions are backing Roosevelt for re-election as the most hopeful Socialist timber. They are and always have been under militantly pro-Soviet left wing Socialist control. David Dubinsky of the Socialist Party, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and also vice-president of the A. F. of L., was formerly exiled to Siberia for Red revolutionary activities in Russia.

Sidney Hillman, Russian-born revolutionary Socialist, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union since 1915, was appointed to Roosevelt's NRA board and is a family dinner guest of the Roosevelts at the White House. Leo Krzycki is a member of the Socialist Party national executive committee.

The American Federation of Hosiery Workers Union is headed by the militant Socialist Party member, Emil Rieve, also a Roosevelt-supporter.

Radical textile strike organizers banned from Knoxville mills are now the proteges of Roosevelt's TVA, operating a cooperative weaving business on Government property.

Communist-aiding A.C.L.U. Active in South

Centered always in the forefront of the Red movement is the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union.

The American Civil Liberties Union State chairmen (1936) for Southern States are:

Alabama: Rev. Charles H. S. Houk, 832 Oxmoor Road, Birmingham; Arkansas: Kenneth Coffelt, New Donaghey Bldg., Little Rock; Georgia: Rev. Dr. P. D. McGeachy, 218 Sycamore St., Decatur; Kentucky: Byron Pumphrey, 316 Citizens Bank Bldg., Lexington; Louisiana: Isaac S. Heller, Canal Bank Bldg., New Orleans; Mississippi: Jo Drake Arrington, 411 Hewes Bldg., Gulfport; Tennessee: Prof. William R. Amberson, University of Tennessee, Memphis; Virginia: Virginius Dabney, Richmond Times Dispatch, Richmond."

The Communist-Socialist committees pertaining to activities in the South, in which the American Civil Liberties Union participates, have their New York main headquarters as follows:

Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, 112 East 19th St., Norman Thomas, chairman, Aron Gilmartin, secretary; Joint Committees to Aid the Herndon Defense, 112 East 19th St., Mary Fox, secretary-treasurer; (I. W. W.) Kentucky Miners' Defense Committee, 94 Fifth Avenue, Herbert Mahler, secretary-treasurer; National Defense Committee for the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, 112 East 19th St., Aron Gilmartin, secretary, Dr. Hubert Herring, treasurer; Scottsboro Defense Committee, 112 East 19th St., Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers, chairman, Morris Shapiro, secretary. (From June, 1936, Annual Report of American Civil Liberties Union.)

Mississippi Socialist Cooperative Farm of Negroes and Whites

Revolutionary Socialist Sherwood Eddy is operating a Socialist cooperative farm of 2138 acres for Negroes and whites at Hillhouse, Miss. His close associates, the Rust brothers (John and Mack), who have perfected a cotton picking machine, wired President Roosevelt to suppress anti-Red activities in the South. They want, says Sherwood Eddy, writing in the communist People's Press (4/18/36) to "socialize" their cotton picking machine.

"After negotiations, several of us formed the Rust Foundation, which will utilize nine-tenths of the profit of the invention of the machine, and when it reaches the stage of mass production, will found a series of cooperative farms, cooperative stores and educational projects"

Eddy appeals for funds to be sent to room 704, 347 Madison Ave., N. Y. City, and says:

"The whole situation is full of dynamite and of possibilities for good or evil—peonage, serfdom, poverty, disease, robbery, lynching and violence on the one hand, or a **cooperative commonwealth** on the other."

According to statements of the Rusts:

"'Reports indicate that a deal just negotiated with the Amtorg Trading Corporation puts the Rust Cotton Picker Co. in a strong position financially. Two of the machines are to be shipped shortly to the Soviet Union, and one of the Rust brothers will proceed there this fall to supervise tests under Soviet conditions. It is understood that machines destined for the Soviet Union will be sold rather than leased, as in this country. With unemployment non-existent in the U. S. S. R. the problem of displacing labor will not be a consideration.'"

"In other words it would appear that the Rust brothers are being subsidized by the Soviet Government for the purpose of restricting the use of their machine in the United States." (The Advisor 6/3/36.)

The Share-Croppers' Union

In 1935, the Communist Party's Share-Croppers' Union claimed some 12,000 members around the Alabama district. It works in a united front agreement with the Socialist Party's Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, which was only formed in July, 1934 but, according to the communist "Southern Worker", had 25,000 members in February, 1936. These members are largely Negroes, but are controlled and agitated by Norman Thomas and white leaders from the entire Red movement.

Howard Kester (see "The Red Network"), militant left-wing Socialist organizer for the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (S.T.F.U.), writes the distorted story of the difficulties he and his fellow Reds are having in organizing Negroes and whites for the "class struggle" in the South. He labels the opposition to his Red agitations as "terrorism".

Not only the entire organized Red Press is backing this fight to organize the Southern Negroes for uprisings, but even the New York

Times has printed sympathetic articles, the movie news reels have shown propaganda pictures, and the National Broadcasting Company enabled Norman Thomas to broadcast to the nation his denunciation and vilification of Southerners because they oppose these communistic agitations.

S.T.F.U. and Share-Croppers' Union in "United Front"

The Communist Party's Daily Worker (3/24/36) praised Howard Kester's booklet on the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union but noted his careful omission of the mention of the two united-front agreements made between the Socialist S.T.F.U. and the Communist Party's Share-Croppers' Union "which brought two great fighting bodies into a united front against the landlords" and recalled "the enthusiasm with which they hailed the united front agreements, and the joyous welcome they gave Tom Burke, assistant secretary of the Sharecroppers' Union when he appeared before the convention of the Tenant Farmers' Union in January." (1936)

S.T.F.U. Convention Favors "Nationalization" of Farm Lands

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in its second annual convention held (1/7/36) at Labor Temple, Little Rock, Ark., adopted a socialist-communist resolution for a Land Bill calling for "the establishment of a National Agricultural Authority 'for the acquisition, regulation and control of agricultural lands.' All farms over 160 acres 'fit for agriculture shall be purchased' and become the property of the people of the United States and shall be administered by National Land Authority."

To further quote the Communist Party's Daily Worker 1/8/36:

"Greetings to the Southern Tenant Farmers' Convention continued today, including those of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, and the Labor and Socialist Defense, presented by its national secretary, Aron Gilmartin. John Barnett brought the greetings of the 100,000 farmers affiliated to Farmers' National Committee for Action, and Donald Henderson, editor of the Rural Worker spoke on the need for unionism of the three million agricultural workers in the country, whose problems, he said, are fundamentally the same.

"The convention went on record endorsing the Rural Worker. Another resolution setting up a defense apparatus, in cooperation with the Labor and Socialist Defense, was also adopted.

"Election of officers was held, with H. L. Mitchell re-elected secretary, and J. R. Butler, president; E. B. McKinney, first vice-president; Odus L. Sweeded, second vice-president; and an executive council of eleven. The executive committee includes: H. L. Mitchell, J. R. Butler, E. B. McKinney, Odus L. Sweeded, Walter Moskop, Wiley Harris, J. E. Cameron, J. A. Allen, W. M. Stephens, Howard Kester, and Mrs. Marie Pierce."

The Farmers' National Committee for Action (see "The Red Network") is a Communist organization and Donald Henderson and John Barnett are Communist organizers.

"Revolt Among Sharecroppers" Story of S.T.F.U.

Kester entitles his booklet on the S.T.F.U., "Revolt Among Sharecroppers". It is sold by the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy, of which Norman Thomas is executive director. In it, he thanks the following for their cooperation: Reinhold Niebuhr*, Elizabeth Gilman*, Gardner Jackson (radical Roosevelt appointee), Walter White* (of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which is actively supported by Mrs. Roosevelt), Ralph Harlow*, Dr. A. D. Beittel, Rev. John Knox, Dr. Wm. R. Amberson (State Chmn. for Tenn. of the A.C.L.U., who, in behalf of the Socialist Party and the League for Industrial Democracy, has written a pamphlet entitled "The Plight of the Share Cropper" in collaboration with Norman Thomas), Miss Frances Williams, Miss Beth Torrey, Mrs. Chas. Johnson, Mr. C. T. Carpenter (an Arkansas attorney for the A.C.L.U.), and H. L. Mitchell (S.T.F.U. official and State of Arkansas secretary of the Socialist Party).

Denounces Patriotic Methodist Friend of Unemployed

Kester repeatedly denounces one of the most spiritual and self-sacrificing characters in the Methodist Church, Rev. J. Abner Sage of Arkansas, who worked arduously to help the unemployed in a practical, American, Christian way, but who opposed Kester's communistic agitators. The pathetic aftermath of Rev. Sage's anti-Communist struggle was that radical Methodist pressure from above caused his removal from Marked Tree, and he even had to sell part of his furniture in his struggle with poverty. If there were people financially able to help him, they failed to save him so that he could continue his work against Communism.

Of Rev. Sage's patriotic Christian helpers in Marked Tree, Kester says: "These friends of the Rev. Sage impressed this investigator as being more ruthless, vicious and callous to suffering than Chicago gangsters." He meant that they were "callous" to his camouflage of "humanitarianism" for "Socialism".

Koch and Reed of Commonwealth "Victims of Rising Terror"

Kester says: "... among the first victims of the rising terror" (when Red agitators were jailed or ordered out of town for advocating violence) "were Lucien Koch, director of Commonwealth College" (Roosevelt appointee and director of the Roosevelt-supported communistic hot bed of free love, atheism, nudism, etc., according to Legislative testimony) "and Robert Reed, a resident student from Texas. These men were sent by the student body of the college to assist in the organization of the union. Koch and Reed held a meeting in a Negro church near Gilmore, Arkansas. Suddenly and without warning the union was invaded by a drunken mob of deputies and planters and the two men were forced from the church. . . ." (**Anti-Communists** are customarily portrayed as drunken brutes or low characters by Reds.)

"A rescue party composed of sharecroppers started out to find the two men. On the road they discovered a rope with a hangman's knot

*Listed in "The Red Network".

already neatly tied. The rope intended for Koch and Reed had been lost by the mob and now reposes in the museum at Commonwealth College."

Roosevelt Rewards Koch

After these and similar activities of communistic Commonwealth College under Koch's direction had been publicly aired by the arrest of agitators and by the Arkansas Legislative investigation of Commonwealth College, Roosevelt responded by rewarding Koch with a remunerative "brain trust" position in Washington in the consumers' division of NRA (U.S. 11/10/35). (See also p. 205, under Commonwealth College.)

Other Southern Tenant Farmers' Union agitators whose activities are described by Kester include: W. H. Stultz, its executive; Clay East; J. R. Butler; "Rev." Roy Burt, Socialist Party organizer connected with the Methodist Church board of education (740 Rush St., Chicago); C. H. Smith, "a local preacher"; Atley Delaney, of Mass., who was secretary of the Commonwealth student body in January, 1935; Jack Herling of Norman Thomas' Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief; E. B. McKinney, a Negro preacher.

The latter was on his way to address a Chicago red League for Industrial Democracy meeting on the subject of Southern cruelty to share-croppers and "terrorism" towards Reds, when two auto loads of Southerners "persuaded" him to get off his bus and remain with a Negro friend who had no telephone, until it was too late for him to reach the meeting, leaving Chicago "comrades" in agony of suspense. Kester failed to relate this example of Southern "terrorism" toward uncivil liberties.

Even from England came the British imported radicals Naomi Mitchison and Zita Baker, who, acting as agitators for the red League for Industrial Democracy, went into Arkansas to do their work.

Weary Arkansans Plead for Relief from Red Agitators

It was not surprising that the Marked Tree Tribune of 3/28/35 begged, editorially, for no more agitators.

Under the title "No More Agitators, Please!", they said in part: "Marked Tree has had about all the agitators it can use, for say at least fifty years. It is estimated that it will take at least that length of time to get straightened out on all the 'isms' they represent; citizens are also having trouble getting their color charts straightened out as to the varying shades from bright red to mild parlor pink. For all practical purposes and to untrained ears their 'hooey' all sounds the same.

"All of them—from the misguided and apoplectic Ward Rodgers to the smooth and silky Norman Thomas—urge that the 'down-trodden masses arise and demand their rights.' Just what these rights are they have not yet made clear, but to one who has to work for a living it would seem that this is the general idea: 'The Government is supposed to furnish, without hope of repayment, food and lodging for all who wish it (and Mr. Roosevelt whyinhell ain't there any T-bone

steaks on this relief menu?); landowners, who have been making so much money off their tenants that they only have three mortgages and two tax liens on their farms, should immediately install bathrooms with hot and cold running water in the tenant houses, and provide each tenant with a robot to do his work."

To Reds the Landlord is Always Simon Legree

"Says the Grenada, Miss., Sentinel:

"A flock of braintrusters, headed by the Socialist, Thomas, has gone into Arkansas and raised a lot of stink about the relations between landlords and tenants. They know about as much about that question as the average man does about the Darwinian theory. They are trouble-makers, pure and simple. No good can come from their visits. They seem to think that the LANDLORD is old man Simon Legree grown meaner with age, and the TENANT poor Uncle Tom grown more careworn and thin with age."

"Busted" Landlords Unjustly Lambasted

"We do not know much about Arkansas people, except that most of them moved to Arkansas from Mississippi. They did not grow demon-like in one generation. We know, positively, that in Mississippi, the tenants, as a class, have exploited the landlord, rather than the tenants being exploited by the landlords. Ask the average "busted" land-owner in Mississippi why he is "busted". He will reply that he "over-furnished" his tenants during prosperous years, that his tenants had bankrupted him. We are inclined to believe that, if a careful analysis of the situation in Arkansas were made, it would be found that such was the condition there."

Roosevelt FERA Agitator Arrested—Wires Mrs. F.D.R.

The Red agitator, Ward H. Rodgers was, until ousted by local Arkansas authorities, one of Roosevelt's FERA teachers. He also teaches at red Commonwealth College, and is an ex-Methodist minister of the communistic Harry Ward breed. When he was in Poinsett County haranguing a crowd for the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, telling them that he could lead a mob "to lynch every planter in Poinsett County", he was arrested on charges of anarchy (1/16/35). Thereupon, his comrades, Lucien Koch, director of Commonwealth, and H. L. Mitchell of the S.T.F.U., wired Mrs. Roosevelt and her friend Hilda Smith to help Rodgers out. (Chicago Tribune 1/25/35).

Rodger's trial was postponed along, somehow, and finally dropped. One wonders what happened, really.

Rodgers Wants Revolution Under Any Name

I have a certified copy of the letter taken from Ward Rodgers by the authorities of Poinsett County when he was jailed. It was written by Rodgers to Clarence Senior, secretary of the Socialist Party (549 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.), dated 1/12/35, and discusses details about the Communist and Socialist Party united front plans in the South. In it, he says to Senior:

"We have no patriotic loyalty to old organizations in the South. **We want a revolution under any name.** By the way, that was the attitude of the thirty-six students in the **FERA workers' education school at Austin.** When they thought of leaving the Demo. Party, it was for a rev. organization. Demo. P. is considered similar to the British Labor Party or German Social Demo. and not as fascists and I think that is a correct interpretation of the Roosevelt Demo." (The abbreviations are his.)

Compares Roosevelt Democracy with Socialist Parties Abroad

The British Labor Party and German Social Democratic Party, are both Marxian Socialist parties which place the emphasis on attaining Socialism by legislation first and by violent revolution second. Rodgers compared Roosevelt's Democratic Party with these but preferred the order of emphasis reversed in accordance with Communist Party ideas, placing revolutionary action first.

Rodgers mentions "Williams" in his letter, meaning, probably, Claude C. Williams, one of his fellow Red organizers, who had been ousted as minister of the Paris, Arkansas, Presbyterian Church for radicalism in 1934.

A great outcry was raised about Williams' dismissal, by the very red National Religion and Labor Foundation, an organization of radical ministers using the various churches to propagandize communistic doctrines. (See "The Red Network" for their atheist Soviet cartoons and outright revolutionary propaganda and Communist literature.)

Williams' Red Agitations Probably Justified "Flogging"

The November 1934 bulletin of the Foundation gave a long laudatory report on Williams' radical agitations among southern miners, Negroes and tenant farmers and boasted that he had organized "the largest workers' demonstration in the southwest. It took an hour for the procession to pass the Herald-Tribune Bldg. in Fort Smith." (Arkansas.)

The press carried the news (6/17/36) that the same Claude C. Williams and Willie Sue Blagden were flogged outside of Earle, Ark., on their way to attend the "funeral" of a Negro agitator of the red Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. Later, the Negro was said to be alive and the so-called flogging tale an invention for publicity purposes. (If so, it was successful.)

However, Willie Sue Blagden, radical offspring of a respectable Memphis family, was even in trouble with the Socialist Party executive committee in Mass. because of her militant activities in connection with the Communist united front (Daily Worker 5/27/35). She is a member of the communist American League Against War and Fascism and was a student at the Roosevelt-supported communistic Commonwealth College in 1932, according to the 6/15/32 Commonwealth College bulletin.

THE COMMUNISTS' AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS AND THE NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION

Formation and Development Encouraged by Mrs. F. D. R.

Mrs. Roosevelt has encouraged not only the formation but the development of the American Youth Congress, a Communist-Socialist united front movement under Communist Party control, which holds regional Congresses all over the Country and aims to draw all radicals, party and non-party members, as well as Christians, into the Red Front for class war.

The Red Front has gone far in France and it promises to go far in the United States.

The report made 9/26/35 to the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International at Moscow by Wolf Michal and reprinted by the Communist Party's Workers' Library Publishers, N. Y., says:

"The united front is advancing! Communist and Socialist Youth Leagues are already working together in France, Spain, Austria, Italy, Poland, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Latvia." (Page 27.)

"Comrade Dimitroff called upon the Young Communist and Young Socialist Leagues at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International to set up anti-fascist associations **based on the platform of the class struggle**". (Page 31.)

Communists Boast About "Youth" Successes

"Thanks to the joint participation and work of the young American comrades with Socialist and other non-fascist youth at the Youth Congress, originally called by a reactionary group desirous of fascist honors, our Young Communist League of the United States helped to bring about the unity of several non-fascist organizations with a membership of over a million. Jointly with these organizations our comrades energetically set to work and a second Youth Congress was called, the only one of its kind in the history of the American youth movement. Eight hundred and forty-six organizations with a membership of 1,350,000 were represented at this convention and cooperated in finding a path to be taken by the American youth to free itself from want and oppression." (Page 39.)

One is suspicious about the radical policy of calling the original formation of the American Youth Congress "reactionary" and "fascist" (meaning "anti-Communist"), and its organizer Viola Ilma, who conveniently melted away, a "fascist", although information concerning her would classify her with the radicals.

Radical Demands of Ilma "Conservative" Group

The Davenport Daily Times (Sept. 18, 1934) reporting the formation of a regional conference of the Congress in Davenport, said that at the first American Youth Congress held in New York, in August 1934, in New York University, attended by about 500 leaders of youth groups, "which was widely publicized due to the schism which

developed when Communists and their followers organized a separate youth organization, the Ilma group, known as the more conservative group urged" (Here follows a group of typical radical demands for freedom of speech for teachers and students, "a curricula adjusted to meet the changing social conditions and **changing economic order**", more lenient divorce laws, a declaration against war, in good radical pacifist style, etc.)

"Sponsors of this conference which was instituted by Miss Ilma included Miss Anne Morgan" and "Mrs. August Belmont" (both of Mrs. Roosevelt's socialistic Survey Associates), "Christopher Morley, Arthur Garfield Hays, **Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt**, and Ogden Mills.

"Among the speakers were Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, Adolph Berle, Jr., Hon. John Winant, Governor of the state of New Hampshire, and Mr. Hays."

Other "New Deal" Influences

This lists, then, among sponsors and speakers, Arthur Garfield Hays*, the Jewish radical who is ever active on the Communist battle front as National Counsel of the Red-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, which is so influential with Roosevelt and his New Deal; Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia*, rampant radical and one time Socialist; John G. Winant, Roosevelt appointee and president of the Garland-Fund-supported National Consumers' League, of which Mrs. Roosevelt is vice president, long directed by Communist Engels' apostle, Florence Kelley, and now by her son, Nicholas, who is also a Roosevelt appointee; Adolph Berle, Jr., one of Roosevelt's "brain trusters", former associate in the law firm of radical Supreme Court Justice Brandeis, and now New York City Chamberlain in Mayor LaGuardia's cabinet. (Berle signed a petition to Roosevelt for a radical program and redistribution of wealth.)

There is nothing "anti-Communist" or "conservative" about these active sponsors, nor about Mrs. Roosevelt. The prompt, supposed, triumphant "capture" of the Congress by the Communists, therefore, is not the surprising event it is represented to be.

A Typical Regional Youth Congress

A regional Michigan Youth Congress held at Ann Arbor, Mich., 12/14, 15, 16/34, picked a typical continuation committee composed of representatives of the Young Communist League; Young People's Socialist League; the Proletarian (Communist) Party; five **Y. W. C. A.** branches; a Congregational Church; four local high schools; the Detroit Catholic Students' Conference; Detroit Federation of Labor (which is radically controlled); Jewish Community Center, Detroit; Central M. E. Church, Detroit; University of Michigan Barristers' Society; communist National Student League; University Young Democrats' Club of Detroit.

The resolutions and proceedings of all these conferences read like a carbon copy of a report prepared by the communist Daily Worker—same old phrases, same hackneyed arguments, same demand for

abolition of the R. O. T. C., same denunciation of war for one's country, same incitation to civil, Red, class war.

Detroit Congress, Communist-led, Opens on July 4th

The second American Youth Congress held 7/4, 5, 6/35, in Detroit, with the organizing headquarters at the central **Y. M. C. A.**, 2230 Witherell St., was a great Communist-Party-led affair delighting the hearts of revolutionaries the world over.

Gil(bert) Green(berg)'s jubilant report to the Comintern Congress in Moscow, as national secretary of the Young Communist League (**Y. C. L.**) of U. S. A., is reprinted in the communist *Daily Worker* (9/28/35). Describing the American Youth Congress, he says: "In the period of less than a year, with the active participation of the Young Communist League a broad united front has been established representing more than a million organized youth."

Speaking of the new Communist Party policy of claiming American heroes of history as fellow revolutionists, instead of reviling them, as formerly, he says they "have correctly utilized the rich revolutionary traditions of the American people; have recognized the national love of youth for the land of their birth and connected this with the need for taking this land and its wealth out of the hands of plutocrats."

Boring from Within

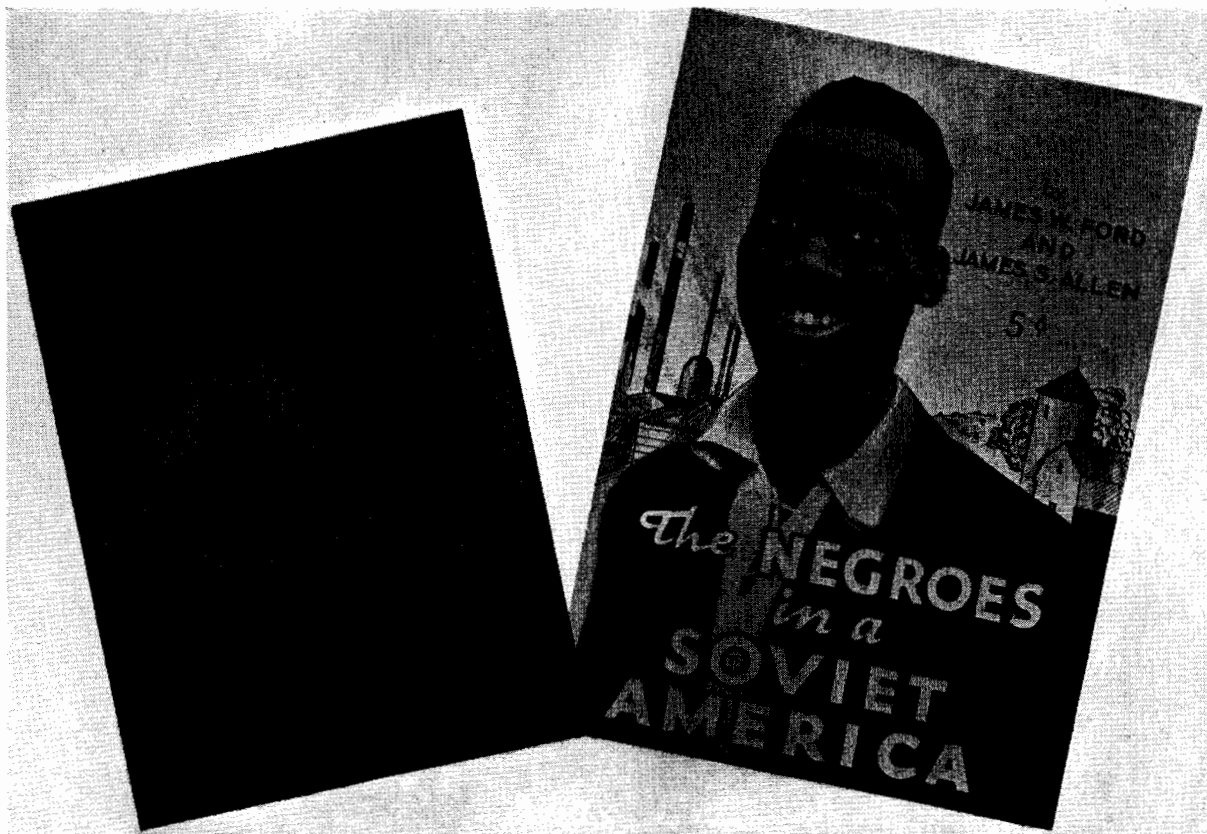
He says: "Of great importance for the whole **Y. C. L.** is the establishment of a correct estimation of, and approach to, the large mass organizations of youth controlled by the bourgeoisie . . . Comrade Dimitroff has in the sharpest manner placed before the **Y. C. L.**'s, the need for **penetrating** these organizations. . . Our **Y. C. L.**ers must enter these organizations . . . to work to transform them from centers of bourgeois influence into centers for united front struggle, of proletarian influence . . . in the course of less than a year our **Y. C. L.** built 175 units within these mass organizations and through these has begun to anchor the united front down below . . . our **Y. C. L.** must also improve its work of **penetrating Roosevelt labor camps.**

"We must not underestimate the influence that these army controlled camps can have in militarizing and fascizing the unemployed youth . . . in these camps we must fight against every step at militarization . . ." (Roosevelt is now removing army officers from CCC camps.)

He announced, regarding unity with Socialist Party Youth, "in the very near future we aim to achieve organic unity in the ranks of the students."

The **American Student Union** (Socialist **L. I. D.** and Communist **N. S. L.** merger) was the result.

"In the **American Youth Congress** we can see the living example of how unity between the proletarian and middle class youth is possible.



Facsimiles of two characteristic Communist Party pamphlets inciting Negro Red revolution.
See page 223.



Photo taken at Washington, D. C. Communist headquarters showing part of group preparing to parade against "capitalistic oppression."

"In the past years our Y. C. L. has radically broken with its previous sectarian approach toward middle class youth, especially student youth. Only this made possible the development of such powerful student actions as the April 12 student strike against war and fascism, on which day 184,000 students walked out of their classrooms at one given hour, in the greatest demonstration of youth solidarity ever witnessed in our country."

"Permitting" Church Services

"At the 2nd American Youth Congress the Y. C. L. delegation was faced with many complicated questions anyone of which, if not handled in a broad way, could have resulted in a break in the united front. For example the question of religion. Many religious youths were skeptical about uniting with the Communists, although they were against fascism, because they feared this was a trap to force our atheist views upon them. This problem was solved by simply agreeing to permit all the religious youths in the Congress to hold church services Sunday morning. This did not compromise the Communist Youth and yet showed to the masses that this was not a united front against religion but against political reaction. . . .

"If our Y. C. L. in the United States has made progress, and it has, great credit must be given to the Central Committee of our Party and especially to the General Secretary, Comrade Browder, who has been giving more and more attention to the problems of the youth."

Without Hymn or Bible Reading—Jesus Derided

The "church services" to which Green refers were a joke.

Rev. L. P. Buroker, a real Christian minister who attended and reported the Congress for the patriotic magazine, "National Republic", said (Sept. 1935 issue):

"This 'religious service' was without hymn or music of any kind and carried on without the reading of a single word from the holy Bible. In fact the name of Jesus was mentioned just three times, as I recall it, twice in derision and once to attribute words to Him of which the Bible makes no mention."

Harry Ward (national chairman of the communist American League Against War and Fascism, of which Communist Earl Browder is vice-chairman; national chairman of the communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union; communist Garland Fund director; etc., etc.; general secy. since 1911 of the pro-communist Methodist Federation for Social Service; professor of "Christian" Ethics at red Union Theological Seminary and chief long-time borer-from-within the Methodist Church for Communism) delivered the "sermon" for this "religious service". The Communists placed the job in safe hands.

The "Sermon" a Communistic Tirade

To quote Rev. Buroker's report: "Ward's speech was the most radical pronouncement of the entire Congress. Standing with feet wide apart, pulling one hand out of his pocket occasionally to gesticulate

wildly, in a high shrill voice, he called upon atheists and Christians to unite.

"There isn't any real difference between atheists and Christians', he shouted. 'You must unite in destroying the social order which is denying you your rights. You can't love people into a new society.'"

This statement produced a veritable tornado of applause. Urging his hearers to carry their fight for Communism back into their churches, he screamed, 'Don't let your preachers and churches bluff you! The one thing you have to do is to keep your program on a plan of action rather than theory.'

Approval of So-Called "Ministers"

"The Youth Congress not only claimed, but actually had a surprising support in religious circles. It has now become a question with me whether the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. are to be classed as 'religious organizations' and whether the 'C' should stand for Christian or Communist

"It was announced that the so-called 'religious service' held on Sunday morning at which Harry Ward spoke, was arranged 'by a group of progressive Detroit ministers.'

"Ward was introduced by the Rev. H. C. Gleiss, superintendent of the Detroit Baptist Union, who spoke glowingly of Ward's 'service to humanity'. Christian Endeavor and other religious organizations were well represented at the young radical Congress.

"Among the forty-four elected to the Continuations Committee are: Elizabeth Scott, of the St. James Presbyterian Church" (the Negress also elected secretary of the Congress whom Mrs. Roosevelt entertained at tea at the White House), "Cornelia Levy of the John Haynes Holmes' Community Church" ("Red Center" would be a more appropriate name), "and Helen Logan, of Fort George Presbyterian Church, all of New York City; Gordon McWhorther, of the Pacific Unitarian School for Ministers; Carl Driscoll, of the Council of Religious Education of Ohio; Elsa Buescher of the Epworth League, Milwaukee; and Ed. Strong, Olivet Baptist Church, Chicago" (a Negro whom I have heard speak at Communist meetings in Chicago).

"The Unitarian Ministerial Assn. of Los Angeles and the Community Church of Boston, were among the known contributors of the expense of the meeting."

A glowing article on the Congress by Rev. John E. Marvin, a Methodist preacher of Detroit, appeared in the Michigan Christian Advocate of July 18. He said, admiringly, "the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. were very much in evidence."

The commendations of the Michigan Christian Advocate, of the Bulletin of the Council of Social Agencies, Metropolitan Detroit, of Charles Harris, president of the Junior Division of the Detroit National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*, and the radio broadcast by Francis A. Henson*, are quoted in the official booklet of the communist American Youth Congress ("The Truth

*Listed in "The Red Network".

About the American Youth Congress"), which is sold at Communist Party book stores.

Three Black and White, But Red, Pals

A photograph taken at the Congress shows a group of three: Waldo McNutt, retiring chairman of the Congress, with Albert Hamilton, newly elected chairman, reading a paper, with Negro Angelo Herndon, the jail-bird Communist Party organizer, an "honorary chairman" of the Congress, looking on and resting his hand on pal McNutt's shoulder. Both McNutt and Al Hamilton (the Epworth League "pacifist" who refused to take patriotic military training), like Ward, are Red borers-from-within the Methodist Church for Communism. McNutt is a member of the Revolutionary Policy Committee of the Socialist Party, which openly advocated Communist bloody revolution.

Another Communist "Youth Section"

The National Committee, youth section, of the communist American League Against War and Fascism, which agitates Red revolution and treason, includes: Al Hamilton and Waldo McNutt; Richard B. Whitten, present director of red Commonwealth College; a traitor who dares only list himself as "X" from the Youngstown, Ohio, National Guard; Buella Lee of the Indianapolis **Y. W. C. A.**; Hayes Beall, chairman of the Methodist Youth Council; Frank Meyers of England, representative of the communist World Youth Committee; James Ashford of the communist League of Struggle for Negro Rights, working for a Negro Soviet South; Gil Green, national secretary of the Young Communist League; etc., etc. (Daily Worker 10/8/34).

Communist literature was sold at the second American Youth Congress and a book stand set up opposite the main entrance of the Cass Technical High School, Detroit, where the sessions were held.

Communist and Other Red Speakers Featured

Negro Communist Herndon was a speaker, as was Patrick H. O'Brien of the red A. C. L. U., who, in 1933, while Attorney General of Michigan, dismissed the Bridgman Raid criminal-syndicalism charges against Wm. Z. Foster and other Communists arrested in 1922, freeing for use of the Communist Party thousands of dollars of bond money held by the State. O'Brien puffed Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Clarence Hathaway, editor of the official organ of the Communist Party, spoke as the representative of the Party. August Tyler spoke as the Socialist Party representative.

Hathaway, says Rev. Buroker, was welcomed to the speaker's stand by a wild demonstration that lasted fully five minutes and said, of course, **"The Communist Party stands squarely behind the American Youth Congress."**

When one young speaker, although he attempted to appear very radical, said, "Of course we don't want a bloody revolution", the audience jeered and booed.

Rev. Buroker's description of how the Communist steam-rolled resolutions were prepared for the "democratic" congress before the vote was taken, which was revealed by an announcement let slip by mistake, shows the typical conduct of all such Communist-controlled affairs. The iron hand in the velvet glove rules absolutely.

"Closer" Race Relations

He says: "... the most shocking thing I saw in connection with the Detroit Youth Congress was the social mixing of boys and girls of the black and white races. Fully one third of the audience at one session was Negro. This, I suppose was to be expected but I solemnly affirm that it is not to be expected, irrespective of the type of gathering, that black men shall be the escorts and companions of white women. Such a situation, however, seemed perfectly natural around the Youth Congress.

"While Clarence Hathaway expounded the doctrine of communism, not three seats removed from me a white girl clung to the arm and openly petted with one of the blackest sons of Africa I have ever seen.

"This was not an isolated instance. All one had to do was to stand at the main entrance for a little while either before, during or following a session of the Congress, to see the same thing dozens of times.

"I will say, however, that whatever credit there was to be had in the situation went to the negro. It was the white female who was doing the larger share of the petting!"

"The doctrines of Marx, carried to their logical conclusion, lead directly to this very thing. Reduced to their simplest terms, they tend directly to the destruction of faith in God, destroy respect for the natural laws governing the race, remove old standards of morals and decency and reduce the human race to the level of soulless animals."

While there are ministers like the Rev. Buroker, and Rev. Rollings of Detroit who helped him expose the Congress, and others of their sterling quality whom I know personally, Christians need not despair at the "falling away" now going on from within the church as prophesied by Jesus Christ. He, Himself, asked, "When the Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?" (Luke, 18:8.)

More Roosevelt Communist Recognition

"Mrs. Roosevelt Approves Communist Youth Group" is the heading of a report in the patriotic Awakener, 2/1/36. To quote:

"Abandoning all pretense of opposition to Communism, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt appeared today at the meeting of the national council of the so-called 'American Youth Congress', a Communist-sponsored organization, and held a lengthy conference with its radical members on the national youth problem. Mrs. Roosevelt was accompanied on her visit by Aubrey Williams, executive director of the National Youth Administration.

"The participation of the President's wife in this motley gathering, it is believed, will give an immense impetus to the efforts of the radicals to gain control over the organized American youth movement. In describing the meeting, the Daily Worker, official Communist Party organ, (Jan. 26), exulted that:

"Mrs. Roosevelt's performance is taken to mean official recognition of the American Youth Congress as the mainstream of the American youth movement. This united front organization, ranging from the Young Communist League and the Young People's Socialist League to church, social and various middle class youth organizations, has in its brief existence become the recognized spokesman for the youth of America."

"Among those who participated in the discussion with Mrs. Roosevelt were Gil Green, General Secretary of the Young Communist League, who was a delegate to the recent meeting of the Comintern at Moscow, Joseph P. Lash, executive secretary of the Communist-Socialist American Student Union, who was recently characterized by H. Bedford-Jones, his father-in-law, in Liberty, as being 'responsible for much' of the 'moral and mental disintegration' of contemporary American youth; William W. Hinckley, executive secretary of the American Youth Congress and active Communist; Miss Elizabeth Scott, Negro Socialist; etc."

Invites Them to Tea at White House

The Washington Sunday Star, 1/26/36, reported that **Mrs. Roosevelt** entertained at tea in the White House five of the American Youth Congress delegates including Elizabeth Scott, its Negro secretary.

The 3/28/36 issue of the New York East Side News reported **Mrs. Roosevelt** as speaker on "Economic Condition of Young People" at her radical friend Lillian Wald's Henry Street Settlement, along with Vito Marcantonio, the **Communist Party's mouthpiece in Congress**, who released the "peace pigeons" for her "peace" campaign, 4/22/36; Mark McCloskey, State of New York administrator for Roosevelt's National Youth Administration (one of those petitioning Roosevelt for a radical program and redistribution of wealth), and William Hinckley, national chairman of the **communist American Youth Congress**.

Communists Gather Third Youth Congress at Cleveland

The Communist Party's Sunday edition of the Daily Worker (6/28/36) reported, under the heading "3,000 MEET IN 3RD AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS—2,500,000 WILL BE REPRESENTED AT PARLEY IN CLEVELAND":

"In the same Cleveland auditorium where an aging Herbert Hoover only the other day 'thanked God' that the U. S. Supreme Court had nullified the efforts of Congress and the States to deal with the vital social problems, 3,000 delegates, representing 1,500 organizations and 2,500,000 young people will meet July 3 to 5 ready to **strike out boldly into the future**.

"They will compose the Third American Youth Congress . . . National Youth Administrator Aubrey Williams will send a message to the congress, and Congressman Stephen O. Young of Ohio will address it, but most of the speakers will be youths. They will include Angelo Herndon, young Negro unemployed leader under sentence of 18 to 20 years on the Georgia chain gang; Hayes Beall, executive council president of the National Council of Methodist Youth; National Chairman Rose Troiano of the Y. W. C. A. industrial council; National Chairman Martin Harvey of the Christian Youth Conference of America; Chairman Edward Mitchell of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union Youth Committee; Marian Canol of the Y. W. C. A. national business and professional women's council; National Chairman George Edwards of the American Student Union" (communist); "Youth Chairman Edward E. Strong of the" (communist) "National Negro Congress; Waldo McNutt of the Kansas Allied Workers; National Secretary Ben Fischer of the Young People's Socialist League; National Secretary Gil Green of the Young Communist League; and Morris Fine, delegate to the last American Federation of Labor convention."

Scheduled as speakers were:

Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party; Howard Y. Williams of the red Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party; Roy E. Burt, Socialist Party minister-organizer who mixes arrests with Methodism; communistic Heywood Broun; Jerome Davis, red Yale professor; radical Stanley High, Roosevelt's advisor, head of the radical camouflaged "Good Neighbor League" formed recently to help reelect Roosevelt, and attache of the Democratic National Committee, etc. (Daily Worker 7/1/36). See photo, p. 59.

Communist Congress Greeted by Roosevelt and Thomas

"YOUTH PARLEY GETS LETTER FROM F. D. R.," heads this report on the front page of Moscow's "Daily Worker—central organ Communist Party, U. S. A. (section of Communist International)", as it calls itself:

"Cleveland, Ohio, July 3.—Greetings from President Roosevelt, Norman Thomas and leaders in educational, trade union and other fields are pouring into Cleveland as the Third American Youth Congress is getting ready for its three-day session in public Auditorium.

"Far surpassing the scope of the Second Congress, advance registration shows a youth representation never equalled in American history. Out of an expected total delegation of 2,500 youth from all walks of life about 400 came from trade unions.

"Student, religious, Negro, peace groups are all heavily represented as well as many political parties and groupings such as Farmer-Labor Juniors of Minnesota; Non-Partisan League of North Dakota; Commonwealth Federation of Washington; Progressive Democrats of Texas; Communist, Socialist Parties; Young Communist League, Young People's Socialist League, in addition to numerous Democratic and even some Young Republican Clubs.

"Unions officially represented include West Coast Maritime Federation; Southern Tenant Farmers Union; I. L. G. W. U., Local 22; Newspaper Guild; American Federation of Teachers and local unions from all parts of the country."

"Host" of Roosevelt Officials Arrives

"A host of National Youth Administration officials arrived in town to observe the Youth of America united in a congress around a common program of peace, freedom, progress and economic security through the passage of the American Youth Act.

Roosevelt's Wishes for "Success"

"Full text of President Roosevelt's letter to Wm. W. Hinckley follows:

"My Dear Mr. Hinckley:

"I shall greatly appreciate it if I may through you extend greetings to the young people who participate in the Third American Youth Congress. . . .

"The Third American Youth Congress is evidence of the fact that you who have come together to consider your mutual problems and those of the country as a whole, to accept your responsibilities as citizens and welcome your opportunities as young people. I am happy to extend to you my best wishes for the **success of your congress** in approaching these problems fearlessly and **seeking a solution to them with courage and determination.**

"Very sincerely yours,

"(Signed) **Franklin D. Roosevelt.**"

Thomas, Too, "Greets," and Backs Communist Youth Act

"The full text of the Thomas message follows:

"Greetings to your conference from myself and the Socialist Party. **To make the new world youth must organize and connect itself vitally with labor movement on economic and political field. Hope you can plan and carry out effective joint action for youth act and against militarization of youth.**

"(Signed) **NORMAN THOMAS.**"

Reds Raring for Roosevelt Easy Money

"**YOUTH PROJECTS AWAIT MONEY FROM ROOSEVELT**", heads the adjacent communist Daily Worker report: "Aubrey Williams, head of the National Youth Administration, said today that his new \$71,500,000 National Youth Administration program for the 1936-37 fiscal year will start as soon as President Roosevelt issues an executive order allocating the money from the \$1,425,000,000 work relief fund."

Gil Green, as national secretary of the Young Communist League, in his report to the Comintern Congress in Moscow (Daily Worker 9/28/35), says: "The mere fact that Roosevelt was forced to set aside \$50,000,000" for the National Youth Administration "shows that this concession is a result of the growing youth unity" and that the Young

Communist League turns this "into an instrument for mobilizing the youth for increased government aid."

The Proposed Communist "American Youth Act"

A leaflet entitled "The American Youth Act", issued by the Communist Party's American Youth Congress headquarters (22 E. 17th St., N. Y.), describes the American Youth Act as "a bill sponsored by the American Youth Congress as an adequate supplement to the National Youth Administration." (N.Y.A.)

It makes extravagant demands for vocational training, recreation, education, and work paying union wages or else a minimum of \$15 per week for all unemployed youth between 16 and 25, the cost to be raised by taxation on inheritances, gifts and incomes.

Karl Marx, in his ten rules for communizing a State (Communist Manifesto, page 30), demands for minors: "Combination of education with industrial production." Etc.

Studebaker's Proposals at Least As Radical

No less extravagant than the communist American Youth Act, are the harmonious ideas of John W. Studebaker, Roosevelt's U. S. Commissioner of Education and member of the National Youth Administration executive committee.

He spoke over the Town Hall radio, 11/20/35, razzing the "older generation", for which he said he had "no use", and the "generation now in the saddle", for which he had "no defense". He said we must go much farther and provide in every community "planned" comprehensive work, study, recreation, education, for every youth, engaging youth's full time in a proper combination of work, study and education; that we must stop hoping to cut the cost of the program and enlarge it.

He said that he had urged an appropriation of \$300,000,000 for the N.Y.A. instead of \$50,000,000.

An "Authority" Reveals Permanence of "Emergency"

That the National Youth Administration program is not regarded as merely an emergency measure by other Roosevelt Marxian imitators was indicated by Mrs. Roosevelt, who considers the N. Y. A. one of her pet projects.

The patriotic Awakener (10/1/35), commenting on this, referred to Mrs. Roosevelt's then recent syndicated article in which she declared that the program is to result in setting up of "youth centers in every state and youth committees in our cities, towns and counties" and that "it would be of permanent value if the government, with the help of youth itself could establish these centers and prove their worth, to the end that they might continue to serve future generations."

N.Y.A. in Good Red Hands

Roosevelt's executive director of the N.Y.A., dispensing an initial sum of \$50,000,000 of taxpayers' funds and a projected \$71,250,000 for

the fiscal year 1936-37, is Aubrey W. Williams, member of the committee formed by radical Justice Brandeis' daughter, Elizabeth, with American Civil Liberties Union officers, to aid the little communistic cesspool at Mena, Arkansas, **Commonwealth College**. He is also a financial supporter of Commonwealth College.

The Roosevelt-appointed advisory board includes such radicals as: Sidney Hillman, Russian-born Red; Bishop F. J. McConnell, Methodist Red, vice-president of the socialist-communist L. I. D.; A. A. Berle, Jr., an original "brain truster" (and still one), law associate of radical Justice Brandeis, now Chamberlain in the N. Y. City "cabinet" of Socialist LaGuardia and being boomed by LaGuardia for head of the N. Y. Board of Aldermen; Communist-defending Mordecai Johnson, Roosevelt "employee" as president of the Government-supported Howard University for Negroes; and, as chairman, radical capitalist Chas. W. Taussig, one of the four "brain trusters" to disavow Dr. Wirt's charges of revolutionary plotting (*Chicago Examiner* 3/27/34).

Also such capitalistic "liberals" (toward Socialism) as: Henry S. Dennison, appointee to Roosevelt's labor board in 1934, trustee of socialistic Antioch College, headed by Arthur E. Morgan, Roosevelt's radical TVA director. And Owen D. Young, head of the capitalistic General Electric Company, "among the first to make a huge contract with the Soviet on an extended credit basis several years ago" (*Nat. Republic* 8/35); who attended the banquet given in honor of Litvinoff, the Soviet murder-government representative, and stood when the Red atheist "Internationale" was sung (*N. Y. World Telegram* 11/25/35); his friend Lincoln Steffens, Communist writer, as one of his assets, claims to hold Young's note for \$35,000 (*N. Y. Tribune* 3/22/35).

The American Youth Exhibit

The "American Youth Exhibit"—sponsored by the American Youth Congress" has headquarters at 295 Madison Ave., N. Y. C., and a committee of sponsors as follows:

Sherwood Anderson*, Communist author of "Let's Have More Criminal Syndicalism", etc.; Murray Baron, of the editorial board of the revolutionary "Socialist Call", Norman Thomas' paper; Norman Bel Geddes; Margaret Bourke-White, of the communist American Artists' Congress, photographer for Communist periodicals; Stuart Davis; Mary Fox* of the L.I.D., etc.; Hamilton Holt* of radical "Open Road" (affiliate of the Soviet Government Intourist), which stages propaganda tours; Langston Hughes*, Negro atheist Communist writer; Alvin Johnson, head of Mrs. Roosevelt's pro-Communist New School for Social Research; Henry Noble MacCracken*, also of "Open Road" and president of Vassar College, where communistic Hallie Flanagan holds forth; Rep. Vito Marcantonio, the Communist Party's mouthpiece in Congress and Mrs. Roosevelt's "peace" associate; Gov. Harry Nice; A. Philip Randolph*, head of the communist American Negro Congress; Rose Schneiderman*, Russian-born red Roosevelt appointee; Lillian Wald* of the communist American Society for

*Listed in "The Red Network".

Cultural Relations with Russia, etc., Mrs. Roosevelt's close friend; Chas. C. Webber*, a revolutionary Socialist, now organizer for the pro-Communist Methodist Federation for Social Service.

It is only natural that the American Youth Exhibit in New York, June 1-July 31, 1936, should be held in Mrs. Roosevelt's New School for Social Research, where Communist congresses gravitate. See p. 58.

Patriotic Children Wreck Government's Red Youth Display

"Youths Wreck Reds' Display at Exhibition; Propaganda Attempts Anger School Children; Hundreds Protest Slurs on America", captioned this report in the Chicago Examiner, 5/8/36:

"Bold attempts of officials of the Friends of Soviet Russia to propagandize thousands of Chicago boys and girls through a booth in the **government-financed National Youth Exhibit** at International Amphitheatre were thwarted yesterday when a throng of enraged children wrecked the display.

"'America is decaying, retrogression has set in; Russia leads the world,' one of the fiery exhorters proclaimed as he handed out the leaflets.

"'Read how Russia beats the United States in production,' cried another.

"When Bromberg arrived at the booth to investigate a near riot he found hundreds of children protesting against remarks belittling their traditions.

"A hurried inspection of the literature revealed it as propaganda, he said, and he ordered the booth vacated, whereupon the children leaped into the enclosure with results that recalled the Boston Tea Party."

Patriotic Direct Action "Outrage"—Any Red Action "Justifiable"

The communist Friends of the Soviet Union in their magazine "Soviet Russia Today" (June, 1936) expressed their rage at this spoilage of Communist propaganda and quoted their national chairman, Corliss Lamont, atheist writer for the Communist Party and son of the capitalistic "pink" Thomas Lamont, as saying: "We shall carry on the protest at Washington to fix the responsibility for this outrage."

They well know the pull they have in Roosevelt-ruled Washington! But, unfortunately, no patriot tore up the turf with protests because of the pernicious propaganda of Communist-supporter Frederick L. Schuman*, an assistant professor; Red leader Professor Paul Douglas*, Roosevelt appointee; T. V. Smith*, prominent in the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, Chicago branch; Garfield V. Cox of Mrs. Roosevelt's radical-pacifist American Friends Service Committee's Institutes; all connected with the University of Chicago, who led sessions of the National Youth Administration Forum at the same National Youth Exhibit, where they chose for discussion a favorite subject with Reds—"Fascism". (Daily Maroon 5/5/36.)

"Peace", "social" something-or-other, "free speech", "race relations" and "fascism" are the Reds' most worn "phonograph records."

*Listed in "The Red Network".

RULING RADICALS OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

"I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl.
The secret mischiefs that I set abroad
I lay unto the grievous charge of others,
But then I sigh, and with a piece of Scripture
Tell them,—that God bids us do good for evil;
And thus I clothe my naked villainy
With old odd ends, stolen forth from holy writ;
And seem a saint, when most I play the devil."

Richard III.

Roosevelt as Radical as Federal Council, He Says

When, in one of his campaign speeches of 1932, Roosevelt said, in answer to charges of radicalism, that he was "**just as radical as the Federal Council of Churches**", in street parlance, he "said a mouthful".

A report of the Military Intelligence Association (5/12/27) to its membership, in which charges were made and information given concerning the Federal Council's support of the Communist movement in China, etc., included this:

"We charge that the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America meddles loosely in International questions and that it plays, either wittingly or unwittingly, squarely into the hands of the Communist Internationale—The World Revolutionists."

To one who, like myself, reads the Red press continuously and extensively the Federal Council of Churches' "Information Service" bulletins are largely a cold rehash. Many of the "meals" are not even warmed over. A bulletin which contains any reference to religion is rare indeed.

One might easily devote a book to the radical propaganda and sinister ramifications of the little pro-Soviet, pro-Socialist, radical-pacifist, worldly-minded ruling clique of the Federal Council, which magnifies the importance of its pronouncements on disarmament, in fulsome praise of Roosevelt's Socialism, on birth control, NRA, the Communist Herndon and Scottsboro cases, racial inter-mingling, etc., with the false inference that its opinions represent the opinions of 22,000,000 Protestant Christians.

Most of the people numbered in that 22,000,000 hardly know what the Federal Council is and never get a chance to vote at all on its policies and opinions. Yet, when criticized for their filthy sex pamphlet along Communist lines or any other of their Red releases, the members of the ruling clique, who are experts in plain and fancy "buck passing", usually reply that the responsibility for whatever is criticized rests upon one of the committees of the ruling clique and that therefore the ruling clique as a whole is not responsible, although "the sum of the parts is the whole" used to be considered an axiom.

Owing to growing opposition to the radicalism of this Federal Council clique, numbers of Churches have been withdrawing from even nominal affiliation, and powerful fundamentalist Christian min-

isters have been airing truths embarrassing to those leaders wishing to serve two masters—Atheistic Socialism and Christianity—by using the latter to cloak the former.

Warns of Peril to Uncivil Liberties

Therefore, the Executive Committee, in behalf of "civil liberty", sent out a message of warning to all churches which was headed in the Chicago Tribune of 6/21/36: "Church Council Warns of Peril to U. S. Liberty—See Moves to Restrict Personal Freedom—Warns of Intolerance."

Dragging out the good old Communist bogey of "fascist" repression, the Federal Council put up a clever self-defense argument in which the following appears:

"While the menace of communism to civil and religious liberty has been pointed out frequently, the committee considers that not enough attention has been given to the more imminent danger of repressive tendencies of another sort.

"We observe, for example, a sinister intolerance which brands as communistic even those constructive proposals for orderly social progress which are the best defences against communism. Suspicion is engendered against thoughtful and patriotic citizens who stand for the right of labor to organize for better standards of living. Even churches are labeled as "subversive" for pointing out economic injustices, which can be corrected if there be the will to do so, and for emphasizing the necessity of bringing Christ's spirit and teaching more fully to bear on our industrial life."

Recommend Communist-Aiding A.C.L.U. Propaganda

As with all radicals, "Civil Liberties" is a strong point with the Federal Council. The notorious Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union's pamphlet against compulsory salute of the American flag in schools is recommended in the Federal Council's bulletin of 5/23/36.

In their bulletin of 5/9/36, almost three of the four pages are given to the Red cause of "Civil Liberties in Tampa"; and the pamphlet of the Communist-Socialist united-front "committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa" is recommended for reading; also articles on the subject by Hubert Herring of the American Civil Liberties Union, and by Herbert Wolf in pro-Communist "Common Sense" magazine; etc.

In their bulletin for 9/14/35, the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union pamphlet, "So This Is Free Speech", is recommended, the price (10c) and the address (31 Union Square, N. Y. City) being given.

"Right of Revolution" Upheld—Sedition Laws Denounced

Their entire bulletin of 4/27/35 is entitled "Civil Liberties" and might well have been written by the American Civil Liberties Union or the communist Daily Worker, so stereotyped, so pat, so typical, are its arguments. Harold J. Laski, the Marxist who writes the foreword to the Socialist Party edition of the Communist Manifesto, is

quoted. The fact is bemoaned that dynamiter Anarchist-Communist Mooney is still in prison. (He promises Stalin to aid the Communist world revolution if released.) The "Right of Revolution" is upheld, and all sedition laws and the Espionage Act are denounced.

Communist John Strachey's silly arguments for his right to preach Communism in America are defended. To quote: "John Strachey made much of the difference between advocating violence and predicting it. He said that one who dressed in a rain coat and rubbers in anticipation of foul weather could hardly be accused of advocating rain . . . it seems obvious that to teach that the beneficiaries of capitalism are going to oppose by force the establishment of communism is not the precise equivalent of saying 'To arms against capitalist governments.' The application of the Holmes' principle" (laid down by the late radical Supreme Court Justice Holmes, intimate of Felix Frankfurter, quoted continuously by the Reds) "would solve this problem by applying the test, under criminal laws, of reasonably predicted consequences of overt acts rather than by seeking to outlaw organizations through vague prohibitions."

Which is a nicely padded, circuitous way of saying "Don't bar the criminal Communist organizations because they are organizing to kill you! Be sure they are engaged in killing you before you oppose or bar them!"

Blames Our "System" for Producing Radicals—Opposes Deportation

Censorship of the press, etc., in the same sense that the Reds oppose it, is opposed. Concerning deportation of aliens, this sympathetic treatment is given Red revolutionaries:

"The prevailing view of the status of aliens seems to be that they are here by tolerance. When they make trouble of a political nature, the moral right to deport them is assumed. A broadly humane principle would seem to require some consideration of the source of their radicalism. If our industrial system produces radicals, have we a moral right to shift the responsibility for them to some other government?"

Which is a slippery way of blaming American institutions for producing Red aliens and suggesting that we should not deport them.

Edward L. Parsons, Episcopal Bishop of California, vice chairman of the infamous Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union and president of the red Church League for Industrial Democracy, is praised for his talk on "The Church and Civil Liberties" (5/4/35).

Leading Red "Borers from Within" Featured

In fact, the leading figures in the Communist-Socialist movement boring from within the churches are featured and praised, as well as the radical organizations through which they operate.

Radicals Stuart Chase*, Rex Guy Tugwell*, Manley O. Hudson* (of a communist-Garland-Fund Committee), Norman Thomas*, Chas. A. Beard*, Edwin R. Embree*, the communist writer Frederick L. Schuman*, E. C. Lindeman*—none of whom are identified with

*See "The Red Network".

Christian activities are the "stones" offered as mental nourishment to Christians who subscribe to the Federal Council Information Service, in search of spiritual food.

In the 6/8/35 bulletin, a book by red Frederick L. Schuman, whose recent book is published by the official Soviet publishing house, is enticingly reviewed, as is "I Change Worlds" by Anna Louise Strong, with no mention whatever made that she is a Communist propagandist, working for the Soviet government.

One of the Communist Party's International Pamphlets, "The Soviet Union and World Peace", by Anna Louise Strong, is recommended in the 1/25/36 bulletin; also "Why Aren't We All Rich?", published by the Socialist Party.

Bulletin Impartial in Lauding All Red Causes

The "Peace" posters of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (affiliated with the communist American League Against War and Fascism) are recommended in the 3/7/36 bulletin; and in the same issue, a pamphlet by Norman Thomas, head of the Socialist Party U. S. A.

The socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy radio broadcasts featuring Roosevelt appointees and other radicals are favorably described in the same issue.

The 6/8/35 issue also gives an alluring review of "Renascent Mexico" (praised by the Communist Party's Daily Worker), edited by radicals Hubert Herring and Herbert Weinstock, with E. C. Lindeman and Diego Rivera (of the Communist Party of Mexico) contributing to it.

The 9/28/35 bulletin praises the Soviet speed-up system introduced in the coal mines of Russia by Stahkanov and says: "... the aim of the Communists is to raise the general scale of living as fast as possible, and this is facilitated by **production according to need. Production only when profits are obtainable** is now recognized as **one of the greatest hindrances** to coordinated functioning of the capitalistic system." One of the chief Communist and Socialist slogans is: "**Production for use and not for profit.**"

The Russian people **need** such things as underwear, for instance, which they regard as future "luxuries", but they would laugh out loud at Federal Council comparisons of the Russian with the American system if they could see the common availability of such "luxuries" at 5 and 10 cent stores in America.

Nor would the American engineers whom I know, living in Russia, join the Federal Council in puffing the Soviet's coordinated system, coal supply, or standard of living. In order to get heated quarters, the wife of one engineer took the children to Berlin in the winter time, until they were able to get a single heated hotel room for the four of them. Another engineer in charge of an important project had to wire Moscow persistently and continually in the winter time in order to keep supplied with a few buckets of coal when it was

forty degrees below zero. Both of these families had special privileges and foreign money which the Russian people have not.

Why should these pro-Soviet Federal Council theorists print such misleading hooey as the above in the name of the Churches of Christ without protest?

Case of Communist Herndon Sympathetically Covered

The 10/5/35 bulletin is devoted to a sympathetic and positively misleading harangue on the case of the Communist Party Negro organizer, Angelo Herndon.

The 9/7/35 bulletin features and praises the Socialist cooperative movement and the Cooperative League of U. S. A. (Garland-Fund-supported), and recommends a book on Kagawa, Japanese Red, etc.

The entire 1/8/36 bulletin is likewise given to the glorification of Socialist cooperatives in connection with "The Seminar on Consumers Cooperation held under the auspices of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America in the First Baptist Church at Indianapolis Dec. 30, 31, 1935 and Jan. 1, 1936."

Socialist Cooperatives Endorsed at Federal Council "Seminar"

At this seminar, the Federal Council passed this Socialist resolution, coated with a frosting of Christian verbiage:

"We are convinced that the Co-operative Movement is one of the major techniques in making possible the Kingdom of God on earth. We believe that the Churches and religious organizations have an opportunity to supply dynamics and motivation for this most promising movement. We recommend that the various Church bodies should hold Seminars throughout the country on the relation of the Church to the Co-operative Movement, and that its interested agencies should more widely disseminate the literature on the movement."

Saying, in other words, **"Get busy and push Socialist cooperatives under the guise of Christianity!"**

Their bulletin of 1/8/36 referred to above said:

"The purpose of the Seminar was twofold: (1) to hear Toyohiko Kagawa. . . . (2) . . . to study the American Cooperative developments."

A typical group of radicals are listed as participating. To quote from the report:

"'When the minister becomes interested in cooperatives' said Mr. Cowling 'He is no longer interested in simply building up the church as an institution. He becomes interested in changing the life pattern of men both in and out of the church.'"

"'To build a cooperative economic democracy in the United States', said Mr. Bowen, '. . . Utilities should be taken over and reorganized as cooperatives. Consumers' cooperatives should be organized and beginning with retailing, should extend through wholesaling, manufacturing and mining to reorganizing the industrial system.'" (For Socialism-Communism.)

Thus do they represent Christ as their business agent for Socialist capture of private business.

Joins Reds' Line at "Wailing Wall" Over NRA Decision

The 6/29/35 bulletin mourned the knocking out of the NRA as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, saying: "Many people had hoped that by a liberal interpretation of emergency powers and of the commerce clause the court would justify centralized control . . ."

A clever suggestion of Kirby Page, "borer" supreme within the Churches for Socialism, is printed in the 3/23/35 bulletin:

"Kirby Page urges that 'pacific revolutionists' should not join Communists in the 'united front' . . . because 'a large majority of the American people' may be driven 'into the arms of fascism' by 'the strategy of eventually arming the workers and expropriating the owning class by violence.'" (It is better to pretend to be a pacifist and not awaken resistance.)

The 5/18/35 bulletin played up the protest of "prominent clergymen" against "the curtailment of free speech through the passage of pending legislation" to curb communists which they termed "repressive". They want no Party (meaning Communist) barred from the ballot, even though the purpose of the Communist Party U. S. A. is just one—to overthrow the U. S. Government, which provides the ballots, by force and violence. And no wonder!

So-Called "Prominent Clergymen" Leading "Religious" Reds

The following are the signers mentioned by the bulletin:

Msgr. John A. Ryan of the Catholic University, radical Catholic Welfare Conference, and of the American Civil Liberties Union's national committee, who has one of the reddest long-time records of any "Church" radical in America (see "The Red Network").

Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Episcopalian, vice-chairman of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union and president of the Church L. I. D.

Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, leading Modernist, Rockefeller's pro-Soviet "Christian Socialist Minister", an enthusiastic worker for the liberation of Communist Party organizer Angelo Herndon and of Anarchist-Communist dynamiter Mooney, who pledges Stalin that he will aid Communist revolution in America if freed. On 10/25/35, Fosdick wrote Governor Talmadge of Georgia pleading for Herndon's pardon. Although, as he well knows, Herndon, as Communist Party organizer, was openly organizing for bloody revolution, mass theft of private property, and the establishment of a Soviet South, he said that Herndon "was convicted on evidence that does not in the least imply criminal intent or activity on his part." If intent to achieve mass murder and overthrow of the American government is not "criminal intent" according to "Christian Socialist" ethics, what is?

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Methodist, vice-president of the League for Industrial Democracy, which has amalgamated two of its sections with the Communist Party's organizations. Etc., etc. (See "The Red Network".)

McConnell's Socialist-Communist L. I. D. "Knows Its Stuff"

The socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy has not been working for 31 years injecting Marxism into American educational circles, without "knowing its stuff."

The L. I. D. 1936 hand book of discussions outlines, "Looking Forward", devotes its first section to suggestions for radicalizing church people. The introduction says:

"Request your local city and school librarians to reserve special L. I. D. shelves for the books listed in the bibliographies. Perhaps it will be necessary to ask that these be purchased.

"Remember these outlines are the forerunner of the League for Industrial Democracy lecture series."

As one reads down the L. I. D.'s list of titles and authors recommended, in conjunction with the bloody Marx "Communist Manifesto", to further the cause of Marxian class hate, violent revolution and atheism, one is struck by the contrast of the gushing and syrupy words of "peace", "justice", "religion" and "good-will" used. Love fairly beams from the titles.

"Religion" Lends a Hand—and How!

The L. I. D. Bibliography for 1936 includes the following **Federal Council** literature:

"Churches in Social Action—Why and How", also "Religion Lends a Hand" ("And How!"), by James Myers, Industrial Secretary, Federal Council of Churches; "Moral Man, Immoral Society", an argument for Marxism and red revolution, by Reinhold Niebuhr of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council; "Program of Peace Action for the Churches of Christ in America by the Department of International Justice and Goodwill" (a "love dove" of a title for a book recommended by Reds); two books by Harry Ward, head of the communist American League Against War and Fascism and member of the Council of Church Secretaries of the Federal Council; "Religion Renounces War", also "The Churches and World Peace", by Walter Van Kirk, Department of International Justice and Goodwill, Federal Council of Churches. (Crying "peace, peace," aiding those who want class war.)

Van Kirk is now also directing the Emergency Peace Campaign, which was inaugurated with Mrs. Roosevelt and Red Congressman Marcantonio. It is reported that the radical Socialist Roswell P. Barnes, former secretary of the Committee on Militarism in Education (given \$12,400 by the communist Garland Fund), and of the Fellowship of Socialist Christians, Norman Thomas Campaign Com., etc., has suitably, been attached to the staff of the Federal Council to lighten Van Kirk's burden, now grown too arduous with the "peace" campaign.

Federal Council Monthly and Weekly Considered Good Red Propaganda

Other Federal Council publications recommended for L. I. D. work include: "Review of the Industrial Situation, by the Department of Research and Education"; "Social Ideals of the Churches by

the Department of the Church and Social Service"; "Federal Council Bulletin, Monthly"; "Information Service, weekly, Department of Research and Education." All of these "Departments" are controlled by the small radical Federal Council ruling clique.

The Bibliography includes also: books by the radical "Catholics", R. A. McGowan ("Toward Social Justice") and John A. Ryan ("A Better Economic Order"); by the Socialist Party organizer, Roy Burt, of the Methodist Board of Education ("Adventures in Building a New World"); by Ernest F. Johnson, Executive Chairman of the Federal Council staff; by Edmund B. Chaffee, who directs the pro-Communist Labor Institute in New York supported by the Presbyterian Church; by Jerome Davis of the very red National Religion and Labor Foundation, professor at Yale Divinity School; by Clayton C. Morrisson, editor of the radical "Christian Century", who presided at a great Communist mass meeting I attended; by William Adolph Vissert-Hooft, corresponding editor of the very red National Religion and Labor Foundation.

Under "Periodicals", in the L. I. D. Bibliography, are recommended: "Economic Justice", bulletin of the National Religion and Labor Foundation (see "The Red Network" for reproductions of its anti-religious Soviet cartoons), 304 Crown St., New Haven, Conn.; "Social Action," Congregational Council for Social Action, 287 Fourth Ave., N. Y. City; "Social Questions Bulletin," The Methodist Federation for Social Service, 150 Fifth Ave., N. Y. City.

Books by John Bennett, Christopher Dawson, Winifred Ernest Garrison, Frank W. Herriott, John Moffatt Mecklin, Vernon Louis Parrington, R. H. Read, Andre T. Siegfried, Richard Henry Tawney, James H. Tufts, and Max Weber complete the list recommended by the L. I. D. for "working on" Christians to turn them to Marxism.

L. I. D. Instructs How to Undermine the Constitution

The L. I. D. pamphlet entitled "Putting the Constitution to Work" (April 1936) is devoted to ways of undermining the Constitution so as to put over a Socialist government in the U. S. A. In the "Selected Bibliography" recommended by the L. I. D. are:

"The Business of the Supreme Court" by Felix Frankfurter and James M. Landis (Roosevelt powers); "Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States" by Roosevelt-appointee Chas. A. Beard; and the Federal Council of Churches Information Service bulletin, in particular, for Feb. 22, 1936, which quotes Beard, Frankfurter and Landis.

Roosevelt, strangely, actually told the truth when he said he was just as radical as the Federal Council of Churches and similar groups—only innocent, uninformed non-radical Americans thought he was thus denying charges of radicalism.

"Reverends" Collect Funds for I.W.W. Murderers and Other Reds Committee Members

On 12/18/35, James Myers, industrial secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, sent out a circular letter for the Church Emer-

gency Relief Committee (287 4th Ave., N. Y. City). It was signed by himself as secretary, by Wm. B. Spofford (of the communist American League Against War and Fascism) as chairman, and by Eleanor Copenhaver as treasurer. Her connection with the very red National Religion and Labor Foundation and various Communist committees are cited in "The Red Network". She has been a national industrial secretary of the Y.W.C.A. and, according to an ex-Communist friend of hers, married the Communist writer Sherwood Anderson. Myers is an executive committeeman of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union committee on labor injunctions (1935-6).

For the similar radical affiliations of the following members of the Church Emergency Relief Committee, see "The Red Network": Wm. B. Spofford, James Myers, Edmund B. Chaffee, W. Russell Bowie, Winifred Chappell, Jerome Davis, Mary Dreier, Hubert Herring, J. Howard Melish, Reinhold Niebuhr, Bishop Wm. Scarlett (well named), Alva W. Taylor, **Worth M. Tippy**, Chas. Webber.

Radicals Edwin P. Ryland, chairman of the Southern California branch of the red American Civil Liberties Union, Willard E. Uphaus of the red National Religion and Labor Foundation, and a few of the remaining members do not appear in "The Red Network."

Most of these radicals call themselves "Reverend".

The Appeal

This Church Emergency Relief Committee appeal for funds was specifically to help the families of the Red agitators who were flogged in Tampa, Florida; also to help Claude C. Williams, the ousted Red minister, to build a "New Era School which he is starting", and to appeal for funds for legal expenses to free I.W.W. murderers from prison. The appeal is coupled with this happy news:

"Good news! Wm. Hightower and two other Harlan prisoners have been paroled by the Governor. This committee has been sending relief contributions for the families of these prisoners for the past four years. Four men are still in jail. The immediate need in this case is for legal expenses. The Kentucky Defense Committee is securing new evidence and presenting it to the Governor."

These "Harlan prisoners" were involved in an I.W.W. mine war in Kentucky. Wm. Hightower was arrested in connection with the death of a Harlan County Deputy Sheriff and given a life sentence, according to the Communist Labor Defender (January, 1933), and his conviction was upheld by the State court of appeals of Kentucky (Daily Worker 6/22/33).

But, says the Church Emergency Relief Committee in appealing for more money to get their comrades also paroled:

"It would be hard to overstate the effect upon these exploited groups of labor and the unemployed of the help which comes to them from the church sources . . . Will you help?"

The emphasis is theirs. Thus is the cloak of religion used to help the atheistic I.W.W.-Communist-Socialist movement which destroys religion.

A.C.L.U. and I.W.W. "First Aids" on Same Case

As an example of the close connection and smooth cooperation of these "Reverends" with the I.W.W. and other raw, bloody, Red, treasonable organizations, note the following announcement about the same case in the American Civil Liberties Union Quarterly for September, 1935, preceding the appeal of the "Reverends" in December for funds "from the church sources" to help the Harlan prisoners.

Under the heading "Union Seeks Pardons for Kentucky Miners", the Red-defending American Civil Liberties Union (A.C.L.U.) says:

"The pardon campaign, organized by the General Defense Committee of the I.W.W. and supported by the A.C.L.U., seeks release of those convicted for the killing of two deputies during a clash between pickets and mine guards at Evarts, Ky., on May 5, 1931. The Civil Liberties Union has asked that pardon petitions be submitted by its members to the governor on the grounds that the men were convicted because of working class activities and that the recent report on Harlan County proves conclusively that mine owners have been responsible for the violence and bloodshed.

"The seven prisoners are W. B. Jones, W. H. Hightower, Chester L. Moose, Jim Reynolds, Elzie Philips, W. M. Hudson, and Albert Benson."

Since to a Red, any owner is guilty of violence if he tries to protect his property from demolition by Red-led strikers, the killing of deputies is looked upon as a legitimate "working class activity".

Yet these "Reverends", aiding and condoning such murderers, call themselves "pacifists"!

Red "Reverends" Make Red Front Page

Under their masthead which includes the hammer-and-sickle emblem of Soviet Russia, "The Daily Worker—Central Organ Communist Party, U.S.A. (Section of Communist International)" featured on its front page (4/22/36), the appearance of three tried and true radicals before the friendly LaFollette Senatorial Committee, which was set up to ferret out and punish those firms, organizations and individuals who oppose Communism (see p. 269).

These were: **Worth M. Tippy**, representing the Federal Council of Churches, **R. A. McGowan**, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and **Sidney E. Goldstein**, the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

The heading of the report was: "Ask Wider Civil Rights Investigation—Three Religious Groups at Hearing Cite Growing Reaction." Communist Seymour Waldman, himself, head of the Washington Bureau of the Communist Daily Worker, appreciatively wrote up the report.

"Rev." McGowan a Long-time Radical

In 1932, Waldman was associate secretary of the radical-pacifist "National Council for Prevention of War," sometimes referred to as Frederick J. Libby's National Council "for Promotion of War" (red

ASK WIDER CIVIL RIGHTS INVESTIGATION

Three Religious Groups
At Hearings Cite

Growing Reaction

April 12, 1936
By Seymour Waldman

(Daily Worker Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 21.—Leading spokesmen of the three main religious groups in the United States testified here today before the LaFollette subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor that fundamental civil and trade union rights are in danger of being wiped out completely by growing reaction. They unanimously urged Senator LaFollette, chairman of the subcommittee holding hearings under a resolution which calls upon the Senate Labor and Education Committee "to make an investigation of violations of the rights of free speech and assembly and undue interference with the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively," to continue and broaden the investigation, especially its labor aspects.

Worth M. Tippey, representative of the Protestant Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and for twenty years head of its Department of Social Relations, told the subcommittee that "there is a kind of frenzy going on among our people" which "is being fanned" by "the red network crowd." He testified also that the red scare is being used by reactionary elements to stifle civil rights. "Why we're charged with getting money from Moscow," he said, in illustrating the suppression of civil rights rampant throughout the square. Tippey ran the committee a letter he received from Sherwood Eddy shortly after the latter had been arrested in Arkansas where he had gone to investigate the fearful conditions of the share croppers.

Protests on Tampa

"Within half an hour after we arrived to investigate we were arrested," Eddy wrote.

Tippey, in this connection, also left a statement protesting against the Tampa "outrage." Concluding: Tippey declared, "Our organization hopes that this investigation continues and that . . . You will go as far as is necessary."

Father E. A. MacGowan, since 1910 the Associate Director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, informed the subcommittee

that the labor spy who attended one of his conferences was "Mr. Beattie of Pittsburgh" who became "the vice-president of his International Union (the Firemen and Others) and was a member of the organizing committee of the 1919 steel strike." It was not until 1923 or 1924 that this Beattie, MacGowan later told the press, was discovered. In describing the character of his organization, MacGowan declared that "we investigated the Centella massacre on Armistice Day to learn what happens when opponents of civil liberties get a free hand."

Red Scare a Mask

"All the talk about Communism, all the talk about subversive doctrines is simply a mask behind which

(Continued on Page 2)

(Continued from Page 1)

those opposed to civil rights can evade the normal rights of the people for the purpose of keeping them quiet," MacGowan said. "We're hoping," he continued, that a senatorial investigation will be held which will go far afield in investigating labor injunctions, "the very common practice of violations of peaceful picketing, and of violations of the rights of aliens." Most of the organizations whose literature attacks the foreign-born non-citizen, he said, "bear masks and are conspiracies to violate traditional civil rights of Americans." He declared also that his group is opposed to "the so-called loyalty oaths."

Lists Recommendations

MacGowan recommended that the Senatorial investigation should look into "the use of private police, state police, city police and even the National Guard as agencies for the violation of civil rights." These cases have been growing for the past fifty years. The "outrages" perpetrated by these military forces, MacGowan stated, "are growing worse" in some areas. The violation of civil trade union and religious liberties, he said, "can only be stemmed if Americans show they will not give in even if it means cracked heads or worse."

Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein, chairman of the Commission of Social Justice of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, protested against the pending Tydings-McCarrick Military Disinfection, the Russell-Kramer Sedition and the Dobbins bills because of the threat they carry against civil liberties.

Cites Ordinance

"The evidence we have thus far assembled from different parts of the country," Dr. Goldstein informed the subcommittee, "convincing us that civil liberties in America are seriously in danger. From Texas comes the information that the Beaumont and Port Arthur locals of the American Legion have placed dictaphones about the city at strategic points. One of the most

USSR Praised At Conference Of Methodists

- January 7, 1936 -

(Special to the Daily Worker)

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Jan. 6.—The Methodist Young People's Conference, with 5,000 delegates in attendance, took a sharp turn to the left in its closing sessions.

The Soviet Union was highly praised by Dr. Ivan Lee Holt, president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

Dr. Kirby Page, noted fighter for peace, told the convention that young people should resist the compulsory Reserve Officers' Training Corps—even if it means expulsion from college.

A meeting of five hundred of the delegates agreed that all wars are bad.

Race discrimination, the system of sharecropping and the virtual peonage of the turpentine camps in Florida were soundly rapped by a group discussion of a large number of delegates.

Dr. Holt defended the Soviet Union from attack. He declared that the aims of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia "was the establishment of a better life. The Russian government does not propose to do this through exploiting someone else, but through raising the general level of all. It is difficult to find youth anywhere in this world more devoted to the cause of Christ than you'll find the youth of Russia devoted to Stalin and his new social order."

He warned the older generation that "among most of the youth of the world today there is a desire for a change many preferring revolution."

Youth is willing to die for a new order.

"We adults have made our mistakes. We have not given the present generation a good machine with tools and instructions to keep it going—we have given youth a broken down machine and no tools."

Dr. Page was emphatic in his position on the R.O.T.C. He made it plain that militarism in colleges and high schools are a force for evil. "If we had four or five hundred students expelled for refusing to wear the army uniform," he said, "We wouldn't have compulsory military training in our schools."

At Left, Facsimile of Communist "Daily Worker" Report. See under "Red 'Reverends' Make Red Front Page". At Right, Ivan Lee Holt, President Federal Council of Churches, Praises Satan's Atheist Base—the U. S. S. R.

class-war), and editor of its "Disarmament Notes", at the same time that "Rev." R. A. McGowan was a member of its executive board. Waldman moved from this radical "pacifist" office to the frankly "class-war" Daily Worker office.

McGowan has long been a rampant radical, an ardent defender of Red revolutionaries, and a close associate of "Father" John A. Ryan, whose Red record is unsurpassed in Church circles (as national committeeman of the American Civil Liberties Union, fellow executive with the Communist Party heads of the communist Labor Defense Council 1922, etc., etc.).

R. A. McGowan, John A. Lapp, John A. Ryan, and a small group, are the counterpart in the Catholic church of the Harry Ward, Bishop McConnell Red group in the Methodist Church and, in fact, have won the envy of radical Paul Hutchinson, who claims that "Methodists Retreat" (from their Socialism, under fire), while the Catholics are beautifully advancing in Socialism owing to the use being made of the Pope's Encyclicals(!) by McGowan's National Catholic Welfare Conference (see p. 283).

McGowan was listed (as is Ryan) in the radical's 1925 "American Labor Who's Who" (financed by the communist Garland Fund) as a member of the board of directors of the Garland-Fund-supported Cooperative League of U.S.A., etc.

Aided I.W.W.s Imprisoned for Crime and Sedition

In 1922, he was one of the I.W.W. General Defense Committee aides attempting to get a million signatures to a petition asking the President to pardon imprisoned I.W.W. Red terrorists. When their petition was presented to President Harding, McGowan acted as the spokesman of the delegation and introduced the speakers to the President (Communist's Federated Press Daily Mail Service Sheet, July 7 and 24, 1922).

The I.W.W., Communist Party, American Civil Liberties Union, the entire Red Front, have waged an unceasing battle, also, to liberate the I.W.W.s given sentences of 25 to 40 years in Walla Walla penitentiary for murdering American Legion men at Centralia, Washington, in an attack on an Armistice Day parade.

According to the infamous pamphlets issued by the red American Civil Liberties Union and the hullaballo raised by McGowan and his friends, the I.W.W.s should never have been imprisoned for murdering the veterans, thus being deprived of their "civil liberties" (uncivil liberties).

Characteristically, McGowan is quoted in the Daily Worker account of his appearance before the LaFollette committee as saying:

"We investigated the Centralia Massacre on Armistice Day to learn what happens when opponents of civil liberties'" (patriots) "get a free hand.'" (The barefaced effrontery of the defense of Red crimes is often breathtaking.)

What McGowan Says Anti-Communists Suppress Are UNCIVIL Rights

"All the talk about Communism, all the talk about subversive doctrines is simply a mask behind which those opposed to civil rights can evade the normal rights of the people for the purpose of keeping them quiet," MacGowan said. "We're hoping," he continued, that a senatorial investigation will go far afield in investigating labor injunctions, 'the very common practice of violations of peaceful picketing, and violations of the rights of aliens.'" (To stay in America to stir up trouble.) "He declared also that his group is opposed to 'the so-called loyalty oaths.'" (All Reds fight taking an oath of allegiance to the Constitution they aim to destroy.)

Lists Recommendations

"MacGowan recommended that the Senatorial investigation should look into 'the use of private police, state police, city police and even the National Guard as agencies for the violation of civil rights.'" (Uncivil rights.) "The 'outrages' perpetrated by these military forces, MacGowan stated, 'are growing worse' in some areas." (These forces prevent Red-led strikers from completely demolishing a plant or depriving a whole town of food, light, etc.) "The violation of civil trade union and religious liberties, he said, 'can only be stemmed if Americans show they will not give in even if it means cracked heads or worse.'" ("On to the barricades!" he might have added.)

Goldstein and the Other Reds Dislike Sedition Bills

Rabbi Sidney A. Goldstein (of numerous Red groups such as the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, the very red National Religion and Labor Foundation, which distributes outright atheist Communist cartoons and literature among church people, etc., etc.) "protested against the pending Tydings-McCormack Disaffection, the Russell-Kramer Sedition and the Dobbins bills because of the threat they carry against civil liberties" (against Reds' uncivil liberties).

The Military Disaffection Bill, to punish those who propagandize Red revolutionary treason, sabotage, killing of army officers, etc., is greatly feared by the communistic revolution-mongers who operate "anti-fascist", "anti-war", anti-patriotic-defense groups under the name of "peace".

Tippy Begs LaFollette "OGPU" for Aid Against Anti-Communists

Worth M. Tippy seemed most distraught of all, judging by the Daily Worker account. He "told the subcommittee that 'there is a kind of frenzy going on among our people' which 'is being fanned' by 'the red network crowd' In illustrating the suppression of civil rights rampant throughout the country Tippy read the committee a letter he received from Sherwood Eddy shortly after the latter had been arrested in Arkansas where he had gone to investigate the fearful conditions of the sharecroppers." (Tippy's Red friend Sherwood Eddy of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties

Union national committee, etc., etc., is at the moment serving also as an aide to Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist-Communist united-front movement, as a member of his revolutionary Socialist National Campaign Committee. Of course, Eddy could have had no revolutionary Socialist plans for the sharecroppers, to justify his arrest?)

Tippy Speaking for the Federal Council

"Concluding, Tippet declared, 'Our organization hopes that this investigation continues and that You will go as far as is necessary.'"

Tippy Gives Us a Tip

My! My! Could dear Mr. Tippy have had my anti-Communist "Red Network" and its sympathizers in mind? Well, if the "Roosevelt revolution" is completed and the LaFollette-Black "OGPU" is given carte blanche to crack down on anti-Communists, perhaps patriots following the fashion set by Reds whose Committees favor lengthy names may form a "National Committee for the Relief and Solace of Imprisoned American Patriots Now Languishing in the 'OGPU' Tombs in Need of Cheer and Sustenance", and bring us soup and chocolate bars on visiting days permitted by the Red Commissars.

Why should patriots not have a committee with as difficult a title as the Reds' "National Committee to Aid Striking Miners Fighting Starvation" (see "The Red Network"), etc. Let them struggle writing out ours as I have struggled writing out theirs!

The Federal Council Grovels Before Roosevelt

The 1933 Annual Report of the Federal Council (a copy of which Samuel McCrea Cavert sent to me), issued by the radical ruling clique, not only reeks with socialistic phraseology from cover to cover but exudes abject admiration for President Roosevelt's socialistic program and gives extravagant praise to his radical Secretary of Agriculture Wallace.

Scattered through the Report's pages are the familiar words and phrases: "Cooperation", "cooperative planning", "our narrow and bigoted nationalism", "obsession with profits", "private profit as the cornerstone of the economic order appeals to men to be selfish", "this new emphasis on cooperation we regard as especially in harmony with the Christian view of life", "For Economic Brotherhood" (a discussion study outline of the Dept. of Race Relations), the "Scottsboro case", "Men Conquer Guns", "David and the R.O.T.C." (anti-R.O. T.C.), "Coming to Grips with the War System", "The Social Ideals of the Churches now include 'social planning and control of credit and monetary systems and the economic processes for the common good.'"

Recently, the Federal Council group has thought it only consistent, however, to protest Roosevelt's support of national defense in view of their long radical pacifist record for agitation against all preparedness.

In what one might term a slithering "unqualified crawl" before Roosevelt, the little radical group's Federal Council Report (p. 114), under the sub-title "The Churches and the National Recovery Program", pompously and sanctimoniously issued their pronouncement supporting Roosevelt's unconstitutional Socialist objectives, saying:

Federal Council Radicals Ask for NRA Support

"We are impelled to call upon the people of the churches to consider the permanent spiritual and ethical implications of the national recovery program. For many years the appeal has gone forth from our pulpits and church press for a larger expression of Christian motives in our economic life. This appeal has been embodied in the now familiar terms of the **Social Ideals of the Churches.**" (Lenin admired those communistic, anti-private business "Social Ideals of the Churches" also.)

The forced collective bargaining and other features of the Roosevelt program are also praised and the word "Christian" dragged in continually to bolster up and glorify the political system of Socialist collectivism. To quote:

"We do not suggest that the national recovery program embodies the full social ideal of Christianity, or that the success of the program would leave no desirable social goals unattained. The Christian conscience can be satisfied with nothing less than the **complete substitution** of motives of mutual helpfulness and goodwill for the motive of **private gain**, and the removal of the handicaps which our economic order now inflicts upon large numbers of our people, particularly in certain occupational and racial groups. . . .

"There is the necessity, made so apparent by the depression, of **broad social planning** for the welfare of the nation. This **collective effort** is clearly in line with the social teachings of the Christian gospel. . . . the national recovery program implies the practicability of a more **cooperative economic order, socially controlled for the common good**, and a willingness to relinquish **special privilege and power**. We urge our people to give full recognition to the social and spiritual implications of the national recovery program and to cooperate in the attainment of the high ends toward which it is directed."

Roosevelt Addresses Federal Council Comrades

Roosevelt's speech before his Federal Council friends, 12/6/33, appears also in the Report. In it he appealed for "**collective effort on broad lines of social planning**", "a prosperity **socially controlled for the common good . . . built on social values rather than on special privilege and special power**" (the good old "class struggle" line), for "**social justice**", "a more abundant life", and closed with this unhappy thought for non-Socialists: "Yes, the churches are the greatest influence in the world today to overcome greed and for **spreading this new philosophy of Government**. State and Church are rightly united in a coming aim. With the help of God, **we are on our road to it.**" (Our Constitution and the American system of government provide specifically for separation of State and Church.)

Did Christ Teach Economics?

Roosevelt and the Federal Council make socialistic political use of the word "Christian" and "Church". Yet nowhere in the Gospel does Christ advocate organizing any type of government at all, any "co-operative economic order socially controlled", or any mass union method of corporate salvation. He distinctly said that until after the culmination of events and His return to rule the world, His kingdom was not of this world.

In His Word one finds no theories of collective bargaining for regeneration, or of mass pressure by political methods to win Heaven. Government, like architecture, etc., He left to the management of the "Caesars" of the material world.

As for His spiritual Kingdom, we are told that of two persons working side by side in the same field, one will be taken and the other left as unworthy of salvation. Their "union" will not save them.

Not a brotherhood collectivized with evil, not a state of peace with Satan, but the individual acceptance of Christ as one's personal guide and Saviour, individual repentance for wrong doing, and hatred of hypocrisy and of those acts which He (not the foully-diseased Lenin) taught us are sins, intolerance of sin but sorrow for the sinner, separation from evil, and the responsibility to God of the individual soul—these principles He taught as the Way, the Truth and the Life.

New Deal No "Brotherhood of Universal Righteousness"

While the regenerated Christian regenerates and benefits the society of which he is a part in proportion to the Light within, yet Christ warned us that we will have no perfect material kingdom, no abolition of poverty, no real peace by any governmental system whatever so long as Satanic power, voracious and deceptive, ever appearing falsely as "an angel of light", still prowls through the world to destroy; that "nation shall rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom" (St. Luke 21:10) and that "these things must come to pass" until culminating the Satanic "mystery of iniquity" which sets men's minds to believe a lie, the God-hating blasphemous hordes serving the Red Beast's final governmental regime will be vanquished at Armageddon. The dead will be heaped to the horses' bridles, we are told. Christ will make his glorious appearance and will then rule over a world where a brotherhood of universal righteousness will prevail. Christ Himself promised plainly "I will come again. Ye shall see me coming in the clouds of heaven."

Since there are over 300 references to Christ's return in Scriptures, those who believe the Bible at all can scarcely ignore them as the socialistic modernist preachers do who smile or pompously explain the Bible away. As was prophesied: "There shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts, and saying, where is the promise of his coming?" (II Peter 3:3.)

"Modernists" Not Followers of Christ But of Marx

It is modernistic preaching scoffers, falsely using the name of Christ for their own ends, whose ears "cannot endure sound doctrine", who now lead the way most impatiently, determined to build, here and now, the Red Beasts' Satanic imitation of the millennial kingdom, a Marxist kingdom based on brotherhood by force and violence, on peace by surrender to evil, on the unity of universal unbelief, on co-operation by expropriation of the goods of others.

It was **Marx** who taught us to collectivize, confiscate, envy, hate and God-scoff our way to a governmental heaven on earth—not **Jesus Christ**.

AND UNTO ANANIAS . . .

Tippy Warns Against "Red Network Propagandists"

Mr. Worth M. Tippy, whose pro-Communist defense efforts were featured on the front pages of the Communist Party's *Daily Worker* (4/22/36), said, in his article in the June 1936 *Nation's Business* (entitled "And Unto God—An Answer to the Article 'Render Unto Caesar, . . . ' by S. Wells Utley, which appeared in *Nation's Business* for November"):

"I desire in closing to appeal to business men to be on their guard against the **Red Network propagandists**. . . . I counted 17 errors of fact and inference in the brief reference to the Federal Council of Churches in the **Red Network**. Is not that enough to discredit any publication and any organization which circulates such literature?"

After reading that, with some wonderment as to how Mr. Tippy computed my erroneous "inferences" about the Federal Council to the number of "17", I re-read the two letters I had received from executives of the Federal Council, objecting to my book. One was from Mr. Tippy himself (1/21/35), "the executive secretary of the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America" (a wordy mouthful), and the other, about three weeks later, from Samuel McCrea Cavert (2/14/35) as General Secretary of the Federal Council. Mr. Tippy's letter complained that my book's "unfairness" was "astonishing"; and he said:

"Just to instance a few errors, with reference to the brief note about the Federal Council and its executives. Both James Myers and I are listed as chairmen of the Emergency Committee of Strike Relief. I have never been its chairman. As to the Federal Council. It never claims 'that it represents the will of 22,000,000 Protestant Church members'. That is the writer's inference. There are no steam roller tactics at our biennial meetings. Anyone who attends knows this. We are rather careful not to be." (!?)

My "Errors" His, Instead

To this, I replied to Mr. Tippy that his example of my errors was, instead, an example of his own, as my book lists neither him nor Mr. Myers as chairman of the Church Emergency Committee for Strikers'

Relief but Mr. Tippy merely as a member and Mr. Myers, specifically, as secretary. They still hold the same positions on the committee (1936) and have been collecting money to free imprisoned I. W. W. murderers and to aid other Reds.

Mr. Tippy was secretary of Harry Ward's Methodist Federation for Social Service in 1908, when that radical group which has been the "spearhead" for Communism in the Protestant churches presented the Leninist "Social Creed of the Churches" to the Methodist General Conference. "When Lenin read it" (the Creed) "he had only favorable comment to make." (See p. 281.)

When Mr. Cavert's letter followed accompanied by a copy of the Annual Report of the Federal Council for 1933, in view of Mr. Tippy's flat denial that the Federal Council claims to represent 22,000,000 Church members, it was amusing to read in the Report the speech of the Federal Council's president, Albert W. Beaven, which, characteristically, started off with that very line, as follows:

"We have gathered tonight, in this capital city of the nation, to recognize the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Some idea of the importance of the Council will be gained when I remind you that the actual membership of its constituent bodies includes almost one-fifth of the population of this country and Canada, and that its general constituency embraces more than one-half of the people in these two great commonwealths. The Federal Council was created by and is responsible to the various Protestant communions that comprise it. Founded twenty-five years ago in the City of Philadelphia as an experiment in church cooperation, it has grown in stability and usefulness, and today includes twenty-five of the great denominations with a membership of 22,000,000."

(Emphasis on "membership" and "constituency" his.)

Mr. Tippy's letter quibbled also that the "administrative committee" of the Federal Council did not issue the radical pronouncements of the Federal Council on birth control, Negro social equality, League of Nations, etc.

Official Federal Council Publications Recommended As Red Propaganda

These pronouncements, concocted by the various radical Departmental Committees of the small Federal Council administrative group are issued and bound as the "Annual Report of the Federal Council of Churches" and anyone reading these reports, who is familiar with the Red movement, can well understand why it is that the leading organization of the Communist-Socialist united Red Front in the U. S. A., the League for Industrial Democracy, recommends the official Federal Council publications and bulletins for agitating Marxism.

Mr. Cavert's letter bade me revise my estimate of S. Parkes Cadman's notoriously "modernistic" theology by listening to his radio talks and said:

"Your description of what you call the Federal Council's sex pamphlet is especially misleading As an illustration of the unreliable

character of your statements let me point out that you specifically attribute to the 'Birth Control Report' of the Federal Council's Committee on Marriage and the Home a statement which is not in the report at all.

"You say that 'this report contemplates only the use of contraceptives by married people; the facts stated, however, are of universal interest, etc.'"

My "Unreliability" Cavert's, Instead

Mr. Cavert's specific illustration of the "unreliable character" of my "statements" was instead an illustration of his own unreliability, for, as I replied to him, my book, in plain print, attributes the statement on the contraceptives to the pamphlet "**Young People's Relationships**" written by "a Conference convened by the Federal Council of Churches. Issued under the auspices of the Conference on Preparation for Home Making, Instituted by the Federal Council of Churches", according to its own title page. After General Amos Fries' exposure of its communistic filthiness, the Federal Council sponsorship was carefully deleted.

It was, to quote, "prepared by Benj. S. Winchester", Secretary of the Federal Council, and Samuel McCrea Cavert and Worth M. Tippy were fellow members of the Conference which assisted in and sponsored its preparation and publication.

While Mr. Cavert in his complaint to me spoke as "General Secretary" of the Federal Council, he said of their sex pamphlet: "Moreover it is not a publication of the Federal Council at all but of the Congregational Publishing House, known as the Pilgrim Press, Boston, Mass."

In case he objects to this book, then, I shall insist that after its publication this is not my book at all. I merely wrote it. (Take note, Black and LaFollette committees!)

What the Federal Council "Sex Pamphlet" Says

Concerning the booklet "Young People's Relationships" described above, my book "The Red Network" states:

"Full detailed instructions and tests for studying various phases of sex and sexual intercourse by the 'discussion method' in an 'atmosphere' that is 'informal,' 'frank,' and 'open minded' are given with the advice that 'some leaders report good results in mixed groups.' Model 'opinion' and 'word' tests are given to analyze the reactions of the young people individually to suggestive words and sentences such as 'Light Petting, Heavy Petting, Sex Consciousness in Girls, in Boys, Birth Control, Unmarried Mother, Flaming Youth, Modesty, Free Love, Necking; What sensations come from spooning?; On the basis of the stimulation experienced by men at the touch of some girls what is the stimulation in the girl and is that stimulation more intense at some times than at others?; What can a girl do when she is out with a boy in a car and he stops along the road, turns off the light and says "Now we can have a good time?"'; etc., etc., etc. The Birth Control report of the Federal Council 'Committee on Marriage

and the Home' is quoted in this pamphlet with this addition: 'This report contemplates only the use of contraceptives by married people, the facts stated however are of universal interest and apply with still more significance to sexual intercourse outside of marriage.' The infamous Mary Ware Dennett pamphlet 'The Sex Side of Life' is endorsed as 'indispensable.' Gen. Fries states: 'Anyone reading the whole pamphlet cannot fail to get the idea that when all is said and done sexual intercourse is a personal matter and if two want to indulge therein it is nobody else's business. . . . Had this pamphlet come out of Russia direct as one of their means of breaking down all morality, the family, and the home, as the final step toward communism, we would have felt it well qualified to carry out the intent of its authors.' What a manual for use, as it recommends itself, for 'Denominational Summer Conferences, Young People's Societies and Study Groups in Churches, in Hi-Y Clubs and Girl Reserves!'"

RED "BORING FROM WITHIN" THE CHURCHES

"For such are false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ.

"And no marvel; for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light.

"Therefore it is no great thing if his ministers also be transformed as the ministers of righteousness; whose end shall be according to their works."

II Corinthians 11:13-14-15.

The Communist Party U.S.A. on Religion

The Communist Party's "Daily Worker" (4/25/36), under "Questions and Answers", states, mildly, in order not to shock, its bitter hatred of all religion, all faith, in accordance with Marxist principles:

"Question: What is the official position of the Communist Party of the United States on the question of religion?

"Answer: The Communist Party takes the position that the social function of religion and religious institutions is to act as an opiate to keep the lower classes passive, to make them accept the bad conditions under which they have to live in the hope of a reward after death. From this estimate of the social role of religion it is quite clear that the Communist Party is the enemy of religion. . . . The Communists do not consider religion a private matter when it concerns revolutionists. . . . In the Soviet Union the Communist Party, which is the government Party, carries on an active anti-religious campaign. . . ."

Claims Party Agents in American Pulpits

"As for the religious workers, the Communist Party does not make the abandonment of their religion a condition of joining the Party, even though it carries on educational work which is anti-religious. **We have preachers, preachers active in churches, who are members of the Communist Party.** There are churches in the United States

where the preachers preach Communism from the pulpits, in a very primitive form, of course."

Godless International Meets in Moscow

At the same time a European news despatch (3/12/36) reported: "Soviets are busy staging a conference of the Godless in Moscow. From Moscow it is announced that 36 Anti-God organizations from abroad are to be represented at this conference, which is to take place in May. The proposal for a 'Godless' postage stamp will be made to the Soviet Government, to be used for foreign postal services as well as for home use. By this means another source of propaganda and recruiting for the Godless movement would be created. The 'Central Council of the Godless Movement' is already making preparations for extensive anti-religious propaganda for the coming Easter festival. In Moscow and Leningrad the anti-religious demonstrations, which receive active support from the Government, are not to assume very large proportions, for foreign political reasons. In the country—they are to be all the more vigorous. The Soviet Radio places its services at the disposal of the action with 62 broadcasting stations. The programme includes 2000 hours of broadcasting with anti-religious speeches in 19 different languages. Searches will be made in churches and praying houses, ostensibly for the removal of 'anti-social elements'. An annihilating blow is to be struck at the few remaining clergy in the Soviet Union, who are threatened with death, or what is almost worse, with deportation." (To Siberia.)

For "Methodist" Treason

An article appeared in the Epworth Herald (3/3/34), entitled "A Decision Must Be Made", which aroused widespread interest after the American Legion national headquarters had sent out copies of it to inform its 11,000 posts. Yet similar propaganda has appeared regularly in this and other "Methodist" publications controlled by radicals.

It was written by Winifred Chappell, who served on a Communist Party campaign committee in 1932 and also serves on the board and teaches at Commonwealth College, the little communistic training school for agitators supported by Roosevelt (see chapter on "Commonwealth College"). She is co-secretary of the pro-communist Methodist Federation for Social Service with Harry Ward, who is national chairman of both the communist American League Against War and Fascism and of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union. Roosevelt-appointed Bishop F. J. McConnell, vice president of the Red Front socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy, is president of the "Methodist" Federation.

In this article, Miss Chappell advocates the Communist program of turning a war in defense of one's government into Red revolution to overthrow it. "Turn imperialist war into civil war in all countries", said Lenin. Instead of fighting for one's government or of going to jail for refusal to do so, she advised:

Treasonable Enough to Warrant Jail Sentence

"Accept the draft, take the drill, go into the camps and onto the battlefields, or into the munitions factories and transportation work—but sabotage war preparations and war. Be agitators for sabotage. Down tools when the order is to make and load munitions. Spoil war materials and machinery. . . . We church folk are getting little or no teaching or training in the hard matter of turning the war situation, when it is here, into a deliberate program for a new social order."

And she advises persons of "like mind" on this subject to get together now before war breaks out and organize in order to be ready for such treasonable activities.

The Methodist Federation for Social Service is affiliated with the communist American League Against War and Fascism, set up for these very purposes on orders from the Comintern. The vice chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism, which Miss Chappell's co-secretary Ward heads, is Earl Browder, Secretary of the Communist Party U. S. A. and a member of the Communist International.

Methodist Federation "Spearhead" for Communism in All Protestant Churches

The official voice of Moscow, the Communist Party's "Sunday Worker", 5/17/36, contains an article written for it by "Rev." Edgar N. Jackson as representative of the "Youth Committee" of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. It is entitled "Fascism Knocks at the Church Door." He regales his Christ-hating, church-destroying, God-sneering Red atheist readers with the following information:

"Almost 30 years ago a group of Methodist ministers and laymen felt that the stirring of the awakening society should be aided and not impeded by the organized church. The Methodist Federation for Social Service was the agency set up by this group of liberals. The Federation has grown in vision with the demands of the times until today it is the spearhead of the attack against reaction in not only the Methodist church but all Protestant churches.

"The attempt of the Federation to get the church to go on record in favor of social change in the direction of a scientifically planned society, to condemn capitalism once and for all as a bankrupt economic system, and to enter into such united front activities as the American League Against War and Fascism and the Scottsboro Defense Committee has caused the 'right wing' forces within the church and outside it to unite in an attempt to completely wreck its activity.

"The Federation, however, has a history of brave struggle behind it, and is prepared now for not only a defense but a larger offensive. At its national conference at Columbus on April 29, it voted to enlarge on several fronts, to treble its budget, to establish divisions of women's and youth's work and increase its publications.

Lenin and the "Social Creed of the Churches"

"In 1908 the Federation presented to the General Conference, the governing body, a report that became known as the 'social creed of the churches.' It was unanimously adopted. When Lenin read it he had only favorable comment to make, though he was skeptical of the possibility of putting into practice an ideal of social change in a large organization with capitalistic attachments and conservative traditions.

"Lenin's skepticism finds justification as the crisis becomes more acute. With many business leaders and conservative ministers trying to silence its voice, the fight of the Federation takes on larger significance. It is not now a mere question of its continued existence, but an indication of the direction the church will take."

"Religion" Now But Minor Concern of Churches

"The 'Social Ideals of the Churches' now include 'social planning and control of credit and monetary systems and the economic processes for the common good' ", jubilates the Federal Council's Annual Report for 1933.

All patterned after the "Social Creed of the Churches", praised by Lenin for its communistic declarations against the "profit system" (really the profit and loss system), free private business, or capitalism, are the almost uniform pronouncements of the Federal Council and of those vocal controlling radical Church groups, and their sheep, who take it upon themselves to issue pronouncements against capitalism and in favor of Socialism in the name of their great numbers of mute, unresisting and unaware Church members who scarcely know what Socialism means.

If the membership of the Churches were ever honestly polled, Socialism would be voted down.

Ward, Insignificant in Person, Mighty in Red Accomplishments

Insignificant though he appears in person, little Pro-Soviet Harry Ward's unrelenting, planned, Red work, as one of the Council of Secretaries of the Federal Council of Churches and as founder and leader of his group, labeled "The Methodist Federation for Social Service", and, through them, his introduction of the Leninist "Social Creed or Ideals of the Churches" into the controlling Protestant Church groups, has been a mighty accomplishment for Socialism.

He deserved his recent year of "refreshment" among Soviet leaders in the Socialists' fatherland, Soviet Russia.

One may admire the clever strategy of Socialists who, like Harry Ward, capture ruling educational and Church bodies for Socialism, more than one can admire the Christians who permit the capture, or the business men who pay for it by supporting Socialists through their schools and churches.

Socialists should work for and be supported by Socialists, not by Christians and patriots, whose churches and government Socialism aims to and does destroy wherever Socialism gains real power as in Russia, Spain, and Mexico.

All heading up in the notorious Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, the legal and propaganda "tackle" on the scrimmage line for Communism, Atheism, obscenity, and treason, and fathered by the little radical dynasty of the Federal Council with its adopted "Social Creed of the Churches", are so-called "Church" organizations, skillfully boring from within the various Christian denominations with Communistic doctrines and agitations and effecting cooperation and coordination between Christians and outright revolutionary organizations.

Red "Boring from Within" the Episcopal Church

The Church League for Industrial Democracy (154 Nassau St., N. Y. C.) operates within my Episcopal Church. Its influence is such that those clergymen not radicalized by it, fear, generally, to oppose it in any way and accept its influence in the Church in "chloroformed" silence. It is directed by Wm. B. Spofford, as executive secretary, who is on the directing board of the American Civil Liberties Union and also on the National Bureau of Moscow's own communist American League Against War and Fascism, with which the Ch. L.I.D. voted to affiliate 2/22/36. The Church L.I.D. "News Notes" boast that "all the editors" of the Episcopal Church weeklies "are League members". The Woman's Auxiliary of the Nat. Coun. of the Episc. Church issued a program encouraging affiliation with the Communist-aiding A.C.L.U., the Socialist-Communist L.I.D., the radical-pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Church L.I.D., which indicates the depth of Red penetration within the Church.

The president is Bishop Edward L. Parsons, who is vice-chairman (1936) of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union. Bishop Benjamin Brewster of Maine (national committee A. C. L. U., 1936) and "Red Mary" Van Kleeck are vice-presidents. Alfred Baker Lewis, Socialist Party executive, and Mary Simkhovitch (who ran the socialist Housing Conference (see page 344) in conjunction with Roosevelt's Federal housing executives), Guy Emery Shipler (of the red National Religion and Labor Foundation and editor of the "Churchman"), are on the executive committee, etc., etc. All have other radical connections.

They oppose all anti-Communist sedition bills, of course, and cooperate with the leading Communist and Socialist organizations.

Congregational Church Also Well Penetrated

The Council for Social Action (287—4th Ave., N. Y. C.) operates within the Christian and Congregational Churches and is directed by Hubert C. Herring, of the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Arthur E. Holt, of the very red National Religion and Labor Foundation (see "The Red Network" for its Soviet cartoons and Communist atheist literature).

They issue regular pamphlet bulletins mirroring the leading current Communistic agitations and propaganda and featuring leading radicals.

A Bit of Irritating Patriotic Opposition

The radicals have become so used to their steadily encroaching inroads in Christian Churches being unopposed, and to seeing more and more Red-dictated Church Conferences pass resolutions denouncing "capitalism" and supporting Socialism, that when the usually apathetic patriots, through the Methodist Laymens' group, actually mustered up enough courage to prick some of the radicals' plans in the 1936 Methodist General Conference, the Reds cried out in surprise and pain and have been yelping ever since.

Red Maneuvers in the Catholic Church

One of the Red "borers", an American Civil Liberties Union committeeman, Paul Hutchinson (see "The Red Network"), writing of this little setback for Socialism in the Methodist Church, under the title "The Methodists Retreat", in the revolutionary socialist "Nation" (6/10/36), rejoices, however, in the infiltration, through the National Catholic Welfare Conference, of Socialism into Catholic circles, which is masked by radicals with the argument that they are only carrying out the principles of the Pope's Encyclicals!

To quote Hutchinson:

"The other side of this picture is of course the fact that the Roman Catholic church, which is essentially not a middle-class club, is becoming socially aroused as the Protestant churches become socially silent. The use which the **National Catholic Welfare Conference is making of the two papal social encyclicals** is in striking contrast to the readiness of the Methodists to admit that nobody knows what a Christian Society would be or how to get it. If the Catholic church could escape from the influence of one or two reactionary cardinals—especially with reference to the child-labor issue—it would be well set to make a new and unprecedentedly successful appeal to the mass of the laboring population. For that part of our population has already discovered that **capitalism has no recovery to offer** which will carry its benefits down to the common worker."

The National Catholic Welfare Conference

The National Catholic Welfare Conference is guided by the ultra radical Father John A. Ryan and his group. Ryan's long-time red affiliations, mentioned in part even in the New York State Lusk report of 1920, are most far reaching in scope. He is or has been, for example: national committeeman of the notorious Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, defending every phase of the Red movement and the principal Communist court cases; vice-president of the socialistic Public Ownership League; active in the National Popular Government League, whose lawyers (Felix Frankfurter, etc.) attacked the U. S. Dept. of Justice and caused the removal of its funds to this day, for anti-Communist activities; a founding backer of People's Legislative Service; member of the radical American Association for Labor Legislation; book editor of the very red National Religion and Labor Foundation, whose books (sent out free) include

the atheist "Little Lenin Library", Wm. Z. Foster's "Toward Soviet America", etc.; fellow vice-president with Mrs. Roosevelt in communistic Florence Kelley's National Consumers' League; on the National World Court Committee; the radical pacifist National Council for Prevention of War; etc., etc.

He served with the Communist Party leaders Wm. Z. Foster, C. E. Ruthenberg (then head of the Communist Party) back in 1922 as their fellow executive of the communist Labor Defense Council, formed to defend the Communist Party conspirators arrested at Bridgman, Mich.

"Rev." R. A. McGowan, a fellow radical, is his close associate.

Conference of Jewish Rabbis Does Its Bit

"The Commission on Social Justice of the Central Conference of American Rabbis" issued a "Social Justice Message", gladly reprinted by the pro-Socialist ruling clique of the Federal Council of Churches in their Information Service bulletin of 11/9/35.

In it, the ancient Jewish law is used to cloak their argument for Socialism, although the Old Testament, a part of old Jewish law, promises each man his own vine and fig tree (Micah 4:4).

To quote from this "message": "... no permanent security can come to our country except through a fundamental reconstruction of our economic organization. The first great step in the establishment of social security has just been taken in the development of the program adopted by Congress and signed by the President of the United States.

"The third step that we must take in order to establish security is the **socialization** of our basic social enterprises. According to the ancient Jewish law the well of water may not be owned by an individual but must be owned and controlled by the community. The principle contained in this law is clear and socially most significant. It means that all enterprises that are essential to social life must be owned and controlled not by individuals and families but by society itself."

Unitarian Social Relations Department Also in Line

One might label S. O. S. (same old stuff) the program of the Social Relations Department of the American Unitarian Association (Information Service bulletin of Federal Council of Churches 3/23/35).

It urges nationalization of arms manufacture, abolition of compulsory military training, exemption of "conscientious objectors from military service either in time of peace or war", social insurance, pensions, minimum wage legislation, ratification of Child Labor Amendment, production "for use rather than profit" (Socialism-Communism), "further use of the taxing power to provide a more just distribution of wealth and income", "free speech, free press and assembly even for those groups with whose opinions they do not sym-

pathize", Negro social equality, sex education begun "at an early age", dissemination of birth control information, etc.

This Unitarian Department is part of the Red united-front composing the "Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa".

Red Front "Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa"

As an example of the tie-up of the Communist-Socialist and "Church" forces, a committee formed to aid two Red organizers flogged in Tampa, Fla. (the "Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa") has its headquarters at the same address as the communist American League Against War and Fascism (112 E. 19th St., N. Y. C.) and is composed of the following (June 3, 1936 letter-head):

American Civil Liberties Union, Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief (Norman Thomas' L. I. D. organization, first organized to aid the Communist-led Passaic strike or "first lesson in revolution"), the Department of Social Relations—American Unitarian Association, the Fellowship of Reconciliation (radical-pacifist Garland Fund approved agency), General Defense Committee of the I. W. W., Communist Party's International Labor Defense, Labor and Socialist Defense Committee, socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy, Local 22—International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (for which Mrs. Roosevelt recruited), New York Joint Board I. L. G. W. U., Non-Partisan Labor Defense (a joint board of radicals), Suit Case, Bag and Portfolio Makers Union, Social Action Committee of the Congregational Church, the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (Reds in trouble for sedition), Workers' Alliance of America (the Socialist-Communist coalition of 800,000 formed in the U. S. Department of Labor Auditorium).

Norman Thomas* is chairman. The vice-chairmen are: James Myers*, industrial and field secretary of the Federal Council of Churches; Julius Hochman; Leo Krzycki*; Joseph Schlossberg*. The treasurer is Mary Fox* of the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy; the secretary, Aron Gilmartin; Executive Committee: Murray Baron (of the revolutionary "Socialist Call"), Murray Gross, Rose Shapiro, Chas. Zimmerman* (Communist Party (Opposition) of Lovestone followers).

Bullville "D.D." Bellows for Revolution

A letter received, today, typifies the bold revolutionary sentiments of those Red agitators posing as Christians who occupy pulpits, capture college and theological seminary teaching posts, and are turning out droves of young ministers fed on Red radicalism, who now threaten to wreck the churches from within.

(*See "The Red Network".)

My minister correspondent puts it squarely up to us. He offers us only the choice of being robbed and Socialized meekly or of being terrorized into submission, then robbed and Socialized. There are just the two courses open to us. If we resist Communization, we shall be guilty of the violence we must get from his crowd. Generous man! It reminds one of the child who said he didn't pull Kitty's tail, he just held on. Kitty did the pulling.

He probably calls himself a "pacifist", also a "Christian". Such men usually do—if they lack a sense of humor.

His name is George M. Stockdale, "D.D." This "D.D." Stockdale writes, appropriately, from Bullville as follows:

"Bullville and Montgomery Methodist Episcopal Branches
of the

Church of Christ in America

"George Maychin Stockdale, D.D., Minister

"Telephone, Middletown, N. Y. 74671

"P. O. Bullville, N. Y.

"June thirteenth
1936

"Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling,
"Kenilworth, Ill.

"Dear Mrs. Dilling,

"Last evening my District Superintendent loaned me his copy of your perfectly fascinating volume, 'THE RED NETWORK.'

"You have done a real service to our country and humanity in your detailed listings of the organizations and individuals (and how they vary in detail) that may be counted on to help supplant capitalism with socialism.

"We eclectic radicals, who are working hard to keep the Third American Revolution to peaceful and non-violent means, are greatly under your debt for helping us to know the extent to which we may and may not find 'allies' among the organizations and individuals named.

"Really your book ought to have the kind of understanding review we believe we can give it in UNITY magazine; for hosts of our radical friends will surely prize a copy, if they can only be acquainted with it from this point of view.

"If you will send me a copy, I shall be happy to give it a glorious boost for radicals in some forth-coming issue of UNITY.

"Am sure we are agreed on several things. The First American Revolution for Political Freedom unfortunately became bloody. So too the Second American Revolution for Race Emancipation. Are you not with us to keep the Third American Revolution for Economic Emancipation for all bloodless? But to do so, we must hurry.

"Yours for America's Third Revolution to be kept peaceful.

(Signed) "George Maychin Stockdale."

Reply to "D.D." Stockdale of Bullville

To which I replied:

"Kenilworth, Ill.

"June 15, 1936.

"Mr. George M. Stockdale,

"Bullville and Montgomery Methodist Episcopal Branches
of the Church of Christ in America,

"P. O. Bullville, N. Y.

"Dear Mr. Stockdale:

"In reply to your request for a copy of 'The Red Network' for radical use, I enclose instead something more suitable—an extra copy of your Socialist song sheet with its anti-religious declarations. I would suggest also, your stocking up on 'Lenin on Religion', 'Browder on Religion', 'Religion in the U.S.S.R.' and on some of the new illustrated booklets from France showing the expert church wrecking and burning and clergy killing already accomplished by Socialists and Communists in Spain. You could use these as lesson courses for Socialists in your Methodist Church. I might also get you copies of pictures of murdered Protestant ministers laid in neat rows by the Socialists of Russia to hang over your bed.

"On to your 'Third' or Red revolution, if you insist, but by taking the sword you may feel its pricks yourself. I can assure you there are many who will not allow the 'Red Beast' with blasphemy written on its forehead to triumph without opposition, for Christ tells us we need not fear those who merely kill the body, but only those who kill the soul.

"If your Red revolution be successful, perhaps a medal of honor to the sneaking Reds who now occupy Christian pulpits playing the role of Judas Iscariots will be struck off. I pray that your present braggadocio yields to true repentance for what you are doing before you actually receive one.

(Signed) "Sincerely,

"Elizabeth Dilling (Mrs. A. W.)."

"Christian" Associations?

The Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. are closely associated with the Federal Council radical ruling group. Not only was the amalgamation of the Communist Party's N.S.L. and Socialist Party's S.L.I.D., student groups, consummated in the Columbus, Ohio, Y.W.C.A. against the protests of patriotic Christian groups, but, constantly, the current news of the Communist Party's "Daily Worker" and the Young Communist League organs carry reports of the holding of various Communist meetings, communist American Youth Congress regional conferences, etc., in local Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. headquarters.

At random, one may quote the Daily Worker of 6/10/36:

"Boston, Mass., June 9—In preparation for the National Congress of the Third American Youth Congress, the Massachusetts Youth Congress will hold a conference on June 20 and 21 at the Boston

Y.W.C.A. . . . The Congress is arranging to send a large delegation to Cleveland for the Youth Congress on July 3, 4 and 5."

The communist New Theatre League, headed at Moscow, frankly delights in the success they are having in introducing their class struggle "peace", or anti-patriotic, plays into the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., while the socialist Student League for Industrial Democracy (S.L.I.D.), now amalgamated with the communist National Student League (N.S.L.), rejoiced in its Handbook, saying:

Student Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. Taking Definite Radical Turn

"Under the pressure of the Student L.I.D. and the N.S.L., even the N.S.F.A." (National Student Federation of America) "has taken a MORE LIBERAL TURN, while the Student Divisions of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. are taking A DEFINITELY RADICAL TURN." (S.L.I.D. Handbook, page 11.)

"The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., together with the denominational clubs, have in many cases ADVANCED RAPIDLY in the social point of view in recent years." (S.L.I.D. Handbook, page 26.)

"Oftentimes the STUDENT PASTORS and the Y.M. and Y.W. SECRETARIES have carried the 'social action' program AS FAR AS THEY CAN GO AND RETAIN THEIR POSITIONS IN THE INSTITUTION, and the Student L.I.D. is IDEALLY SUITED for the development of THE SPADE WORK they have begun. ON SOME CAMPUSES THEIR CO-OPERATION HAS BEEN INVALUABLE." (S.L.I.D. Handbook, page 26.)

Hearst's New York American, which called attention to this (11/13/35), also stated:

"Now, the plain fact of the matter is that the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association were certainly NOT established to consort with radicals, nor to foment disturbances and demonstrations in America, nor to serve the uses of the revolutionary atheists in Moscow.

"THEY WERE ORGANIZED TO TEACH AND TO FOSTER CHRISTIAN IDEALS AMONG THE YOUNG MEN AND YOUNG WOMEN OF AMERICA.

"They most certainly were NOT instituted to promote DISLOYALTY—nor to support such disloyal declarations as the yellow 'slacker oath' quoted and imputed to them by the Communistic 'Student Mobilization for Peace'."

Reds Hate Hearst for Revealing the Truth

There is no human being in America more loathed and reviled by the Communists than Wm. Randolph Hearst, because, in his papers, he has for some time been making just such truthful revelations concerning the Red movement. Communism flourishes best under the darkness and camouflage of deception.

I attended one Communist meeting which was conducted entirely as a mock trial of Mr. Hearst. One Communist "witness" after another spoke, accusing him of every imaginary crime against the

Communists, whom they always dub "the working class". (The class "working" in hot air.)

I do not know Mr. Hearst personally, nor have I received acknowledgment of two or three congratulatory letters I have written him; but I do know that he deserves a medal for the anti-Communist work he is doing in his newspapers. The fact that the Communist Party boycotts his publications, printing the names of all of them from time to time in the Communist press so that "Comrades" may avoid them, is sufficient reason why patriots should support them.

In the new Communist paper "Champion of Youth" (6/36), the University of Wisconsin red, Prof. E. A. Ross, who boasts of his prestige with the Soviet Government, comes out with an article "How to Smash Hearst", suggesting the organization of and methods for "(1) State Committees (2) local anti-Fascist committees (3) Volunteers (4) School men" (who, he says, "should make the exposing of Hearst a 'labor of love'") "(5) High School and College teachers (6) Clergymen" (who, he says "could well afford to expend a Sermon on Hearst, showing what a menace he is to the best in American life and particularly to our Democratic institutions.")

Such constant anti-Hearst tirades by the Communists and their supporters indicate how deeply the Communists realize that publication of the truth hurts their Communist camouflage and awakens opposition which they feel they must put to sleep by counter-attack of some sort.

The Hearst Smashers Praise the "Y"

Under the heading "The 'Y' Speaks", in the same issue (6/36), the radicalization of the Y.M.C.A. is cheerily reported in connection with their recent convention.

On page 13, a report on the communist American Youth Congress exults that "the Industrial and the Business and Professional Divisions of the Young Women's Christian Association affiliated to the Youth Congress at the National Y.W. convention held in Colorado Springs. From here the work goes forward again with huge strides. On Memorial Day, United Youth Day" (a Communist day), "the Congress will sponsor peace actions all over the country as a reminder of those who are dead and a declaration of those who refuse to die for Morgan."

The Y.M.C.A.—Host to Communists

Mr. Nelson E. Hewitt reports in the Advisor (4/8/36):

"Anna Louise Strong, in the United States on her annual propaganda tour, experienced some difficulty in getting her propaganda across in Seattle and other Washington cities.

"Scheduled to speak in Bellingham, Washington, in the First Christian Church, she was denied the use of the church when the pastor learned the nature of her message. Attempting to obtain the Fisherman's Hall and Bellingham Labor Temple, she was denied use

of both halls and returned to Seattle without getting her Red propaganda over.

"On March 27th, after the Bellingham experience, she was scheduled to speak in Tacoma at the Jason Lee High School, but school directors cancelled her engagement. She then arranged to speak at Odd Fellows lodge hall, but again the meeting was cancelled by order of directors of the Odd Fellows.

"Following these rebuffs, Anna returned to Seattle, where the good old dependable Y.M.C.A. opened its doors to her and she addressed an overflow audience at the Seattle Y.M.C.A. 'Distinguished' guests at the meeting were Morris Rapport, District Organizer of the Communist Party, . . ." (Various radicals are then listed with their affiliations.)

Atheistic Communism Extolled

"In reporting the meeting a loyal American expressed himself as follows:

"After seeing these Red seditionists extolling and advocating Communism and its twin, Atheism, and the overthrow of our own government, I cannot but wonder why such a place as the Y.M.C.A. is permitted to be classed as a "religious organization" and thus be tax exempt, and why it should be financially subsidized by the Seattle Community Fund Chest the same as such charitable organizations as the "Institute for the Blind," "Old People's Home" and the "Children's Orthopedic Hospital.""

National Board Responsible for Y.W.C.A. Radicalism

Y.W.C.A. organizers, secretaries, and branches are featured almost daily in the Red press as sponsors of Communist-Socialist activities.

The Y.W.C.A. national board, in its official publications, sends out a never ending stream of Red propaganda. Cleverly, its "Program Exchange" bulletins suggest means of getting Negroes and whites mixed in Y.W.C.A. parties and swimming pools without raising too much opposition. The principal organizations of importance in the Red movement are cited as source agencies.

The showing of Communist movies, selling of Communist magazines, birth control instruction, trips to radical centers, etc., are proposed as branch activities and Communist literature is recommended for branch libraries.

Some patriotic Y.W.C.A. local branch officers have put up a plucky, but usually futile fight against accepting such propaganda or organizers trained under the national board.

A letter written by Margaret P. Mead as chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Board of the Y.W.C.A. verifies the Y.W.C.A. official bulletins and justifies the criticisms of the sound, patriotic National Americanism Director of the American Legion, Homer L. Chaillaux, who wrote them concerning their Red literature.

The reply written by Miss Mead to Mr. Chaillaux boldly attempted to show that "the books referred to are only a small part" of the "two book lists".

Y.W.C.A. Recommends Red Library Books

"I am having the entire list copied here so that the eight books your letter refers to can be seen in their proper setting", she said.

She then proceeds to list not only books by "liberal" or "pink" authors, but **"Das Kapital"** by **Karl Marx** and **"The Communist Manifesto"** by **Marx and Engels** and others by radicals such as: Maurice Hindus*, Lola Ridge*, poetess and member of Communist-aiding committees; Louis Adamic, a very active radical, translator of **"What It Means to Be a Communist in Yugoslavia"**, which appeared in communist **"New Masses"**, 9/33; Elmer Rice*, revolutionary playwright, who serves on a communist New Theatre League Committee, member board of directors American Civil Liberties Union; two books by Harry Overstreet*, of the pro-Communist New School for Social Research; Paul H. Douglas*, officer of Communist and Socialist Party organizations, Roosevelt appointee; Will Durant*; Mary Beard*; Leo Tolstoy, who paved the way for the Russian revolution with his **"Christian" Socialism** and radical pacifism; Helen Keller, who served on the A.C.L.U. national committee and long associated with the Anarchists and other radicals (see **"The Red Network"**, page 185); **"Bars and Shadows"**, by Ralph Chaplin* of the I.W.W., published by Communist Scott Nearing's wife while Chaplin was in prison serving five years for sedition; **"Jews without Money"** by Michael Gold*, Communist columnist of the communist **Daily Worker** (Roosevelt appointee); **"Not Without Laughter"** by atheist-Communist Negro Langston Hughes* (see **"The Red Network"**, page 224 for his blasphemous poem **"Good Bye Christ"**; **"Beat it on away from here now. Make way for a new guy with no religion at all—A real guy named Marx Communist Lenin Peasant Stalin Worker Me—I said, ME!"**); **"As I See It"** and **"America's Way Out"** by Norman Thomas*, Socialist Party leader of the Communist-Socialist united front; **"The Life of Gandhi"** (the Indian Red leader); more than one book by Upton Sinclair*, Socialist-Communist staff member of Moscow's International Union of Revolutionary Writers; **"Men and Machines"** and **"A New Deal"** (credited with providing the name for the Roosevelt regime) by Stuart Chase*, active in principal Red organizations including the communist Garland Fund; **"A History of May Day"** by Communist **A. Trachtenberg***, who heads the official Soviet publishing house in the United States (International Publishers); **"It's Up to the Women"** by Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt*; **"Looking Forward"** by F. D. Roosevelt; etc.

Another "Borrowed" Roosevelt Bit?

"Looking Forward" is, and has been since 1932, the title of the yearly booklet containing program outlines for the ensuing year issued by the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy.

The red L.I.D. has made no charge of plagiarism against Roosevelt, since they evidently are **"Looking Forward"** to the same objective.

*Listed in **"The Red Network"**.

Christ Forgotten?

Not only is Jesus Christ not mentioned once in the Y.W.C.A. Industrial Song Sheet of seventeen songs distributed from National headquarters, but it includes such well known Red revolutionary songs as the "Internationale", official Communist and Socialist Party song with its anti-religious verse:

**"We want no condescending saviors to judge us from
a judgment hall,
We workers ask not for their favors,
Let us consult for all."**

Since directly beneath this Red "Internationale" appears the name of the Y.W.C.A. board and the address of its N. Y. national headquarters, it has been frequently suggested that the word "Christian" in Young Women's Christian Association should either be dropped or changed to "Communist".

Communist Daily Worker Features Mrs. Paist's Letter

A letter by Mrs. Frederick M. Paist as National president of the Y.W.C.A. appeared in the Communist Party's "Daily Worker" 2/15/36, headed: **"Y.W.C.A. Joins Scottsboro Committee."**

In it, Mrs. Paist says: "It is with satisfaction the National Board has received word of the formation of the Scottsboro Defense Committee". She asks support for it from all members and says the board unanimously voted Feb. 5th to call the attention of all local Y.W.C.A.s to this case, which is handled by the Communist Party's International Labor Defense as Negro propaganda for Communism.

The Scottsboro Defense Committee

The Scottsboro Defense Committee, in addition to the Y.W.C.A., is composed of representatives of the Communist Party's International Labor Defense, the pro-Communist Methodist Federation for Social Service, the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy, the Church League for Industrial Democracy (Episcopal); and the American Civil Liberties Union (legal aid society for Red revolutionaries of all branches of the movement).

"Rev." Allan Knight Chalmers is chairman and Wm. Jay Schiffelin, treasurer. Headquarters: 112 E. 19th St., New York City (also the address of the communist American League Against War and Fascism and the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, etc.).

MRS. ROOSEVELT'S NAT. WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE

Government Pamphlet Eulogizes It

"Women at Work" was issued, 1934, by the Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor. One is a bit surprised to see on the covers of this U. S. Government pamphlet one of those typical bizarre modernistic designs so popular in communistic art and publications.

Page 22 eulogizes the National Women's Trade Union League, of which Mrs. Roosevelt and "Miss" Perkins are outstanding members and supporters and which received thousands of dollars from the communist Garland Fund (see "The Red Network"). To quote:

"The first large strike in which the League took part was that of the Ladies Waist Makers' Union in New York City in 1909, involving 30,000 or more women. From every waist-making factory in New York and Brooklyn girls poured forth, until 75 per cent of all workers in the trade had answered the call. During the first 2 weeks from 1,000 to 1,500 women a day joined the strikers. Since that time, the National Women's Trade Union League has sent in organizers wherever it believed them necessary and could do so, the last major effort being in the recent textile strikes in the South.

"Besides taking part in specific labor struggles, the league, because its membership has included many influential women outside the actual labor ranks, has been able to publicize trade-union fights and to draw on the active support and cooperation of women's organizations."

The Communist magazine "Soviet Russia Today" (7/36) contains an article by Mary Thompson, "President and Organizer of the Boston Women's Trade Union League and Member of the United Textile Workers", who went over to Russia with a Negro and a farmer as members of the Friends of the Soviet Union delegation to the communist May Day celebration.

The farmer represented the Farmers' Union. The Negro, William Hill, represented the Urban League of Boston (a branch of the National Urban League, whose anniversary celebration Mrs. Roosevelt addressed). Mary Thompson's article, of course, was the pro-Soviet account expected of her.

Roosevelt Appointees Join in Fete for Soviet Propagandist

The Communist Daily Worker (7/9/36) gave an account of her return and entertainment by radicals, including Roosevelt appointees. To quote:

"Leader Feted On Return From U.S.S.R.—The Women's Trade Union League of Boston honored its president, Mrs. Mary G. Thompson with a dinner here last week at the Hotel Touraine. Mrs. Thompson recently returned from the Soviet Union where she went as a member of a trade union delegation sponsored by the Friends of the Soviet Union.

"Mrs. Thompson gave a glowing account of the achievements of the Soviet toilers in the industrial and cultural fields. . . .

"Prominent in the labor movement among those present were James T. Moriarity, State Labor Commissioner; George E. Roewer, one of the leaders of the Socialist Party; John J. Kearney, International vice-president of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, and manager of the Boston local; Rudolph Marginot, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and vice-president of the Central

Labor Union; Anna Weinstock, United States Government Federal Conciliator; Julia Parker O'Connor, advisor of the National Youth Administration; Rose Sullivan, vice-president of the Telephone Operators Department of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and May Songster, member of the Streetcarman's Union and of the school board of Medford."

Communist Party Supports Mrs. Roosevelt's League

"Margaret Cowl Shows Way for Women", heads this Communist Party's Daily Worker report (6/26/36):

"Margaret Cowl, head of the Women's Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, yesterday discussed the problems facing the women of America in a report to the Ninth National Convention of the Party at Manhattan Opera House. Excerpts of the speech follow:

"The resolutions of the Women's Trade Union League should be supported. Particularly the resolution to organize the Negro women into the A. F. of L. trade unions. Especially the laundry and domestic workers. The organization of women into the trade unions should be made a part of the CIO work.

"The support of the 'Woman Today,' a woman's magazine devoted to a struggle for peace and against all reaction.

"The fact that women may secure complete equality only through a Soviet America must be brought home to women."

To quote the Advisor 3/25/36: "The National Women's Trade Union League, of which Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Francis Wilson, nee Perkins, Secretary of Labor, are supporters, has always been Red in its program and objectives even though nestling under the official wing of the American Federation of Labor.

"The Communist Party has always recognized the necessity of winning women to its ranks as an essential part of its revolutionary program. The drive for organization of women is now being intensified and with the radicalization taking place in the ranks of the A. F. of L. through 'boring from within,' those A. F. of L. unions that are radical in purpose and objective are being especially included in the drive.

"Margaret Cowl, one of the principal women Communist leaders, has set forth the Communist intent in the drive to organize women, using, of course, the current issues such as 'equal pay for equal work,' 'protection of jobs for married women,' 'minimum wage laws,' 'war and fascism,' 'Leagues against high cost of living,' etc. She states in part:

"The A. F. of L. at its convention in Atlantic City included minimum wage laws for women in its social legislation program. We must popularize this. We must use this to get action in A. F. of L. unions to organize women into the A. F. of L. We must help the Women's Trade Union League (A. F. of L.) in this and, wherever none exists, help to organize a branch of the League." (Emphasis supplied)" See also p. 154.

ROOSEVELT AND SOCIALIST COOPERATIVES

The Socialist Party and Cooperatives

"Workers, Support your Cooperatives!", is the heading of the full page devoted to a plea for support of the socialistic Cooperative League of U. S. A. (communist-Garland-Fund-supported) in the official "Journal of the Seventeenth National Convention of the Socialist Party, Milwaukee, Wis., May 20-24, 1932".

It continues: "Buy in Cooperative stores. How can we hope to free ourselves from the capitalist yoke while we continue to spend our earnings in the capitalist business?"

"The Cooperative Movement calls upon workers and farmers to recognize their own interests and lend their buying power to cooperative, not capitalist, enterprise. Thus they will weaken the arm of Capitalism and strengthen the arm of Cooperation."

The cooperative movement is backed by Socialists and Communists the world over as a means of eliminating private storekeepers, private wholesalers, private business of all sorts, in a step-by-step advance toward collectivizing all property and human activity—which is Communism-Socialism.

To Abolish Farm Ownership

As James Warbasse, president of the Cooperative League of U.S.A., says in his book "Cooperative Democracy", pp. 258-9: "The ultimate aim of the Consumers' Movement should be to purchase the land from the farmers and employ the latter as an agricultural worker." (Whereas the American aim is to see the agricultural worker purchase his own land and become a farmer.)

The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., so ardently supported by the Socialist Party in its official journal, announced a conducted tour to Soviet Russia, the Reds' "fatherland", leaving 7/10/36 to visit "Moscow, headquarters of Centrosoyus, all Russian Union of Consumers' Cooperative Societies, the only pre-revolutionary institution remaining in the country."

It is "the only pre-revolutionary institution remaining" in Russia, because it paved the way for the Russian revolution and was and is a part of the communistic collectivist movement.

The Cooperative League and Soviet Russia

The Cooperative League of U.S.A., headed by Warbasse, Roosevelt advisor, is a member, with the Soviet Government's "Centrosoyus", of the International Cooperative Alliance. I. A. Zelensky, the Soviet representative, is vice-president of the executive committee of the entire world organization of cooperatives, called the International Cooperative Alliance. There are sections of the International Cooperative Alliance in thirty-nine countries, excluding Germany and Italy, whose governments are anti-Marxian.

The Cooperative League of U.S.A. distributes the scarlet-covered "People's Year Book", a report of the activities of the various sections of the International Cooperative Alliance (published in England

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U.S.A.

Principal Organisations.

Co-operative League of the United States of America : 167, West 12th Street, New York. (Central Union of Consumers' Societies of the United States). Established 1915. (I.C.A.) (meaning *Int'l. Co-operative Alliance member*)
Central Co-operative Wholesale : Winter Street, Superior, Wisconsin.
Farmers' Union State Exchange (Wholesale) : Omaha, Nebraska.
Grange Co-operative Wholesale : Seattle, Washington.
Eastern Co-operative Wholesale : New York, N.Y.
Midland Co-operative Oil Association (Wholesale) : Minnesota.
Farmers' Union Central Exchange : St. Paul, Minnesota. (Wholesale.)
Consumers' Co-operative Association, North Kansas City, Missouri. (I.C.W.S.) (C.W.S. and Oil Co.).

Indiana Farm Bureau : Indianapolis.

National Co-operatives Inc. (c/o the Co-operative League).

Co-operative Distributors Inc. : 30, Irving Place, New York City. (Mail-order society.)

(The Co-operative League of the U.S.A. is the only national consumers' co-operative organisation. The others are regional.)

Currency.—The monetary unit is the dollar; whose rate of exchange with the £ has fluctuated as follows in the last three years :—

Par.	September, 1933.	September, 1934.	September, 1935.
\$4-86½ to £	\$4-60½ to £	\$5-00½ to £	\$4-91 to £

Co-operation in the United States.

The United States was known to us as the paradise of capitalism until a few years ago, and the idea of the consumers' co-operative movement becoming established there seemed almost a laughable one. Nevertheless, Robert Owen had started co-operative communities in the U.S.A. as far back as 1845, and if they had failed, at least some of the spirit behind them remained, and was partly responsible for the successful organisation, in many parts of the States, of large and successful farmers' marketing co-operatives, like the California Fruit Growers' Exchange, to take one example. In Indiana, of which Owen's son became President, farmers' co-operation was particularly successful, and the Indiana Farm Bureau has more recently been organising purchasing co-operatives for oil, food, farmers' requisites, and, under Roosevelt, for electricity. So that Indiana is now one of the most co-operative of the United States.

After the war, Scandinavian immigrants in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Illinois began to make a success of consumers' societies, and the example spread. But it is in the last few years, since the great depression began, that the co-operative movement has really been making progress. Last year we pointed out how Roosevelt, with his Consumers' Advisory Council, and in other ways, had assisted the movement. But progress since then has continued at a really amazing rate. Some of the Co-operative Wholesale organisations have increased their sales by huge percentages, and new societies have been started all over the country. "Self-Help" co-operatives, barter clubs, and so forth have been springing up everywhere. In 1935, the National Emergency Council was able to report that about \$300,000,000 worth of business was carried on by consumers' co-operative societies in the United States during 1934. Although the exact number of these societies is not known, it has been estimated at perhaps 7,000, of which some 1,500 societies operate various types of stores. In addition there are 2,500 to 3,000 credit unions, about 1,100 farmers' purchasing associations, 600-800 oil associations, chiefly among farmers, and approximately 900 societies providing housing, restaurant, bakery, milk supply, insurance, telephone service, medical care, and other services. The Midland Co-operative Wholesale

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Facsimile of Page from the "People's Year Book", Showing Membership of Co-operative League of the U. S. A. in the International Co-operative Alliance. Note mention of Roosevelt's help to the Socialist Co-operative movement.

Society, serving 120 local societies in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa, &c., increased its sales by 70 per cent in 1934, with a total volume of sales of \$1,750,000, and about 140,000 members of affiliated retail societies.

In the political sphere President Roosevelt in the reorganised N.R.A. has created a special Consumers' Division, whose objects are: To inquire into prices and price policies in specific industries, in order to eliminate the "trouble-spots" in production and distribution which keep products out of the consumers' reach; to educate the public to recognise and encourage the wider use of quality standards and grading; to study consumers' co-operation at home and abroad in order to assist its development in the U.S.; to organise consumers' councils to collect and distribute information, and to watch consumers' interests in public policy and economic activities. In President Roosevelt's own words "A Consumers' Division is hereby established within the National Recovery Administration, the function and purpose of which Division shall be to stimulate interest in the problems of the consumer, and review public policy in so far as it relates to the consumer, and in general to suggest ways and means to promote larger and more economical production of useful goods and facilitate the maintenance and betterment of the American standard of living."

This act, following President Roosevelt's recent swing to the Left, perhaps indicates even more than would appear. For the forces of the real Left have begun already to rally to the cry of the consumer. Upton Sinclair fought his EPIC campaign for the Governorship of California on a co-operative programme. Governor Floyd Olson of Minnesota is rallying labour and farmers on a co-operative programme, and the government itself has been stimulating the creation of farmers' co-operatives to distribute electricity. It would seem to be not impossible that if Roosevelt decides to appeal definitely to the Left and to the farmers in the next year or two, he will do so upon a programme, of which the germ is to be seen in the Tennessee Valley Authority scheme—the public ownership of the great monopoly, public utility, industries, alongside the encouragement of a rapid growth of consumers' and other forms of co-operation, and some control over industries left in private hands. The next few years in American history should therefore prove of extraordinary interest.

Books on American Co-operation.

- Capitalism, Co-operation, Communism.—A. J. Kress. Co-operative League. 1932.
Co-operative Democracy.—J. P. Warbasse. Co-operative League. 1927.
America's Answer—Consumers' Co-operation.—Co-operative League. New York. 1934.
The Consumers' Co-operative Movement in Illinois.—Co-operative League. 1926.
Annual Year Books of the Co-operative League.
I, Governor of California, and I, Candidate for Governor, and How I Got Licked.
By Upton Sinclair.

American Co-operative Press.

- Consumers' Co-operation.—167, West Twelfth Street, New York. Published by the Co-operative League of the United States of America. Monthly. Editor: Oscar Cooley.
The Co-operative Builder.—Official organ of Northern States Co-operative League (Minneapolis, Minnesota), Central States Co-operative League (Bloomington, Illinois), Central Co-operative Wholesale (Superior, Wisconsin). Editor: A. J. Hayes.
Amalgamated Co-operator.—80, Van Cortlandt Park South, New York, N.Y. Editor: Herman Liebman.
Co-operative Marketing Journal.—Published by the National Co-operative Council, 1430, East Franklin Street, Richmond, Virginia. Editorial Office: 1731 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
The Co-operative Consumer.—Organ of the Consumers' Co-operative Association. North Kansas City, Missouri.
Consumers' Defender.—30, Irving Place, New York City.

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U.S.S.R.

Principal Organisations.

"Centrosoyus," Tsentralnyj soyus potrebitelnykh obshchestv S.S.S.R. (All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies). B. Cherkassky, per 15-17, Iljinka, Moscow. Established 1898. London Representatives: Centrosoyus (England), Ltd., Bush House, Aldwych, London, W.C.2. (I.C.A. and I.C.W.S.)

"Selskoyus" (All-Russian Union of Agricultural Co-operative Societies). B. Dmitrovka, 4, Moscow Central. *Note: Also member Int'l Coop. Alliance.*

Statistics.	1932.	1934.
	Million Roubles.	Million Roubles.
Total Sales of Retail Societies: (i) Town	11,676.7	11,892.2
(ii) Country	7,928.9	8,914
Wholesale Organisation	14,154.4	14,910
Imports of Centrosoyus from England	12.908	15.962
Membership of Retail Societies	(1930) 55 million.	73 million.
Number of Co-operative Employees	(1934) 607,795	(1935) 614,122
	1932.	1931.
Percentage of Trade—		
State	30	61
Co-operative	66	39
Private	4	—

Currency.—Fluctuations of the Rouble:—

Par.	September, 1933.	September, 1934.	September, 1935.
9.46 to £	6.227 to £	5.707½ to £	5.6 to £

The Consumers' Co-operative Movement in the U.S.S.R.

The following information is supplied by Centrosoyus, the central organisation of the Consumers' Co-operative Movement in the U.S.S.R., which is entirely responsible for the statements made.

The aim of the Co-operative Movement in the U.S.S.R. is, like that of the government since 1917, the establishment of Socialism in the countries associated in the U.S.S.R. This entails the maintenance of close relations between Soviet Co-operation and the Soviet Government, and these relations contribute to the development of the Co-operative Movement in the U.S.S.R.

The principal work of Consumers' Co-operation, from the point of view of this relationship, has been the purchase of agricultural products for the State through the rural consumers' societies, and the work of the co-operative organisations in the problem of abolishing ration-cards for bread and other foodstuffs*.

(*According to information which has just been received from the Tass Agency, ration cards have now been abolished also for macaroni, rice, meat, fish, confectionery, sugar, butter, margarine, and potatoes, and the prices reduced. At the same time, as a result of the great improvement in State trading, of which this is partly a sign, the workers in the industries playing the most important part in retail distribution in the towns, have decided to abolish consumers' co-operative societies in the towns, and to transfer their property to the shop system of the Commissariat of Internal Trade of the U.S.S.R. In return, the State Bank and the Commissariat of Finance will place a credit of 166 million roubles (about £22,000,000) at the disposal of Centrosoyus which will be expected to devote its entire organising activity to the perfection of retail trading in the countryside. Centrosoyus is expected to open 5,000 new large stores in the villages in 1935-36 and to ensure that they are permanently well stocked with all goods needed in rural areas, in order to raise continually the standard of living in these areas.—EDITOR.)

Facsimile of Page from the "People's Year Book", Showing Membership of "Centrosoyus", Soviet Russia's Organization of Cooperatives, in the International Cooperative Alliance. States aim of Cooperative movement as "the establishment of Socialism".

by the Cooperative Wholesale Society, Ltd., 1 Balloon St., Manchester). The praise of Roosevelt in the 1936 issue, for his work for the Socialist Cooperative movement, is nicely reciprocated by Roosevelt's Government library at Norris, Tenn. (TVA), which, among other Socialist literature, also recommends it.

What They Say About Roosevelt

There is no such ignorance on the part of Socialists as to Roosevelt's direction as there is on the part of uninformed conservatives.

To quote from the "People's Year Book" (See reproductions of pages 301, 302 and 303 in this book, pages 296, 297 and 298):

(Page 301): "But it is the last few years since the great depression began, that the cooperative movement has really been making progress. Last year we pointed out how Roosevelt with his Consumers' Advisory Council, and in other ways, had assisted the movement. . . ."

(Page 302): "In the political sphere, President Roosevelt in the reorganized NRA has created a special Consumers' Division, whose objects are; . . . to study consumers' cooperation at home and abroad in order to assist its development in the U.S.; to organize consumers' councils to collect and distribute information, and to watch consumers' interests in public policy and economic activities. . . ."

Roosevelt Making Socialist History

"This act, following President Roosevelt's recent swing to the Left, perhaps indicates even more than would appear. For the forces of the real Left have begun already to rally to the cry of the consumer. Upton Sinclair fought his EPIC campaign for the Governorship of California on a co-operative programme. Governor Floyd Olson of Minnesota is rallying labour and farmers on a co-operative programme, and the government itself has been stimulating the creation of farmers' co-operatives to distribute electricity. It would seem to be not impossible that if Roosevelt decided to appeal definitely to the Left and to the farmers in the next year or two, he will do so upon a programme of which the germ is to be seen in the Tennessee Valley Authority scheme—the public ownership of the great monopoly, public utility, industries, alongside the encouragement of a rapid growth of consumers' and other forms of co-operation, and some control over industries left in private hands. The next few years in American history should therefore prove of extraordinary interest." (Emphasis supplied.)

"Wallace Views U. S. Remade Into a Cooperative"

"Describes State Rights as Outdated", heads the 6/30/36 AP despatch concerning Secretary Wallace's new book "Whose Constitution", in which he says the people must, to quote, "become actively imbued with the idea of a cooperative society". Wallace added he believed the majority already was 'receptive to the general purposes and possibilities of a cooperative commonwealth.'" (Socialism-Communism.)

Roosevelt's Pro-Soviet Cooperatives Delegation

Announcement was made (6/23/36) that President Roosevelt was sending a three-man mission to Europe for a two months' study of cooperatives.

He picked just the "right" men:

Charles E. Stuart; consulting engineer of the Government of Russia since 1926 and advisor on their Five Year Plan; Roosevelt appointee as vice-president of the Export-Import Bank set up by Roosevelt to facilitate loans to Russia; director of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce; lecturer for Mrs. Roosevelt's pro-Communist New School for Social Research 4/6/34; etc.

As chairman of the trio, Roosevelt chose **Jacob Baker**, his assistant CWA-FERA-WPA administrator and vice-president of the communist Garland Fund's own publishing house, Vanguard Press (set up to publish Socialist-Communist "class struggle" literature), which recently published Earl Browder's "What Is Communism?" (Browder is Secretary of the Communist Party U.S.A. and a member of the Comintern).

Roosevelt's third choice was **Leland Olds**, secretary of the N. Y. Power Authority under its ultra-radical chairman, Frank P. Walsh, Roosevelt appointee. His salary while industrial editor of the Reds' own Federated Press, the news agency which supplies the Communist and revolutionary press, was paid during 1925-26-27 directly by the communist Garland Fund, which also supported the Federated Press and supplied the I.W.W., Anarchists, Communists, and leading revolutionary agencies with funds and loans. Wm. Z. Foster, Communist Party head, was on the executive board of the Federated Press.

A general letter sent out by the Reds' Federated Press to radical leaders in 1923 reminded them that to get anywhere in the movement they must be supplied with the "right" news, which they should get by subscribing \$10 per year for Leland Olds' Federated Press economic service. But such Communist enterprises are all made possible through donations and subsidies. Wm. Z. Foster, Olds' Federated Press associate, was a Garland Fund director, and we see in the communist Garland Fund reports of gifts such items as:

"Federated Press, Chicago, Ill.—Nov. 9, 1922—for the development of a weekly economic service under Leland Olds, six months' experimental period at \$70 a week—May 23, 1923, extended for six months . . . \$3,640."

Leland Olds also received: \$3,640 the next year beginning Oct. 24, 1923; \$4,410 for 1924-5; \$3,600 for 1926-7.

Usual "Impartial" Report Seems Assured

Undoubtedly we will also get the "right" news (from the Reds' viewpoint) on the foreign Cooperatives which Roosevelt's delegation are scheduled to visit, and will be advised accordingly by these "investigators" who are cut-and-dried in their pro-Soviet, pro-Cooperatives purposes before they start.

Revolution a Science

Few Americans realize that the technique of revolution is a science studied intently, deeply and analytically by thousands who are being taught in the Rand, Brookwood, Debs, and other Socialist Party schools, and in Communist "Workers' Schools" in all of the principal American cities. Libraries containing hundreds of analytical volumes and countless pamphlets covering every leading Red cause, every possible phase of preparation for Red revolution are being constantly added to by new publications turned out by Communist Party publishing houses (International Publishers, Workers' Library Publishers, etc.) and their close associates, the Vanguard Press, etc.

With some 3,000 students in the Communist Party's head New York "Workers' School", 1,000 in their Chicago "Workers' Schools", and with similar branch schools from coast to coast, the business of training leaders, or "cadres" as the Reds call them, for the Red-led mass revolution goes on unhampered, daily.

Revolution Must Be Well Timed, Proper Groundwork Laid

Experience has shown Communists and Socialists the error of premature revolution, which, if not backed by sufficient long-time organization, by propaganda groundwork, and if not put over at a ripe moment in a time of widespread disorganization, despair and crisis, is likely to fall flat and be squelched. This happened in Bavaria, Hungary and Austria. For Red revolutions are always engineered by minorities and must depend upon mass apathy and momentary sympathy for success. The business of revolution is in laying the groundwork.

Even after recent membership increases, the French Communist Party, now clutching the throat of France, has but 125,000 members, according to Jacques Duclos in "l'Humanite", the French Communist Party paper, 5/27/36. The Spanish Communist Party had but 10,000 members at the time of the bloody Asturias uprising, October, 1934, and has only 80,000 now that they are controlling Spain and burning its churches. (Daily Worker 6/9/36.) Less than 70,000 Bolsheviks captured Russia and firmly put it under chains.

On small numbers of leaders and on the large effectiveness of Socialist propaganda, Red revolutions depend.

Those who are not contemptuous of typhoid germs and their accomplishments loftily parrot the old one "Oh! let them blow off steam" (blow in steam they should say), when reminded of the spread of the Red germ.

Cooperatives as Groundwork

The "beauty" of achieving Communism step by step through co-operatives, in the eyes of those who desire collectivism with a minimum of violence, is that it is a voluntary process. Ironically, the bait held out by Socialists to the prospective "cooperator" is the lure of collecting a share of the profits which would otherwise be going to private owners, while it is the "profit motive" in capitalism which the Socialists denounce and claim Socialism will abolish! But, as

cooperator hopes are seldom met by actual returns from cooperatives, the real mainstay of the movement is Socialist propaganda.

Irresponsible, slack, or dishonest members and management continuously, to date, have made the records of cooperatives below, at best, those of quite ordinary privately-owned industries.

Socialistic "Success" in Cooperatives

To quote a Chicago Tribune editorial (11/14/34):

"In 1926 the government made a study of consumer cooperation in the United States. It was found that there had been a rapid development of cooperatives between 1916 and 1920. But thereafter the movement had waned. The loss of interest was not due to a disappearance of the desire to participate in profits. It was due to the lack of success of the cooperatives. The government found that between 1920 and 1925, alone, 768 cooperatives had discontinued in the United States, largely because of bankruptcy. When the cooperative form of enterprise eliminated the business man it eliminated the successful business management which was the source of profit when there was any. Here are some typical comments from questionnaires turned in by cooperatives which suspended business:

"The cooperative venture went the way of most such ventures and, so far as I know, nobody locally ever thinks about it any more. No more of that stuff for me. It is my fondest hope that the wretched experience will never again be recalled in my memory." Etc.

The recent press announcement that Mrs. Roosevelt's and Mrs. O'Day's pet cooperative furniture business, "Val-Kill", was being sold to one of the workers included no explanation as to why the enterprise was now to become a private business.

Roosevelt Financing Inefficiency

A man who recently audited the books of three of the most highly puffed Socialist Cooperatives expressed his disgust in forceful terms, at the "mess" in which he found the books of each one. "Don't ever worry about cooperatives undermining private business!" he said, "It is a wonder that they keep going at all. No private business would tolerate what they get away with!"

This estimate would be true, undoubtedly, if the competition were free and fair, but when a Socialist-bent government undertakes to ruin private business by taxation, and to use tax funds to finance Socialist competitive cooperatives, as **Roosevelt is doing**, the situation is changed.

Not content with organizing and financing with American taxpayers' millions innumerable socialistic cooperatives, the Roosevelt regime early compiled at government expense a booklet (No. 598, price 10c) on the "Organization and Management of Consumers' Cooperative Associations and Clubs (with model By Laws)", so that no one need seek in vain for the best Socialist advice on forming anti-private-business enterprises.

Socialist Warbasse and His Cooperative League Inspire U.S. Booklet

Isadore Lubin, Roosevelt's Department of Labor Commissioner, in his foreword transmitting the booklet to his chief, "Miss" Perkins, pays tribute to the Cooperative League of U.S.A. and its president, saying:

"The contents of the present report are based upon many years' practical experience of the societies affiliated with the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., N. Y. City. The Bureau takes this opportunity to acknowledge its indebtedness to the League, and especially to Dr. James P. Warbasse, its president, for the material furnished."

Let the home owner or business man supplying the tax funds for this Socialist propaganda, picture his own demise as an individualist after reading the following enthusiastic paragraph on the very first page:

"The average working man who thinks of joining a cooperative thinks only of saving for himself the retailer's small net profit. He does not take due account of the fact that retail cooperative societies unite to form wholesales, and that these wholesales go into manufacturing and the production of raw materials, and that the great cooperative movement of the world is moving on to put into the pockets of the consumers that vast fund known as the 'profits of business'."

Hitting the Nail on the Head

One alert business man, Mr. Wever Dobson, hit the nail on the head in his address 2/19/36 before the Wisconsin Retail Lumbermen's Association. He warned the "sleeping" that every retail business in the country "faces an eventuality which might wipe them out of the economic picture". At the end of 1935, as he stated, about 1,800,000 people in the U.S.A. were supporting socialistic Consumers' Cooperatives and in 1934 the cooperative business amounted to \$365,000,000.

Mr. Dobson, as the son of a patriotic Methodist minister, spoke regretfully of the sponsorship of cooperatives by church radicals. He said:

"You can attempt to cloak this movement with the mantle of the church, you can misrepresent it as true Christianity, you can prate all you want to about 'The more abundant life,' but underneath all this ballyhoo there is but one definite fact—the very essence of the Consumers Co-operative Movement is the abolishment of the profit system and the elimination of the established retail dealer. . . .

"Any group of consumers who organize to take the profit out of the other fellow's business needs to keep in mind that by the same token he can do the same thing. This is, of course, what the whole scheme will eventually come to—pure socialism. Socialized retailing means eventually socialized wholesaling, manufacturing and farming.

Abolishing Profit for Everyone

"It must be understood that no one particular group can follow this method exclusively to their own advantage. Sooner or later

it will be the general method throughout all business with the result that there will be no profit in production or business for anyone.

"Right here I should like to ask this question: 'When all profit is taken out of business, where are the taxes coming from, not only to pay the enormous public debt, but to provide for the tremendous costs of running our various Governments?' It might not be amiss to ask further, 'Where will the money come from to maintain our Churches?'

"But the thing that is wrong and that makes this Consumers Co-operative Movement a very serious threat to the existence of every retail merchant is the fact that it is protected and prompted by two powerful forces: First, the present administration in Washington, and, second, the Churches. . . .

"Just before the Guffey Law was passed by the Senate, an amendment was added classifying Co-operative Organizations as wholesalers, giving them the right to buy coal at wholesale prices, eight per cent below the price you equipped retailers pay the same producer—an indication of the strength of the Consumers Co-operative Movement and of the attitude of the New Deal toward your and my business."

Cooperatives and Marcantonio's Red Proposal

"The Co-operative Builder" (member of the Communists' Federated Press, and organ of sections of the Cooperative League of U.S.A.) recommended, 4/4/36, the Socialist-Communist Workers' Rights Amendment to the Constitution (H. J. Res. 440) introduced by Mrs. Roosevelt's "peace" associate, Congressman Marcantonio, which would authorize taking over all business, property and resources by the government (Communism). It joyfully announced this Roosevelt financing:

"47 Minnesota Groups Start Power Co-ops

"Forty-seven rural electrification co-operatives in Minnesota have already adopted organization documents and are preparing the necessary information for the REA office in Washington so as to qualify for loans, according to a bulletin of the state department of agriculture. . . .

"Local co-operatives will have full control of the whole business of their REA enterprises."

Government Owned Socialist TVA Cooperatives

Business is carried on at Roosevelt's TVA town of Norris, Tenn., located entirely on Government property, by a Government socialistic Cooperative under the control of TVA director David E. Lilienthal.

The little church near the town was closed firmly and permanently when the Roosevelt crew of Socialists took it over and strict supervision is kept to see that denominational Christianity does not break the collective "social mindedness" of TVA in such "religious" gatherings as are held in the cafeteria. No 100% Christian minister could possibly get along or be permitted to function at TVA under its radical directors, who, however, are not in a position, as yet, in the

TVA "Bible belt", to flatly forbid religious meetings entirely. They must content themselves with "freezing" actual religion out.

A cooperative weaving business is conducted on the premises by radical strike leaders ousted by Knoxville textile plants. They are organizing branches at each of the Government Dam projects as Government proteges.

One gets, at the government cafeteria, a "planned" meal and is permitted a second helping of anything except dessert. Too much dessert is not good for one.

TVA Government Library Reeks with Red Literature

As one is about to enter Roosevelt's TVA Government Library at Norris, Tenn., the first object to catch the eye is a large bulletin board on which the flaming jackets of the newest Socialist and radical books are tacked, advertising their availability in the Library. Inside the door is a long table stacked with booklets on Socialist cooperatives and piles of three-page and one-page lists of recommended Socialist literature on this subject by such leading radicals as Jerome Davis, Stuart Chase (author of "A New Deal"), Harry W. Laidler, those pro-Soviet "press agents" Beatrice and Sidney Webb, James P. Warbasse (see "The Red Network" for all of these), and Toyohiko Kagawa, the Japanese Socialist admitted to the United States despite his infectious eye disease by special order of President Roosevelt (Chicago Tribune 12/21/35).

Kagawa Administration-Backed Ultra-Radical Propagandist

As one Socialist paper put it, Kagawa was expected to put the emotional impetus behind the cooperative movement. He was sponsored by the socialist Cooperative League of U.S.A., by the pro-Socialist small ruling clique of the Federal Council of Churches, and by radicals generally. The publicity pressure has been put on to such an extent that tens of thousands have flocked to hear him and deposit their admission fees in his coffers.

In Cincinnati, however, some fundamentalist Christians, insulted at his thrusts at various Christian denominations and customs, walked out in disgust.

A real Christian minister, Rev. Albert G. Johnson, D.D., of the Hinson Memorial Baptist Church, Portland, Oregon, has written a splendid and interesting thirty-two page booklet showing from the Christian angle, by Kagawa's own writings, that Kagawa denies every Christian fundamental belief while using Christian phraseology.

Dr. Johnson points out that Kagawa's "writings disclose the fact that he is decidedly materialistic in his philosophy, object and method. This is again the logical unfolding of the poisonous herb of Rationalism, as opposed to Divine Revelation" (Atheist groups often term themselves "Rationalists").

To read Kagawa's statement on evangelism one might think he were a graduate of Union Theological Seminary, commonly nicknamed the "Red seminary", where the ministers seem to go out for

post graduate work in rioting and being arrested. (Harry Ward, Reinhold Niebuhr, Harry E. Fosdick, etc. teach there.)

To Kagawa "Evangelist" and "Labor Agitator" Are Synonyms

When a young man came to Kagawa saying he wished to be an evangelist, Kagawa asked him two questions: First, "Have you the courage to go to prison?" Second, "Have you the grit to lead a strike?" Because the young man answered, "No", Kagawa replied: "Then, give up the idea of becoming an evangelist!"

Kagawa writes: "'At first I thought we could get along nicely with the Soviet movement. I allowed the general strike, boycotting, the use of the union label, and sabotage, but without violence.'

"I hated to have so many parties. If we had to part with the Soviet, I wanted the other three to combine forces against the evils of capitalism. I have not joined any party; I help them all."

The Japanese year book for 1934 details the successive reorganizations of the Marxian parties following their suppression by the Japanese government. As the militants became menacing, their organization was dissolved. Those desiring to keep on and accomplish anything found it healthier to become right wing "pacifist" Socialists.

Kagawa chose this course when he withdrew from the Proletarian Labour-Farmer Party, Dec. 5, 1926. By verbally rejecting Communism and insisting upon Socialism by parliamentarism, the new Social Democratic Party was able to function while its former component, Communist-controlled, was suppressed with wholesale arrests by the government.

Communitic Agitator Dubbed "Christian" and "Saint" by Radicals

But the publicity efforts of the radicals to make the oft-jailed Kagawa, appear as a Christian Saint are almost droll.

One Communist-supporting "pacifist" paper told how Kagawa was kneeling on a bridge in Japan praying that there would be no violence in the big strike he had incited; when the police arrested and jailed him! Supposedly, police have only to see someone kneeling in prayer to run him right in!

Kagawa is the Japanese correspondent of the very red National Religion and Labor Foundation, here (see "The Red Network" for reproductions of their Soviet, atheist cartoons), which distributes Communist, atheist literature and prints in its bulletins outright Red revolutionary propaganda.

Kagawa Looks to Communism

The pro-Communist, misnamed "Methodist Federation for Social Service", discussing with hope and admiration the Socialist Cooperative movement, says in its Dec. 1935 Bulletin:

"Have they" (the Cooperators) "a program—and the power—to get rid of Capitalism and replace it with the Cooperative Democracy? Kagawa himself looks beyond Cooperation to Christian Communism." (Might as well say to "Christian" Atheism.)

Kagawa claims to be a follower of Tolstoy, who paved the way for the mass terror and atheism of the Bolshevik revolution by cloaking Socialism with an alien coating of non-violence and Christianity, just as "pacifist" Gandhi, who has long incited insurrection and disorder with his agitations, has prepared India for the openly violent program of his followers who now control the Nationalist Congress.

U.S. Government Propagandizes Socialist Cooperatives

Among the bulletins issued by the Roosevelt regime to boost Socialist cooperation in opposition to private business is "**Cooperative Self-Help**", issued periodically by the Division of Self-Help Cooperatives, Federal Emergency Relief Administration", which contains amazing lists and reports concerning the socialistic Cooperatives now being financed by American taxpayers' funds.

There is a long report in the Nov.-Dec. 1934 issue of "Cooperative Self-Help" about the "Sunrise Cooperative Farm Community, Alicia, Mich.," stating: "As to the colony—I am convinced that never before had a colony such a firm foundation at its start, such a rich heritage to build upon" and that its Government grant for a workshop was now ready.

Must Taxpayers Pay for Red Failures?

Now we learn from the Advisor (5/27/36):

"The Sunrise Cooperative Farm Community, a Communist colony founded in 1933 and located near Alicia, Michigan, is the latest of Communist farces to go on the rocks. The records show that this Communist experiment has been loaned \$40,000 by the Federal Government already, and now the Rehabilitation Administration is dicker-ing to take over the whole layout.

"In the spring of 1933 some 75 families, principally Jewish, hailing from New York, Chicago, Detroit, and other cities took over some 9,000 acres of reclaimed land, of the Owosso Sugar Beet Plantation, near Alicia, Michigan, and organized the Sunrise Cooperative Farm. The present secretary of the commune is Joseph Cohen, who is its motivating power, and principal spokesman.

"The colony's death blow was struck when one of its participating tribesmen, Charles Sanders, who withdrew last year, filed suit against the cooperative in Federal Court at Bay City, Michigan, charging the commune's administration with planning to sell the outfit to a government agency for \$260,000, though actually worth \$400,000, and that these plans are 'impairing the security and welfare of the commune members'. Cohen admitted that the commune was virtually bankrupt and that there had been negotiations with the Federal Rural Settlement Administration for taking over the colony at a mentioned price of \$260,000.

"Cohen, in describing conditions contributing to the failure of the communal project, described the whole and complete fallacy of Communism when he said:

"If I were to start this experiment over again, there is much I would eliminate from the program I prepared three years ago. Above

all I would disregard our comrades' enthusiasm and rhetoric. These more than any other factor are responsible for our present plight. They talk, talk and talk, but when it comes to real action, they are not there.'"

Like Stalin, Roosevelt and His Reds Crave Power

One iron-hand-in-velvet-glove article written by Wm. E. Zeuch, as Roosevelt's "Specialist in Cooperation, Division of Subsistence Homesteads", advocates the usual Marxian prescription of discipline and arbitrary power over us so favored by those bent upon creating a utopia for the unwilling. Zeuch was one of the founders, with Kate Richards O'Hare (jailed for sedition), of the little communistic Commonwealth College at Mena, Ark., where atheism, free love, nude bathing, in true Communist style, flourish, according to testimony before the Arkansas Legislative Committee.

Says Zeuch, revealingly (Vol. 1., No. 1, "Cooperative Self-Help"): "Those who wish to form cooperative communities should keep everlastingly in mind that the human materials they have to work with are persons who have been formed, molded or conditioned from birth in a competitive, dog-eat-dog, everybody-for-himself-and-devil-take-the-hindmost world. . . . The transition from competitive behavior patterns to cooperative behavior patterns is a hard, long, harrowing transition as anyone who has been 'through the mill' in cooperative communities knows only too well. . . . For these reasons, it is very doubtful whether the transition from a competitive society to a cooperative society, **no matter whether it takes place in a small community or in a nation, can be achieved on a voluntary, democratic basis.** Cooperative colonists would do well to select the most experienced, efficient, honest and wise management available, and then, at the very beginning, **clip their own power** to do themselves injury—because of their hangover of competitive-conditioned behavior patterns—by delegating a large measure of **arbitrary power** to such . . . managers as they have selected. . . . With those to whom democracy is a dogma this suggestion will, of course, be damned."

The diagram given for management of cooperatives would apply equally well to the management of a penitentiary.

The Annoyances of Cooperative "Family" Life

The Nov.-Dec. 1934 issue of the Government's "Cooperative Self-Help" contains, in its section answering the question "Should Membership be Selective or Open to Anyone?", a contribution "From a Member, Pacific Cooperative League, Berkeley, Cal." which gives amusing illumination on the "Utopian" life in cooperatives (It makes individual effort to make a living under capitalism seem almost soothing and recreational by comparison):

"The membership of a cooperative is like a large family with all of the intimacies and annoyances of family life. The welfare of each member is dependent upon the competence, industry, honesty, and adaptability of all other members. The crucial problem of any group,

therefore, is not the acquiring of a large membership, but the limitation of membership to those, however few, who are able to cooperate.

"Some theorists think that a cooperative should take to its bosom the halt, the lazy, and the predatory—all of the misfits of society. Here are some results I have observed where this theory has been put into practice."

Working for Loafers and Drones

"One wood chopper sits on a stump reading a magazine; another is so old and decrepit that he can hardly raise his ax; but their hours of work are piling up credits. A young stalwart who is swinging his ax with a will, notices the potterer and the shirker. He soon realizes that though he may have a reassuring credit balance on the co-op books, he will get little credit from being entitled to draw from an empty commissary. His own productivity has to be shared with too many who are non-productive. As a result, the good worker leaves the group in disgust. After the effective members are mostly frozen out, the idle and the helpless ones have no means of support, and the cooperative dies."

Grafting Agitators Sponge on Government Funds

"Another cooperative receives assurances that a request for government funds will be approved. Like locusts come a flock of glib and plausible dead-beats, worming their way into positions where their fingers may touch the treasure. Where others plod along, they will do things on a grand scale. On the strength of the government aid, or on the mere hope of it, they expand, securing buildings and equipment at a high cash rental, but deferring payments with excuses. They barter future production for merchandise which they distribute lavishly to their henchmen, though the rank and file sees but little of it. They fire the imagination of newcomers by selling each his own particular heaven, and thus run into the organization an impressive showing of membership.

"But as time goes on, great expectations become great disillusion. In the autopsy, after the purpose of these brilliant leaders became so evident that the group, through a devastating revolution, throws them out, little can be found of the cooperative but debts and the ill will of a swindled public.

"The organization with which I am connected is endeavoring to curb the tendency toward diluting our efficiency by admission of useless or predatory members, by establishing a probationary period. . . .

"We feel that our cooperative is a place for self-employed workers; not for deadbeats or unemployables. These may be a charge on society, but we are too weak a fraction of society to assume such a burden."

That gives on a small scale a picture of Socialism in action anywhere.

"Cooperatives Operating Under Federal Grant"

Under the title **"Cooperatives Operating Under Federal Grant"**, the Nov.-Dec. 1934 issue of **"Cooperative Self-Help"** (issued by Harry Hopkins and Jacob Baker as Roosevelt Administrators) listed such items as these:

"Caldwell Self-Help Organization; Amount of Grant—\$8,475.00"

"I.C.W. Self-Help Cooperative of Coeur d' Alene; Amount of Grant—\$10,568.20"

"People's Labor and Products Exchange of Nampa; Amount of Grant—\$7,510.00."

"As of Aug. 30—there are now 15 of these groups operating under Federal Grant" (in Idaho), states the same issue.

Eight Idaho **"Cooperatives from which Application is Expected Soon"** are also listed, and seven cities are mentioned as **"Cities In Which Self-Help Cooperatives May Be Organized."**

Under **"The Florida Program"** were the following items:

"IN NINE COMMUNITIES cooperatives are being set up with the aid of the District Rural Rehabilitation Director. . . . The cooperatives are going to can the products which the nearby farmers, towns and villages bring in." etc.

"A FISHERMAN'S COOPERATIVE with fish processing plant at Clearwater, near Tampa."

Roosevelt's Cooperatives Then Barely Getting Started

It is well to bear in mind that this number of **"Cooperative Self-Help"** was issued as Roosevelt's cooperatives were barely getting under way and yet there were pages of such reports. To choose at random:

"The Harmon Cooperative Association of Denver, Colo. . . . 'In the fall of 1933 Federal Aid was received in the way of direct financial grants. Starting with a membership of about 11 families, it now has an enrollment of 158 families.' 'We own our own headquarters building. To quote President Roosevelt 'We are on our way'."

"The Consumers' Industries of Detroit is turning its attention this week to the production of a standardized type of dining-room and living-room chair—it also has nearly 200 dozen shirts at \$6.00 a dozen, wholesale."

"The United Cooperative Exchange of Orange County, Calif., is described by its General Manager, a member of the Cooperative movement for the last 2½ years."

He reports on the Farming, Canning, Dairy and Garage projects financed by Government funds saying, "until our present grants came through, it had been a very difficult struggle. . . . The Central Distributing Warehouse has handled 286,644 pounds of commodities for distribution among the units."

The Cooperative League Socialist publications are listed for reading.

Free Government Membership in Red Cooperative League

Jacob Baker prints in the same issue his letter "sent out to all Relief Administrators in states which have cooperative groups", asking that they communicate to their government-supported cooperatives James P. Warbasse's offer as president of the Cooperative League of U.S.A., to arrange membership for them with the District or National headquarters of the League "without payment of the usual membership fee" providing they carried on an "educational program in Consumers cooperation" that would stimulate "more knowledge of the whole cooperative movement".

To Warbasse's lengthy article in the same issue is added the note that he, as President of the Cooperative League, "was one of America's delegates to the recent International Cooperative Alliance in London and is a member of the Central committee of the International Cooperative Alliance".

Special Banks for Cooperatives to Help End Private Business

Under the heading "Roosevelt Reds Drive for Federal Sponsored Cooperatives", Editor Nelson E. Hewitt (Advisor 5/20/36) said: "Frederic C. Howe is one of the reddest of the Roosevelt Reds. He acts as advisor to the Secretary of Agriculture, Henry Wallace, who, however, is so thoroughly sophisticated in radicalism as to need little or no advice in that field but finds the moral support of advisors and assistants helpful. A report from Washington, D. C., states as follows:

"Consumers cooperatives were pointed out as an alternative to fascism and a means of lowering retail prices to consumers by Frederic C. Howe, special advisor to the Secretary of Agriculture, when he testified in favor of the Scott bill to establish a federal consumers' administration and cooperative bank, now before the House committee on Banking and Currency.

"Rep. Byron Scott's (D., Calif.) bill asks for a revolving fund of 75 million dollars to set up a system of tax free banks for Consumers' cooperatives to help them in producing, handling, processing, wholesaling, transporting, or retailing any and all goods, commodities, or products for which effective demand exists on the part of consumers organizations.

"The bill seeks 'to do for consumers' cooperatives what has already been done for the farm cooperative groups through the Farm Credit Act. Others who testified in favor of the bill included James P. Warbasse, president of the Cooperative League, and Winslow Carlton, until recently director of the state division of cooperatives in California."

Attention, Football Players!

Competitive play must cease! "Consumers' Cooperation", with Roosevelt's "Tennessee Valley Authority Library" stamp on its cover, tells us how such instincts as are expressed in baseball, football, basketball, etc. must yield to the cooperative instinct expressed in Folk Dancing, etc. Hereafter, in the "new social order", must we see our football huskies, cured of the competitive spirit, transformed

with flowery circlets on their grimy brows, their feet bare, doing Maypole numbers in diaphanous garments on campus football fields, softly chanting the words "Peace", "Cooperation",

To quote: "The significance of cooperative play, not only as a means of pleasure but also as a better method of education is only now beginning to be realized. . . . **Cooperative recreation should be substituted for competitive recreation.** Folk singing, dancing, games both of play-party and traditional types, drama and other forms of group recreational activities should be developed to a greater extent as a means of training for participation in the activities of **cooperative economic associations.** . . ." (April 1936 issue, pp. 60-61, of "Consumers' Cooperation", organ of the Cooperative League of U.S.A., 167 W. 12th St., N. Y. City.)

Perhaps boys who prefer playing on competitive teams may have to be "cracked down" on, under the new social order, until they substitute participation in little playlets or in Ring-Around-a-Rosy games. (Or is Ring-Around-a-Rosy competitive too?)

"SURVEY ASSOCIATES" AND THE RED MOVEMENT

"Survey" and "Survey Graphic", issued by Survey Associates, blow no raucous battle horn. They do not smear their pages with blood and coarsely cry "On to the barricades, Comrades! Stab 'em good!" No. Politely, persuasively, firmly, and the more effectively, they further the **whole Red movement** but in a language pleasing to the ears of those who wear white collars and use a fork.

Mrs. Roosevelt a "Sustaining Member"

Of course, they puff Socialist Cooperatives. According to the Membership Roster as published in Survey Graphic (March 1935), the entire communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, Socialist, radical pacifist, political, communistic social worker movement of agitating intellectual radicalism is represented in it from Arthur Garfield Hays*, Florina Lasker, and other Communist-aiding A.C.L.U. executives to Gifford E. Pinchot and Mrs. Roosevelt, Socialistic political "progressives", and J. E. Spingarn, head of the Red-supported National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, now agitating to free the Communist Party organizer, Negro Angelo Herndon, for his work of sovietizing the South.

According to the membership financial report, the financial mainstay of Survey Associates would seem to be aristocratic Jews: socialistic Edward A. Filene*, who has given a million dollars recently for cooperatives, being down for large sums; Lincoln Filene for \$250; Florina Lasker (of the national board of directors of the A.C.L.U. and fellow board member of the pro-Communist New School for Social Research with Mrs. Roosevelt) \$50; Edward Lasker \$50; Loula D. Lasker, (of "Survey" staff) \$50 and \$250; Mr. and Mrs. Albert D. Lasker \$300; the Rosenwald Family Association (which supports the radical University of Chicago policies) \$200; Rosenwald Fund (di-

*See "The Red Network".

rected by radical Edwin R. Embree*) \$1,098.73 and \$3,000; Julius Rosenwald's son-in-law, Alfred K. Stern, \$350; Mr. and Mrs. Felix Warburg \$500; Judge Julian W. Mack (who has a long time record in support of radicalism) \$100; etc., etc.

Radical Supreme Court Justice Benjamin Cardozo is a cooperating member. Packer Harold H. Swift*, who supports University of Chicago radicalism, is a director and is down for \$1,400.

Among the directors are: Felix Frankfurter*, White House "power"; Roosevelt-appointee Jacob Billikopf; Nicholas Kelley* (Florence Kelley's son); Lillian Wald*; etc. Mrs. Roosevelt is a "sustaining member".

Some "Survey" New Deal Connections

While almost the entire membership is connected with some Roosevelt-supported group, members with closer Roosevelt connections include:

A. A. Berle, Jr.; Gov. Herbert Lehman and Arthur Lehman, his late brother, a fellow board member with Mrs. Roosevelt of the pro-Communist New School for Social Research; Grace Abbott*; Judge Florence E. Allen, Roosevelt appointee; Frank P. Walsh*; Roosevelt-advisor Stuart Chase*; Evans Clark*, of Filene's Twentieth Century Fund and Roosevelt's Housing Conference; Nicholas Kelley*, of Mrs. Roosevelt's National Consumers' League; Owen D. Young; Henry Bruere and Robert W. Bruere*; Frederic A. Delano; Harold L. Ickes*; "Miss" Frances Perkins; Chas. A. Beard*; Mr. & Mrs. Thos. W. Lamont; Leifur Magnusson; Josephine Roche; Donald R. Richberg*; Isaac Max Rubinow*; John A. Ryan*; Mrs. Francis Bowes Sayre (in memoriam); Mary H. Simkhovitch; Gerard Swope; Aubrey W. Williams, head of the Roosevelt's National Youth Administration; Abel Wolman; Mr. and Mrs. Henry Morgenthau; Joseph F. Guffey, member Democratic national committee; John H. Fahey of H.O.L.C.; Gertrude S. Ely; Theresa Mayer Durlach* of World Peaceways, whose radio campaign was sponsored by Mrs. Roosevelt; George W. Norris*; Robert M. Hutchins*; Leon Henderson; Prof. Alain Locke of Government-supported Howard University; Katherine F. Lenroot; Wm. M. Leiserson*; Wesley C. Mitchell*; Arthur E. Morgan*; Miss Anne Morgan; Josephine Goldmark (co-author with Justice Brandeis, whose wife was Alice Goldmark), and Pauline Goldmark, both leaders with Mrs. Roosevelt in the socialistic National Consumers' League; J. E. Spingarn* of the N.A.A.C.P.; etc., etc.

To write the radical histories of the Survey Associates' membership would necessitate writing a book.

With headquarters at 112 E. 19th St., N. Y. City (the same address as the communist American League Against War and Fascism; Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, etc.), the officers of Survey Associates in 1935 were: Pres., Lucius R. Eastman; Vice-Presidents: Julian W. Mack, Joseph P. Chamberlain, John Palmer Gavit; Editor, Paul Kellogg*; Secy., Ann Reed Brenner;

(*See "The Red Network".)

Board of Directors: Julian W. Mack, chairman, Jane Addams*, Eleanor R. Belmont, Jacob Billikopf, Alexander M. Bing, C. M. Bookman, Joseph P. Chamberlain*, Frances G. Curtis, Lucius R. Eastman, Felix Frankfurter*, Nicholas Kelley*, John A. Kingsbury*, Agnes Brown Leach*, Adele Rosenwald Levy, J. Noel Macy, Rita Wallach Morgenthau, Edward L. Ryerson, Jr.; Richard B. Scandrett, Jr.; Harold H. Swift*, Lillian D. Wald.*

CONSUMERS' RESEARCH AND CONSUMERS' UNION

The Radicals' Quarrel

The free-for-all row in the radical Consumers' Research was an amusing display of charges and counter charges.

Having heard its head, J. B. Matthews, as speaker before a Chicago Communist mass meeting, cheered when he declared that he would probably soon switch from the Socialist to the Communist Party, and knowing his record for popping in and out of executive positions in the communist American League Against War and Fascism, etc., his charges that the Communists were trying to seize control of his Consumers' Research plant were more amusing than pity-provoking.

A correspondent from his territory writes: "You may recall the great hullabaloo last Fall when it was shrieked about that Consumers' Research was oppressing its workers, and when delegations of busy-body housewives from Brooklyn and other strong Marxian communities went all the way to Washington, N. J., smashed the windows in the Consumers' Research building, overturned and burned automobiles belonging to the organization and assaulted loyal workers".

But when Matthews actually followed "capitalistic" tactics and called the police to restrain his Red brothers, he committed the unforgivable sin! His disgrace was such that he resigned from one communistic organization "to save them embarrassment".

A letter sent out by Consumers' Research (3/18/36) says that the Communists "brought extreme pressure on Mr. Matthews to persuade him to submit his manuscript to the official leaders of the Communist Party for review, criticism and approval before publication. . . . Mr. Matthews refused to accede to this demand. . . . As a result, he was especially singled out by strikers and their sympathizers and the Communist and 'liberal' press, for abuse as a 'betrayal of the working class'."

Consumers' Union Dubbed "Communist" by Matthews

The result was that the group dubbed as Communist by "Comrade" Matthews (and he ought to know) pulled out and formed the Consumers' Union, a rival organization, one of the official "Sponsors" of which is Jacob Baker, Roosevelt's Assistant Administrator of CWA-FERA-WPA; others are Gardner Jackson and Wm. Nunn,

(*See "The Red Network".)

Roosevelt appointees, and as choice a group of radicals as one could find.

Rose Schneiderman, Roosevelt's Labor Board appointee, and Mrs. Roosevelt's intimate in the National Women's Trade Union League, is one of the directors, along with Julius Hochman of the socialist International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, chairman of a N. Y. Red rally for Negro Communist Herndon (Daily Worker 10/25/35).

The president is Colston E. Warne (see "The Red Network"), a Roosevelt F.E.R.A. teacher who is leading a tour to Russia for "Open Road", affiliate of the Soviet Government travel bureau, this summer again, for the third time.

ROOSEVELT AND "THE MORE ABUNDANT LIFE"

Winter Mosquito Campaign—Example of "Boondoggling"

One may note daily, in the press, examples of "the more abundant life", sometimes termed "boondoggling" by the unsympathetic taxpayers at whose expense it is furnished by Roosevelt. The patriotic "Awakener" (12/15/34) said:

"Mosquitoes, contrary to all reason, provide the news highlight for December in New York. The man who bit the dog takes second place from now on. The more we learn the more we know we have to learn. Now who would have thought that winter was the time for a campaign against mosquitoes. Not only did somebody think about it but in Bronx County alone \$5000 is being spent each week for this unique war against an enemy long since vanquished by early fall frosts. By this time you've guessed it—it's a relief project. New Yorkers got the lowdown when an Aldermanic committee discovered that on one front an anti-mosquito army of 91 buck privates was under the command of 95 officers with a timekeeper assigned to each five men. Maybe these relief laborers need a body-guard apiece, too."

Just a Little More "Sugar"

One leftist organ (5/23/36) points out critically that Roosevelt's "more abundant life" is frequently given to those privileged ones like himself:

"One Florida sugar cane producer was paid \$1,067,665 for not producing sugar. He was not a sharecropper.

"One Hawaiian sugar company received \$1,022,037 for not raising sugar. It is not a sharecropper.

"One Puerto Rican corporation was paid \$961,064. The bank owning it is no sharecropper."

The Seattle Chronicle 3/21/36 comments lightly on the following sums spent under the inspiration of some "great intellect" of the Roosevelt regime:

"\$35,036 for a community service program at Tempe (Ariz.), a town with a population of 2500; \$1341 to construct a waterhole on a fox farm in Massachusetts; \$9478 for draining a piggery in Massa-

chusetts; \$423,126 to measure and compute area and cubic contents of buildings in Allegheny County (Pa.)."

". . . Teaching mumble-peg in WPA recreational centers was another inspiration . . . WPA is spending \$5754 in Spokane for 25 persons whose duty it is to read to 'shut-ins'."

"The Love Life of a Cow" Revealed

"Nor must we forget a memorable report on the milk industry, prepared by Dr. Walton Hale Hamilton, a college professor on the government payroll. The first part of his treatise, 81 pages, deals with 'the love life of a cow'."

The Chronicle of Rosslyn, Va., under the title, "What Does Government Have to Do With This", says (6/5/36):

"A 'Fan Dancer' was employed by government funds, in Minneapolis, to amuse the CCC workers.

"Nineteen thousand dollars was spent in Memphis to provide an improved dog pound with a costly shower bath for stray dogs, a Venetian garden, Venetian blinds, and the segregation of the aristocratic dogs, from the negro-owned, and the poor-white owned dogs, until called for by their owners.

"At Passamaquoddy, Maine, a dam to cost \$35,000,000, started by the President without authorization of congress, and abandoned after \$7,000,000 had been thrown away, was surrounded by costly modern houses for officials, some costing \$30,000 each, and furnished with costly grandfather clocks, colonial furniture, pastel painted blankets, sateen comforters, and love seats, and costly rugs and carpets.

Cost of "Guide Book" Estimated at Dollar Per Word

"For a Guide Book of the United States, \$2,689,000 was provided at Washington, the cost estimated at one dollar per word. A proposed flood control project at Johnston City, Illinois, was turned down by Washington, but the town was provided instead with \$7,344 to teach checker playing, dancing, bridge and pinochle.

"Although St. Louis, Mo., has a fine memorial to Thomas Jefferson, the government has started another at a cost of \$30,000,000 to be built on Public Works money.

"In Washington where rooms are scarce and high, one hundred families have been forced out of their apartments to provide space for brain trusters and statisticians.

"A relief worker in New York city testified that he made \$39,000, renting a plant he owned, for relief work contracts, his own salary being \$45 per week.

"The W.P.A. has set aside to present plays at theatres \$6,784,000, and one play, 'Parisian Nights,' of questionable morality, was presented to the students of a boy and girl school in New York.

"Large sums have been spent in 'Eurythmic' dancing, and the study of Hebrew Bibles, and gadgets in ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome and false teeth, breast supports, corset springs, and anything

ordered from the White House for relief workers, at public expense, has been issued."

A "Record Breaker"—Passamaquoddy

The Chicago Examiner (6/30/36) said, editorially:

"As to the Passamaquoddy project, we reproduce the words of Dr. Karl T. Compton, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a qualified and scientific, as well as unprejudiced, observer. He said:

"The Quoddy project is planned to deliver some 30,000 kilowatts of electric power. Its investment cost will be about \$1,500 per kilowatt, a figure so high that it could not compete in economy with a steam plant even if its operating and depreciation charges were completely ignored. A steam plant, to produce the same power, would cost between \$100 and \$150 per kilowatt. It has properly been said that this project 'breaks all records in getting the least electricity for the money'."

"And this is the vote-buying project upon which the Raw Deal has already wasted over \$5,000,000 on its way to an estimated total cost of \$48,000,000 to the American taxpayer."

Caterpillars Fool "Surveyors"

"There was project No. 151 recently approved by President Roosevelt for New York. It called for the expenditure of almost half a million dollars, \$476,190 to be exact, for a survey of tent caterpillars. Just as the white collar workers were to be put on the payroll it was discovered that the 1935 crop of caterpillars turned into moths and died several weeks ago." (The Awakener 9/1/35.)

Millions for General Johnson to "Play With"

"With presidential approval, over \$20,000,000 has been placed in General Hugh S. Johnson's hands for these purposes and the allotments have been announced in part as follows: \$208,680 to discover how 'fresh' the air is over New York; \$184,800 for a house-to-house canvass to find out how much poorer the poor families are as a result of the depression; \$27,750 to determine how many people could be put to work IF every factory in the city were working at capacity; \$63,270 'to co-ordinate various triangulation systems' (?); \$128,760 to ascertain 'the economic balance of the Metropolitan area'; \$130,200 to discover how much rock there is under the surface of Manhattan; and \$533,400 for a 'model' of the city and its environs.

"The minor surveys, such as research on how beer was made by the early Egyptians and 'the effect of oxygen on the sex habits of fish', still come under the general classification of boondoggling." (The Awakener 8/1/35.)

Boondoggling Projects Cover Multitude of "Sins"

The Chicago Tribune (11/13/35), apropos of Roosevelt's "more abundant life" boondoggling projects, reported:

"Tap dancing, eurythmic dancing, making dolls, counting chickens, leaf raking, circuses, and hundreds of similar schemes must measure up to what the President had in mind—at least in his own opinion. When taxes are to be met to pay for this foolishness, this temporary amusement must give way to bitter regret that it has been permitted."

"The committee cites, among its examples of boondoggling:

"A WPA allocation of \$1,300 to maintain a corps of literary advisers in the Stockton public library to help patrons select appropriate reading.

"An allocation of \$500,000 in the borough of Queens, New York, to make bridle paths more attractive for horsemen.

"For the building of two islands in Indiana Lake state park in Logan county, Ohio, \$46,690.

"To relocate Russell brook, a stream at Winchester, Mass., \$11,676.

"To put roofs over horses' heads at the state fair in Kern county, California, \$4,252.

"To construct a water hole on a fox farm at Everett, Mass., \$1,341.

"For rat extermination in Cleveland, \$8,868.

"For construction of two concrete shuffle boards and a giant concrete checker board in Ashland, O., \$744.

"To blast away an overhanging rock at Buncombe, Wis., \$2,550.

"To take a census of city trees at Harrisburg, Pa., \$2,712.

"To measure and compute cubic contents of buildings in Allegheny county, Pa., \$423,126.

"To study Russian rainfall, \$800.

"To repair the executive mansion of Gov. Lehman of New York, \$4,456.

"To build a road between Skull Valley, Ariz. (population 80), and Yava, Ariz. (population 75), so members of the two communities might visit each other, \$81,611."

"The More Abundant Life"—for Roosevelt

As Roosevelt praises himself as a national hero, thundering forth denunciations of "privilege", one is reminded that no one is more privileged than he. He is listed in the Social Register as a member of sixteen fashionable clubs, and has an inherited fortune, an estate on the Hudson, a great estate in the south, and a town house in New York, and great power as President of the U.S.A., and is paid, besides, \$100,000 per year in salary and expenses by the American people and lodged in the beautiful White House.

In the past he has fished aboard the Nourmahal with millionaire Vincent Astor, but, as the Chicago Tribune stated (3/25/36):

"Both of his former fishing comrades are intimately tied up with pending ship subsidy legislation and their benefits under previous regulations have been the subject of much criticism. Mr. Roosevelt was advised to take his cruise this year aboard the cutter, **reconditioned for him at a cost of \$160,000.**"

None of the poor or middle class people and very few of the business magnates, highly paid like Roosevelt, whom he thunders against, are privileged to vacation as he does. Columnist Paul Mallon (9/27/34) said:

"President Roosevelt certainly overlooked a bet by not subletting the White House this summer. He probably could have balanced the budget, if he had. A checkup shows he has been out of Washington about three months since the first of the year; that he has been here forty-five days since June 1 and sixteen days since July 1.

"His trips this year included: March 28 to April 14, in Florida fishing; May 31 to June 4, Gettysburg speech and Hyde Park visits; June 21, at Yale for a degree; July 1 to Aug. 10, Hawaiian cruise; Aug. 16 to Sept. 26, at Hyde Park.

"But the end is not yet. The president plans to go to Warm Springs about Thanksgiving for a few weeks."

The Federal Trade Commission Conveniently "Overlooks"

The Federal Trade Commission list of contributors to F.D.R.'s 1932 campaign fund purported to show large donations from utility executives to the President Hoover and President Coolidge campaigns with no such contribution to the Democratic Party in 1932.

"An examination by The Tribune, of records from which the FTC claimed to have compiled its listings, showed 11 gifts by utility executives totaling \$53,800. Confronted with The Tribune list, FTC officials at first insisted that the list could not have been obtained from the same records and then plead that they could not always identify contributors." (Chicago Tribune 11/10/35.)

So the utilities, after all, contributed toward digging their own graves and received not even gratitude from the "cemetery" officials.

Roosevelt's "Camco" and His German Marks

To quote the Seattle Business Chronicle (2/22/36):

"Editorial in Spokane Spokesman-Review—In view of Mr. Roosevelt's persistent scolding of 'the money-changers,' and his own operations as a 'money changer' in the boom years before the collapse of 1929, Spokane investors who bought \$300,000 of his Camco stock will be interested in this recent editorial in the Chicago Tribune:

"He talks of 'unscrupulous moneychangers,' and forgets that he ran a neat little pool in German marks, when the exchange rates were running wild.

"He speaks with justified contempt of 'the manipulations of dishonest speculators,' conveniently forgetting those stock-peddling circulars of only a few years ago which bore his name. Mr. Roosevelt, who lent his name and his reputation to the flotation of Camco, one of the wildest of the boom-time promotions, now dares to denounce stock jobbery. The suckers who placed faith in the business competence and integrity of Franklin D. Roosevelt, director of the Consolidated Automatic Vending Machine Company, do not speak over nation-wide hook-ups, but they have not forgotten."

"'If you think they have forgotten,' remarks Business Chronicle of Seattle, 'inquire at Spokane and in the Inland Empire. Hundreds of thousands of dollars from trusting people there were swallowed in the stock-jobbing scheme to which Franklin D. Roosevelt lent his name.'"

"Mr. Roosevelt was a director of the Consolidated Automatic Vending Machine Company, euphemistic term for a concern that tried to effect a merger of the slot machine manufacturers. He was president of 'United European Investors, Ltd.,' the concern, as the Chicago Tribune says, that 'ran a neat little pool in German marks when the exchange rates were running wild.'"

Dutch Schultz and a Roosevelt Gubernatorial Victory

The Hudson News of Union City, N. J., claimed that Dutch Schultz, an underworld character, later "taken for a ride", in return for protection was a Democratic wheel horse in the Bronx and won the gratitude of Roosevelt under peculiar circumstances so that Roosevelt refused to allow "14 stock swindlers", Dutch Schultz's associates, to be extradited. To quote the issue of 10/4/35:

"Hague long ago was told by his New York mason's material supply partner, Alfred E. Smith, how Schultz—for years a lieutenant of Edward J. Flynn, Roosevelt-Farley Democratic boss of the Bronx—used his large corps of beer and number runners to stuff the ballot boxes in the 1928 election when Franklin D. Roosevelt barely defeated Albert Ottinger, then attorney general of New York and Republican candidate for governor.

"Smith told Hague that in that election the results were not definitely known until six p.m. the day following, and that out of a total of more than FOUR AND A QUARTER MILLION votes for the governorship, Roosevelt only won by the scant majority of 25,000 votes. Smith had occasion to remember all the memorable events of that election because he had lost his own New York state the same day that Herbert Hoover swept him to defeat throughout the nation."

Roosevelt, When Governor, Protected Communist Agitator

Fred Biedenkapp, alternate member of the central executive committee of the Communist Party and national secretary of the communist Shoe and Leather Workers' Industrial Union, amalgamated some 70,000 shoe workers in the East under Communist leadership in 1934. He has ruined a number of shoe companies with his disastrous Communist strikes and agitations. Mr. Chas. G. Wood, the long time patriotic Commissioner of Conciliation, U. S. Dept. of Labor (ousted by "Miss" Perkins at the request of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union), cited Biedenkapp's long police record and in his testimony, 7/16/30, before the Congressional Committee investigating Communist activities headed by Congressman Fish (see Report, Volume 1, part 3, p. 115), he said:

"Beidenkapp was one of the men indicted in Massachusetts. He is still under indictment. Governor Allen tried to have him extradited to Massachusetts, but Beidenkapp resisted it, and **Governor Roosevelt protected him, denied the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; and Bei-**

denkapp was kept in New York to cause all the trouble in the shoe industry."

In denying extradition of criminals, as the Hudson News pointed out, Roosevelt has treated the U. S. Constitution as a "scrap of paper", by refusing to abide by Article IV, Section II, paragraph 2, which reads:

"A person charged in any state with treason, felony or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime."

This paragraph was included in the original Constitution when it was ratified in 1789, during what the President describes as "the horse and buggy days".

"More Abundant" Speech for Roosevelt—Not His Opponents

To quote a Chicago Tribune editorial:

"In view of the fact that President Roosevelt, at the time of the newspapers' demand for an explicit reservation in the newspaper code of press rights under the first amendment of the constitution, emphatically disclaimed any intention or disposition to restrict the freedom of the press, the following statement by Senator Schall of Minnesota deserves the very special attention of all American citizens:

"After an investigation I find that it is President Roosevelt who is demanding complete censorship of the press, and not his subordinates, as he would have us believe. There is no question but what this is a fact and I have the proof.

"Congressional records show that the first attempt by Roosevelt to censor the press was made on March 29, 1933, or twenty-five days after he assumed office. On that day there was introduced into the house of representatives by Mr. Sumners of Texas House Resolution 4220, which provided a fine of \$10,000 and ten years' imprisonment for any publisher who dared to print any article concerning our government which was not passed as matter for publication by Roosevelt or one of his duly authorized agents. Under the whip of the President of the United States the bill passed the house, but that section relating to publishers was stricken out in the senate.

"Referring to the report of the judiciary committee of the house on this bill. I quote the following:

"The executive branch (Roosevelt) of the government has requested the enactment of this legislation at the earliest practicable date, and has satisfactorily demonstrated to the committee the need for it. The legislation is by its nature very properly auxiliary to the emergency legislation enacted and to be enacted by congress at the present session."

Demand for Press Censorship Roosevelt's

"Could anything be plainer or more definite as to the ultimate purposes? Roosevelt was asking for dictatorial powers over the government and a censorship bill by which he could put any publisher in

jail for ten years who dared to criticize any of his acts. This report pins the origin of the demand for censorship on President Roosevelt."

When Roosevelt's Federal Radio Commission was challenged by Ogden Reid, editor of the N. Y. Herald Tribune, to support his charges that the Federal Radio Commission exerts a virtual censorship over the radio through its czaristic licensing powers over all radio stations, he quoted the Commission's own words (AP 6/17/34):

"On Aug. 14, 1933, the commission issued a statement which began as follows:

"**"It is the patriotic, if not the bounden and legal duty of all licensees of radio broadcasting stations to deny their facilities to advertisers who are disposed to defy, ignore, or modify the codes established by the NRA,"** Commissioner Harold A. Lafount declared today in a statement." (Referring to the unconstitutional NRA foisted on the people by Roosevelt.)

"The statement then quoted Commissioner Lafount as follows:

"**"Under the radio act the commission has no right of censorship. However, the commission has the right to take into consideration the kind of programs broadcast when licensees apply for renewals. It is to be hoped that radio stations using valuable facilities loaned to them temporarily by the government, will not be placed unwittingly in an embarrassing position because of the greed or lack of patriotism on the part of unscrupulous advertisers."**"

They Should Have Booed, Instead?

"Last week Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Ingold of Islip, Long Island, were arrested by a good Democratic Constable because they were alleged to have hissed a news reel picture of the President. They were held in \$200 bail for hearing on Nov. 2." (Awakener 10/15/35.)

Roosevelt's "More Abundant Life" for Radicals

Louis Waldman, Red attorney, announced 3/2/34 the reversal by President Roosevelt of the conviction of Robert Osman, found guilty in the Canal Zone (1931) of communicating military secrets to Communists (Chicago Examiner 3/3/34). Roosevelt also pardoned 1500 Reds convicted in War time.

Mrs. Victor Berger, Red Front agitator and widow of the Austrian-born Jewish Red who was denied his seat in Congress for seditious utterances, was given \$9,856.12 on March 20, 1934 by Roosevelt's "must" Congress for Berger's pay as member of the 66th Congress during the full period which followed his expulsion from that Congress. There was no claim that he rendered service. The sole argument was that Mrs. Berger needed the money. Until Roosevelt came to give radicals "more abundant life", no Congress during the years this claim has been on file ever seriously considered granting it.

"At New York's Greenwich House, a social settlement institution, in which Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is interested, educational classes are now being conducted with teachers furnished by the Workers' Education Project of the WPA. Among the subjects taught are mass

recitations and labor drama, both pioneered by the Communists, and the economics of the New Deal." (Awakener 1/15/36.)

Greenwich House is headed by radical Mary Simkhovitch, Mrs. Roosevelt's friend who conducted the National Housing Conference of the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy in conjunction with Roosevelt's Housing officials.

Arden "Nut" Colony Favorite with Mrs. F.D.R.

"Eleanor Blue's new pet is the boondoggling community of Arden, Delaware. She has visited the colony several times lately. Her interest doesn't surprise us in the least. Harry Kemp, the vagabond poet, wrote his first impression of the settlement in this fashion, 'I stepped out of the forest straightway into the community. It was a beautiful space like a natural meadow. There stood the houses of the colonists—Single Taxers, Anarchists, Socialists, Communists—folk of every shade of radical opinion . . . who here strove to escape the galling mockeries of civilization.'

"A native was not quite so charitable as he answered Kemp's request for directions to the colony. 'What do you want to go to Arden for?', he inquired in surprise, 'they're all a bunch of nuts there.'" (The Awakener 5/15/35.)

A million dollar village project in West Va. appropriately called Red House was visited by Mrs. Roosevelt. To quote the AP despatch of 12/15/35, it is a "little farming village where homesteaders will each till an acre of land of his own, and where he will join in tilling also a 400 acre farm as a community project, all to share the work and profits.

"I think it is a marvelous thing and very well planned,' Mrs. Roosevelt said."

Alaska Project Complete American Commune, says Vandenberg

"The New Deal's rural rehabilitation scheme in the mosquito infested Mantanuska valley of Alaska was denounced on the senate floor today as 'a complete commune under the American flag' by Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg (Rep. Mich.).

"He then read two provisions of the contract entered into by the settlers, under which they agree to abide by all corporation administration regulations, including control of crop production, processing, marketing, distribution, crop rotation, soil management, and sanitation, etc., and the corporation agrees to provide such educational, cultural, health, work, and business centers as the welfare of the community may require.

"In other words, there is no one single element in the life and livelihood of this community which is not contracted into the exclusive jurisdiction of the Alaskan Rural Rehabilitation corporation, which puts up this amazing experiment,' Senator Vandenberg said.

"So we have in net essence a complete commune under the American flag. . . ." (Chicago Tribune 6/25/35.)

Mrs. F.D.R. and Sunnyside Gardens

"Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt today was among 162 defendants in a \$85,000 damage suit filed by home owners in the Sunnyside Garden development, a city housing corporation project in Queens county.

"The home owners charged the president's wife with helping the City Housing Corporation 'to perpetrate misrepresentations' which unloaded defective homes on them at excessive cost." (AP despatch 11/14/35.)

Sherwood Eddy, the revolutionary Socialist, was one of those who later allowed his Sunnyside home to be foreclosed in this fracas.

Roosevelt's "Abundant Life" for Foreigners

"Canadian farmers, for the first time in eight years, are finding it profitable to pay duty on their hogs and sell them to Detroit packers.

"The AAA slaughter of American grown porkers has brought the price of native grown pigs to the point where Ontario farmers are reaping a golden harvest at the expense of Michigan and midwest farmers.

"Figures of the bureau of foreign and domestic commerce reveal that Canadian farmers are cashing in on the AAA program. For the first 10 months of this year Canada exported 3,382,426 pounds of pork into the United States. In 1934 they exported 116,676 pounds. The tariff on dressed pork is 5 cents a pound. Under the new trade agreement, which goes into effect on Jan. 1, the duty will drop to 2½ cents a pound and meats imported from Canada are expected to increase correspondingly." (Chicago Tribune 12/16/35.)

Typical of the complaints of American business is the following from the Seattle Business Chronicle, 6/27/36:

"Out of 19 industries, it is found that labor costs of lumber and timber lead by a wide margin, amounting to 35.1% of retail price. Meat packing is lowest, with 6.2%.

"Inasmuch as Pacific Northwest lumber industry last year suffered a strike which boosted wages, and has since been compelled to contend with Canadian lumber dumped here under the Roosevelt reciprocal tariff, it is plain enough that this industry is carrying a load out of all proportion."

Lost Foreign Trade Would Pay Relief Cost

A unique pictorial chart, giving these figures, appeared in the United States News (Washington 5/25/36) headed: "Lost Foreign Trade of the United States Would Have Paid the Federal Relief Bill".

It shows for 1934:	Lost foreign trade	\$3,331,688,000
	Spent for Relief, 1934	\$2,338,000,000
It shows for 1935:	Lost foreign trade	\$3,252,679,000
	Spent for relief	\$3,188,000,000
It shows for 1936:	Lost foreign trade	\$3,000,000,000
(Estimated)	Spent for Relief	\$3,044,000,000

How Roosevelt Balances the Budget

It is fortunate that figures have no "Bishop" to force them to retract charges that Roosevelt and his henchmen are prevaricators, as in the case of Father Coughlin. Imagine what a red face these figures would have!

While Roosevelt and his Postmaster "fight promoter", or campaign manager, pointed with pride to the 1934 annual report of the Post Office Department showing a SURPLUS of \$12,161,415.03, the Secretary of the Treasury's Annual Report shows the Post Office had a DEFICIT of \$52,003,296.00. (Just a little discrepancy of \$64,164,711.03.)

In 1935, the Annual Report of the Post Office Department announced a SURPLUS of \$4,964,149.31; but the Secretary of the Treasury's Annual Report shows the Post Office Department had a DEFICIT of \$63,970,405.00. (Just a little difference of \$68,934,554.31.)

The figures on the increase in franked mail carried at public expense under the Roosevelt regime are also amazing.

Does Roosevelt Follow This System?

The entire Roosevelt system of accounting to the public for wasted funds reminds one of the story of the old Irish woman who rivaled the women's magazines recipe columns by telling how she made 48 lamp chimneys out of 12 glass bottles filled with champagne "wather". Opening them first and drinking the contents of the bottles as she snatched them one by one while they circled around her faster and faster, she concluded, "And whin I counted thim, I found I had 48 lamp chimneys out of 12 glass bottles."

Roosevelt's Tax Program and Expenditures

According to the widely published figures, from the administration of the first President of the U.S.A., George Washington, until the beginning of Woodrow Wilson's administration, 1789-1913—a period of 124 years, the expenses of running the U.S. government were \$24,521,845,000.

President Roosevelt's administration expenses, actual for 1934 and estimated for 1935 and 1936, a total of three years, are \$24,206,653,000.

Before Roosevelt was elected and made this record, he truly said in a campaign speech in which he promised to reduce taxes, in order to gain this power (Pittsburgh 10/19/32):

"TAXES ARE PAID in the sweat of every man who labors If excessive, they are reflected in idle factories, tax-sold farms and, hence, in hordes of the hungry tramping the streets and seeking jobs in vain. Our workers may never see a tax bill, but they pay in deductions from wages, in increased cost of what they buy, or (as now) in broad cessation of employment Our people and our business cannot carry its excessive burdens of taxation"

Credit loans, doles and bonus payments floated on taxpayers' credit have at present temporarily stimulated American business, while the

millions of unemployed are being fed, and radicalized by Roosevelt's "Workers' Education", Communist plays, etc., so that when the dole stops the hungry will be ready not only to **tramp** but to **march for revolution**.

According to the American Federation of Labor, in March, 1936, there were 12,184,000 unemployed, and in January, 1936, at least 19,000,000 people were receiving relief grants, according to Relief Administrator Hopkins.

Communist Party Backs His Program

The Communist Party has most heartily backed Roosevelt's tax program as a means of ending the American system of capitalism or private ownership. Said the Communist Party's Daily Worker 4/5/36 appreciatively, after quoting Roosevelt's remarks: "Communists have for a long time advocated taxing corporate surpluses . . . The government has taken an hesitating step in the right direction."

To quote a press report: "The New Deal's proposed punitive tax on undivided surpluses of corporations received the indorsement tonight of the Communist party."

"Announcement that the Red group was for the new levy was made by Communist Max Bedacht of New York City before a night session of the house ways and means committee. The Communist approval was the most wholehearted support for the revolutionary tax program during the last four days of the hearing.

"Of course, we are in favor of this tax," asserted Bedacht, a short, stockily built man with graying hair.

"Bedacht also said that the Communists were in harmony with the statement made by a New Dealer, Robert Jackson, counsel for the bureau of internal revenue, in testifying before a senate committee in connection with loopholes in the income tax system." (Chicago Tribune 4/3/36.)

Try This On Your Piano

Why go to the expense of buying jig saw puzzles or costly games? Just sit down and spend an evening with your friends puzzling out the meaning of Roosevelt's Revenue Bill, as passed by the House of Representatives, so obscurely and adroitly worded that the foremost financial authorities admit their inability to understand it. This obscurity may be very convenient in the future when Roosevelt henchmen interpret it. Nathan Margold did a good job of "interpreting", according to Administration desires, the clearer Indian Bill (see under "Communizing the Indians").

Try this paragraph from the Revenue Bill over on your mental piano and "play vamp until ready" to quit:

"If the Dividend Credit is a percentage of the adjusted net income which is less than 62.5 (and such percentage is not shown in the foregoing table) the tax shall be a percentage of the adjusted net income equal to the sum of 7.5, plus eleven thirty-firsts of the amount by which 62.5 exceeds the percentage which the dividend credit is of the adjusted net income." Clear? As mud!

"2% of the People Own 98% of the Wealth"

No radical speech, whether it be political, radical pacifist, ministerial, or "soap-box", is complete without a thundering statement that 2% of the population (1%, 3%, 200 men—take your choice of figures; they are varied to suit the whim of the speaker) control 70%, 90% or 98% (again, take your choice) of the wealth of America. The idea is then, in the popular words of the Union Square soap-boxer, that "Ve must re-wolt! Down vid de ca-pit-alists!"

Of course Roosevelt, in Harvard accent, phrases the idea differently. He calls his ca-pit-alist friends "economic royalists", gentlemen in "well-stocked clubs", representatives of "entrenched greed", and berates the "privileged few". But the idea is the same, and Marx is the father of it.

Department of Commerce Figures on National Income

These figures are therefore of interest:

"Radical propaganda to the effect that '2% of the people of United States take 70% of the national income,' is given the lie by figures just announced by U.S. Department of Commerce. Of the \$49,440,000,000 national income in 1934, labor got \$33,109,000,000, or 67%. In 1929, it got but 65%.

"Relief wages accounted for \$1,394,000,000, or 2.8% of the amount labor received, so that regularly employed labor was apportioned 64.2%, or practically what it got in 1929 of the national income.

"These cold, dispassionate facts should nail the assertions of Huey Longs, Father Coughlins, Upton Sinclairs and the like. But they are not likely to sway those who choose to believe in demagogues." (Seattle Business Chronicle 8/28/35.)

"National income for 1935 amounted to \$48,500,000,000, says the Department of Commerce. Of this amount, 89.6% or \$43,500,000,000, went to persons whose income was less than \$5000 per year. Only 9.4% went to persons receiving from \$5000 to \$100,000, which leaves less than 1% going to persons with incomes of more than \$100,000.

"These figures seem to shatter the arguments of agitators that a few persons in this country got most of the wealth. Nine-tenths of the incomes went to the little fellows receiving less than \$5000 annually.

"By the same token, out of 29,904,663 families in this country, 14,002,074 own their own homes. Likewise, one of every two persons in America has a life insurance policy.

"These facts should be kept before the public. Too long has Business and Industry ignored the lies of troublemakers, until the reiterated falsehoods have become accepted as fact by many who should be better informed." (Seattle Business Chronicle 2/8/36.)

Some Pertinent Facts on National Wealth

Dr. Virgil Jordan, President of the National Industrial Conference Board, says:

"In 1932 there were in all sorts of banks in United States more than 45 million saving deposits belonging mostly to different persons and

aggregating more than \$25,000,000,000. There were about 10,000,000 members of building and loan associations who together owned assets amounting to nearly \$8,000,000,000. There were 115,000,000 life insurance policies in force with face value of more than \$100,000,000,000. The total claims of these millions amounted to about half the estimated value of the national wealth.

"Besides, in 1930, 14,000,000 families, or half the families in the country, owned their own homes. More than half of all the farmers owned their farms. There was an automobile for four out of five families. Two out of three families had telephones and electricity, and 40 per cent had radios."

"Only between 2,000 and 3,000 corporations have securities listed on any stock exchange and there are almost half a million whose stock is not listed on any exchange. About 2,000,000 individuals and partnership business concerns are not incorporated at all and are owned mostly by those who run them. The ownership of the very few large corporations is widely spread among many small stockholders. The 151 leading corporations in the United States at the beginning of this year (1934) were owned by nearly 10,000,000 people."

The Conference of Methodist Laymen, formed by patriotic Christians wishing to remain Methodist, but not to be Socialized by the Harry Ward Leninist enthusiasts, published "Which Way America?" by its executive committee member Ernest M. Sims, in which the following appears:

"But wealth is not money. 'Currency, bank deposits, securities,' as Dr. Jordan puts it, 'are only tickets that have been issued against the real things' we possess. Most of these tickets 'represent land, bricks, concrete, steel beams,' and other articles which cannot be divided without destroying their value."

Henry Ford Comments

Sims quotes from an interview with Mr. Henry Ford (N. Y. Times 7/7/35) his comments on the "share-the-wealth" proposal:

"There is nothing new to it. It has been proposed over and over again and always given up as impracticable. . . . The minute you hear any of them talking about sharing wealth you hear them begin to talk about money. There is where the great hitch occurs. They go around making speeches leading people to imagine that it is a comparatively easy thing to get all the money and divide it. What they do not explain to their audience is the fact that money is not wealth.

"Money is one part of the bookkeeping system of society. It may represent wealth, but it is not wealth itself. Take this company; every one knows it is a wealthy company. What does its wealth consist of? Money? Certainly not. Its wealth is made up of productive plants, machinery and the rest of the things that go with them.

"What would the people who propose to share the wealth do with an organization such as ours? Should the machinery be confiscated and divided among those who have no machinery, or should

the plant be taken over and run by a bunch of theorists or politicians? How long do you think it would last under such conditions? Not one proposer of this share-the-wealth idea has taken the trouble to explain how an organization such as ours might be taken over and divided and still remain a source of national wealth.'"

Again quoting Sims: "What most would-be wealth levelers fail to understand is that nothing can be distributed until it is produced. Society can only progress and the common standard of living be raised by the most efficient use of the means of production. The extent to which wealth is now distributed in the United States, and there is no other place nor time where the division has been remotely comparable, is due to the vast output of commodities for the satisfaction of human wants by the private operation of production facilities. Except for the small part retained by proprietors for living expenses and benefactions, all of the value of production has been returned to society and in enormously larger volume than could be possible under the waste and inefficiency of public management."

Would You Trust Politicians with All Business?

The whole question resolves itself into the argument: Are politicians more honest and efficient than business men? Would we be better off to turn over everything into political keeping than to have private ownership with sensible constitutional regulation?

Roosevelt's "Breathing Spell" for Business

In Russia, when the people were on the point of revolt and the whole political machine was threatened with collapse, Lenin came out with his "New Economic Policy", which allowed private business to revive until he gained power to strangle it finally.

The "breathing spell" which Roosevelt has announced that he is graciously granting to American business will probably last until after the next election.

In Mexico, in 1927, the Calles Red anti-religious and anti-property forces were arousing American threat of intervention and Mrs. Roosevelt's "Non-Intervention Citizens' Committee" (see "The Red Network") was formed to help stall off American interference with Red progress. Presently there was a lull. Churches were opened and the people made to believe that they might worship God in peace. Now much American property has been confiscated and lies in weeds, and Marxian atheist education is an accomplished fact in the public schools of Mexico. The Reds in the saddle expect that all religion will be extinct in Mexico when the old people die off.

Sept. 2, 1935, Roosevelt wrote to his friend Roy W. Howard (of the socialist-supporting Scripps-Howard newspapers), whose interview with Stalin is printed and on sale in Communist Party book stores in pamphlet form. Roosevelt said of his own socialistic program:

"This basic program, however, has now reached substantial completion and the **breathing spell** of which you speak is here—very decidedly so."

With the knocking out of the NRA, the inflationary effects of pre-election credit spending, bonus money, etc., business is now enjoying an apparent boom which may re-elect Roosevelt. While the debt mounts, the unemployed still number millions and the issue remains to be settled whether we shall go ahead with Roosevelt and confiscate all property under Socialist complete political control, with its attendant graft, or retrace the long hard road to solvency and private ownership or capitalism, as a means of supplying jobs and paying necessary taxes.

The London Patriot (4/16/36) commented: "President Roosevelt's Socialism is bringing the country steadily to the abyss which is always the end when Socialist theories are put into practice. We in this country had the experience in 1931 after two years' governance by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his Socialist friends."

Professional Jealousy Among Radicals

The Communist Daily Worker jealously claimed (12/6/34) that Father Coughlin stole 90% of his speeches from Marxism without having the decency to give credit to his source. Father Coughlin recently said of his political movement with the long-time radical, Lemke: "We are supposed to be the Leftist party, but as a magnet attracts steel, so does the President attract Communists. Every bird knows its own nest."

What Some Red Leaders Say of Roosevelt

Abraham Cahan

The Socialist Party leader, Abraham Cahan, Russian-born editor of the socialist Jewish Daily Forward, said (7/5/35):

"Time was, not so long ago, when the language of Socialism was spoken by Socialists only, but today it is the language of the President and of Congress. . . . We were branded as dreamers, but now our dreams are being realized."

His comment on Roosevelt's acceptance speech at the Democratic convention, 1936, was:

"It's all too interesting, and the most interesting part of it to me is Roosevelt. To me it's a great historical event; a Democratic candidate running along Socialist lines. There has been nothing so important since the election of Lincoln. Roosevelt's speech of acceptance is the kind Socialists used to make."

G. B. Shaw

George Bernard Shaw, whose smart aleck Socialist thrusts at religion, morality, and capitalism have long amused a tolerant world, now boasts of his outright Communism, and pays what he considers a compliment to Roosevelt. The AP despatch of 2/7/36, concerning Shaw's arrival in Havana, quotes him as saying that President Roosevelt was a Communist, but didn't know it, and adding: "Roosevelt is gradually beginning to realize he is one, though."

Heywood Broun

Heywood Broun, a Roosevelt appointee, who resigned some time ago from the Socialist Party with the complaint that it was not Red enough for him, as speaker at the New York Earl-Browder-Norman-Thomas love feast debate, pleaded, "We want the united front" (Daily Worker 11/29/35). He backed the Communist Party 1936 convention (Daily Worker 6/18/36) and now heads their People's Committee for a Farmer-Labor Party (146 W. 45th St., N. Y. City), of which Mrs. Roosevelt's "peace" associate, Marcantonio, is a member.

In 1929, he was on the national committee of the Communist Party's Workers' International Relief. His socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy, "pacifist" and similar affiliations are extensive. Like other leading "pacifists", he is proud of being arrested while stirring up trouble in Red strikes.

His most potent Red activity at present is his attempt to organize all newspaper men in his American Newspaper Guild, the vice-president of which is Morris Watson, contributor to the communist New Theatre magazine and supervisor, in New York, of Roosevelt's Communist "living newspaper" play, "Triple A Plowed Under".

When Watson was dismissed by the Associated Press in connection with his radical American Newspaper Guild activities, Roosevelt's National Labor Relations Board forced the A.P. to restore him to his position. The opinion denouncing the A.P. was given for Roosevelt's radical N.L.R.B. by Dean Chas. E. Clark of Yale University Law School (Daily Worker 4/27/36).

Broun Enthuses Over Roosevelt

Heywood Broun jubilantly writes in "The Nation" (7/4/36) about the Democratic convention under the title "Roosevelt Comes Up Swinging":

"Only two things were exciting. One was the platform and Roosevelt wrote that, and the other was the speech at Franklin Field and that was Roosevelt's also. Concerning both the speech and the platform it may be said that they deal in generalities, but a general statement may at times be far stronger than a specific one. Take, for instance, the plank on a possible constitutional amendment. This is so loosely drawn that it gives the President power to take any stand he pleases. . . .

"Roosevelt did a great deal in his acceptance speech to riddle that vague sort of liberty and freedom of which Hoover talked. The issue is pretty sharply drawn. . . .

"It is by no means fantastic to hail the New Dealers as constituting the nucleus for a true Farmer-Labor Party. . . .

"When the Farmer-Labor Party moves into action in 1940, I think it may be shown that the work of Franklin D. Roosevelt and John L. Lewis in connection with the Democratic conclave of 1936 did quite a lot to prepare the ground."

"Today" Reveals Roosevelt's Program

The magazine "Today", Roosevelt's mouthpiece or "Pravda", says editorially (6/6/36) and characteristically, that "Norman Thomas' speech rejecting the New Deal as not even an imitation brand of Socialism **may reassure a lot of conservative Democrats and keep them in the party,**" and revealingly says of the socialist Amalgamated Clothing Workers, now supporting Roosevelt nationally, while organizing the communist-socialist Farmer-Labor Party locally:

"Advocates of the Farmer-Labor Party at the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' convention sadly suggested that it be put on ice for another election. Almost everything that the Farmer-Labor movement said it wanted, years ago, has been put into the form of legislation by the New Deal. Most of it, to be sure, has been thrown out by the Supreme Court. So that the chief accomplishment of the Farmer-Labor movement since its birth has been mapping the hitherto-unknown shores of that frozen continent, the Supreme Court."

Which leaves only the Supreme Court to surmount after Roosevelt's reelection.

Constitution Tinkering

There were, as Mr. John B. Trevor, President of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, pointed out in the patriotic National Republic (12/35) "sixty five resolutions which propose to alter our Constitution" before Congress in the last session. The most violent of these was the proposal of Mrs. Roosevelt's Red "peace" associate, Vito Marcantonio, which would completely communize the United States.

The Communist Party's Daily Worker (6/5/36) under "Questions and Answers" said:

"The Communist Party supports all proposals for constitutional amendments to curb the power of the Supreme Court. We hope that all those in favor of such an amendment will come together and agree upon a particular form. . . .

"It is just as easy to change the policy of the Supreme Court as it is to change the policy of Congress. What is needed is a sufficiently powerful, organized mass demand."

Roosevelt's "Instruments of Public Power"

In Roosevelt's message to Congress 1/3/36, he said:

"In 34 months we have built up new instruments of public power." He has, indeed, set up emergency agencies, "loosely and extravagantly set up, and tax-consuming in the extreme", as retiring Comptroller-General John R. McCarl said (Chicago Examiner 7/1/36), and, as he added, "They have abolished only one agency, and that was the bureau of efficiency, created by President Hoover."

But Roosevelt neglected to state that his "new instruments of public power" were declared by the Supreme Court to be dictatorial usurpations of public power, invasions of American rights and liberties and violations of the Constitution he glibly swore to uphold

in order to get power but as glibly called a "relic of horse and buggy days" when it blocked his further demands for power.

The Supreme Court held to be unconstitutional: his Oil Control NRA "Instrument of Power" (1/7/35); his NRA "Instrument of Power" (5/27/35); his Railroad Pension Act "Instrument of Power" (5/6/35); his tyrannical dismissal of Commissioner Humphrey of the Federal Trade Commission (5/27/35); his Frazier-Lemke Farm Mortgage Moratorium "Instrument of Power" (5/27/35); his Soviet-like AAA Act "Instrument of Power" (1/6/36), which had an Amendment providing a jail sentence and a \$1,000 fine for anyone buying or selling a bag of potatoes without authority from Roosevelt's "Commissar"; his Guffey Coal Act "Instrument of Power" (5/18/36), to sovietize the Coal industry, which he ordered his "must" Congress to pass "despite reasonable doubts of its constitutionality"; his Municipal Corporation Bankruptcy "Instrument of Power" (5/25/36); and, to quote Mr. Crandal Mackey, Democratic Anti-New Dealer and pro-American (Rosslyn Chronicle 6/5/36):

"His Instrument of Power whereby he repudiated the bonds of the United States payable in gold, was declared unconstitutional, but he has paid no attention to the Supreme Court in this respect, and continued to redeem bonds payable in gold, with fifty-nine cent paper dollars, with no backing save the taxing power of the government, making it hard, if not impossible, for this government to sell its bonds in time of war, as was pointed out by the Supreme Court."

Roosevelt's Joint Resolution of Congress "Instrument of Power", invalidating the Gold clause in existing Government bonds, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court 2/18/35.

Russian Predictions About Roosevelt Realized

Carveth Wells, well known author, world traveler, and lecturer, who returned from Russia just before Roosevelt was elected in 1932, told of the assured plans of the Soviets for Russian recognition, etc., if Roosevelt were elected. And these plans have been fulfilled.

Clarence P. Oakes, newspaper columnist, lecturer, world traveler and, since his extended tour of Russia, anti-Communist, stated, 1/13/36, what he had recently learned in Russia concerning Communist support of Roosevelt in 1936. This support is now a reality. To quote:

"In Soviet Russia I talked with many communists who were well informed upon the political situation in the United States and in the part American communist sympathizers were playing. The various opinions expressed about the New Deal and Franklin D. Roosevelt would sum up to about the following, 'We (communists) supported Roosevelt against the fascist Hoover because we believed him to be friendly to our ideals. And now, even though he has disappointed us and gone only part way in the direction of our program we shall probably instruct our forces in the United States to support him again in 1936' (which they subsequently did in August, 1935). 'Our hope now is that if he can be kept in office for eight years he will

have our forces built up and the forces of capitalism beaten down, and that he will have the entire economic and financial structure of the country so demoralized that everything will be ripe for our revolution."

Building A Red-Front Farmer-Labor Party

The Communist Party's Daily Worker (4/21/36) said:

"Every electoral struggle has to be carried on within the formal rules laid down in the Constitution, which are undemocratic in many more ways than this question mentions. But it would be ridiculous to look on this as an obstacle to the building of a national Farmer-Labor Party able to take power.

"All these struggles are the necessary preliminaries which will create a party capable of taking power nationally. At the same time, by weakening the power of finance capital and its political agents, they prepare the way for further steps."

Roosevelt's Communist-Socialist Support

Although the Communist-Socialist Parties have as nominal presidential candidates their old leaders Earl Browder and Norman Thomas, Roosevelt is now the actual candidate of their Communist-Socialist joint Farmer-Labor Party which intends, by 1940, through him, to achieve complete power. To quote Earl Browder, Sec'y of the Communist Party U.S.A.:

"To the degree that we successfully achieve unity of action with the Socialists, for the building of the Farmer-Labor Party, and for the immediate current struggles of the masses for the economic and political interests, for the fight against fascism and war, to that degree we are opening up perspectives for the organic unity of Socialists and Communists in one revolutionary party of socialism. We are coming to the end of that period, which began with the World War and the Russian Revolution, of the world-wide split in the Socialist movement. We are entering the period of the healing of the split. . . ."

The decisions of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of U.S.A., as printed in the June, 1936, "Communist", monthly theoretical organ of the Communist Party, includes this:

"In outlining the immediate tasks of the Communist Party, Comrade Browder summed them up as follows:

"1. Mobilize and organize the masses to combat capitalist reaction, fascism and war, and work for the defeat of the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst combination in the elections of 1936.

"2. Press forward with the struggle for the Farmer-Labor Party as the only effective barrier to reaction and fascism. The evident impossibility of securing at this time a sufficiently broad basis for a Farmer-Labor presidential ticket in 1936 makes it even more imperative than heretofore to fight for the organization of the Farmer-Labor Party in the localities, by states and also nationally. In united action of the Communist Party with the Socialist Party, for which we must strive most energetically, it is possible to win broad sections

of toilers for the realization of the program, including large numbers of those who have committed themselves to the support of Roosevelt as against the Republican-Liberty League-Hearst combination in 1936."

Roosevelt's Tactics Resemble Socialists'

The swerving tactics and disregard of facts and promises of Roosevelt, which successfully confuse the electorate, have sound precedent in Socialist procedure, which always employs deception, camouflage and lies when expedient to further the Red movement. What aids Socialism is moral, is the Red teaching, what hinders it is immoral.

Norman Thomas, for years and now, a director of the communist Garland Fund, has long played a wary role in coordinating the Socialist and Communist Parties without endangering the Socialist Party branch of the Red movement through possible legal repression and illegality.

Note his advice, in the "pacifist" communist-Garland-Fund-supported "World Tomorrow" (4/26/34), just before his Socialist Party convention which went on record for seizure of power if the government should **break down** (a hedge which deceived no one):

Worker Should Meet Fascist Force with Force—Norman Thomas

"This is an article intended primarily for members of the Socialist Party, in which I shall endeavor to give my point of view on the principal problems that will face the Convention in Detroit at the end of May.

"This is a struggle that cannot be won by a city proletariat irrespective of the farming population and of the white-collar groups which persist in thinking of themselves as middle-class. It is certainly a struggle which cannot be won if, discontented with our lack of progress and our somewhat unaggressive course since the World War, we try to give a slightly more polite and possibly more 'American' version of Communist tactics and theories to the public. Nor can we possibly prevail against Fascist violence and dictatorship by **boasting of our intention to resort to both**. It is clear enough that **workers will meet Fascist force with force—as they should—but our immediate duty is to use every possible pressure on government to see that Fascists are not allowed to create private troops, armed and uniformed, as some of their groups seem to be doing today**. We know the dangers of carrying on our struggle through semi-military bodies, with all the attractions they have for bullies and spies. Therefore our insistence upon preventing the organization of armed Fascist bands rather than attempting to answer them by regimented bands of workers. **If that becomes necessary it must be made clear that it is the Fascists who have forced it upon us.**

"In the light of the history of the Communist Party, not only in Germany but in the United States, it is absurd to imply as does the Appeal in its opening paragraphs that the Socialist Party

would be stronger if it espoused the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the contrary the Party would sign its own death warrant by such a **DECLARATION**. The phrase means one thing, and one thing only, to the average American—party dictatorship of the sort the Communists advocate. If we declare for it **we shall have lost our reason for existence** and will be ground between the upper and nether millstones of fascism and communism. Today **talk of dictatorship** plays into the hands of the Fascists.

"On the other hand, when we talk of democracy we have something more and different to say than certain recent defenders of social democracy in our Party have been saying. **We do not put democracy**, least of all a mechanical and hypocritical democracy, **ahead of socialism**. **We do not commit ourselves on all future tactics** when we insist on the double truth that the true goal of socialism is a democratic society and that socialism is necessary to true democracy." (Reds use the word "democracy" for the word "socialism".)

Communist and Socialist Parties in Joint May Day Meeting

The Communist Party's Daily Worker (4/9/36) reporting the joint Communist Party and Socialist Party May Day mass meeting at Ashland Blvd. Auditorium, Chicago, said:

"Norman Thomas, the first speaker, following the pageant, stressed the need and possibilities for unity in a militant manner. . . .

"But there was one little incident of the evening which gave me great hope and impressed me perhaps more than anything else. When Norman Thomas got up to speak, the group of YPSLs in blue shirts and red ties saluted him as a Guard of Honor, bearing great red flags. This caused commotion among the YCL ranks. They wanted to give Clarence Hathaway a similar ovation. I was quickly dispatched to the balcony where the older contingent of Young Pioneers, preparing to perform a scene from their coming operetta, 'Strike Me Red,' sat, to get those in Pioneer uniform to come down and be a Guard of Honor for Hathaway. There was much hurrying and scurrying, lots of excitement; their leader objected—this sort of thing needed rehearsal, you try mobilizing a bunch of thirty kids in a hurry at a mass meeting for even a salute. Nevertheless he set to work. We must have a demonstration for our leaders to match the Socialists for theirs! Rushing downstairs to report progress, I was greeted by a breathless YCLer. 'Never mind! Never mind!' she cried. 'The YPSLs are going to do it!' And when Hathaway got up to speak, the same band of sober young Socialists in neat uniforms, carrying great red flags, saluted him, while the crowd cheered." (Y.P.S.L. is the Young People's Socialist League, and Y.C.L., the Young Communist League.)

Tom Mooney

Anarchist-Communist Tom Mooney was connected with the Anarchist paper "The Blast" (a good Anarchist title suggestive of his activities) at the time when he was convicted of bombing the San Francisco Preparedness Day parade, 7/22/16, killing 10 and in-

juring 50 persons. In a letter reproduced in the Daily Worker, 9/12/33, the secretary of the Socialist Party is quoted as saying:

"Tom Mooney was expelled from the English speaking branch of the Socialist Party of San F. in 1913 for the very same thing for which he is now in jail, for the advocacy of dynamiting. He later joined the Hungarian branch. In spite of this, the Socialist Party has and will struggle for the release of Mooney."

Mooney Says "Roosevelt and Me!"

When Mooney was having one of his perennial re-hearings, 9/19/35, Roosevelt's good friend and appointee Frank P. Walsh, Mooney's attorney, "sought to have Mooney's remarks stricken from the record". As the Daily Worker (9/20/35) stated:

"The firm beliefs expressed by Tom Mooney yesterday in the class struggle, the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system of hunger and war and the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat were stricken today from the record of his hearing for a writ of habeas corpus."

The reason for this precaution, of course, was that Mooney does not rate so highly with the law-abiding and he likened his principles to Roosevelt's. To quote the despatch headed: "Mooney on Stand: 'Roosevelt and Me!'" (U. S. 9/18/35): "Tom Mooney, Preparedness Day bomber, sat in a witness chair today and proclaimed himself a 'social revolutionary.'"

"He also declared that with many of his radical social views 'the President of the United States is in accord.'"

ROOSEVELT AND THE SOCIALIST PUBLIC OWNERSHIP LEAGUE

The Public Ownership League is Socialist in direction, personnel and objective.

Carl D. Thompson, its executive secretary and guiding spirit, was director of the Information Department of the Socialist Party when the Party went on record urging seditious anti-U. S. Government activities in connection with the World War. In the American Socialist (7/14/17), his article headed "Socialist Land Measure Now Pending in Congress", appealing for support of a tax bill then pending stated this:

"The first item in the Socialist program, according to Marx and Engels in the 'Communist Manifesto,' deals with the land question. It reads as follows:

"'1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.' (Communist Manifesto, Page 45, item one of immediate measures.)

"All Socialists who are interested in seeing a measure of this kind put thru will be interested in the Crosser bill, now pending in Congress. . . .

"Every Socialist, we should think, and every person interested in the better revenue bill, should interest himself in this measure and do what he can to help put it thru."

"Yours for the Revolution" People's College

He helped found and was on the controlling board of the People's College (1917), of which Bolshevik-Socialist Eugene V. Debs was chancellor and the I.W.W. Arthur LeSueur, President. It was called the "Yours for the Revolution" People's College because of the college letters sent out thus signed.

Associated with Thompson on the People's College board were: Kate Richards O'Hare, imprisoned for sedition and a founder of the Roosevelt-supported red revolutionary Commonwealth College; Socialist Chas. Edward Russell, Roosevelt appointee; Frank P. Walsh, Roosevelt appointee; etc. (American Socialist 12/2/16.) Its chancellor, Eugene V. Debs, whose memorial radio station Mrs. Roosevelt praises, was imprisoned for sedition.

The Public Ownership League carries on a campaign for step-by-step socialization of America, beginning with public utilities, on which its work concentrates. (See page 218 "The Red Network" for tactics.)

Thompson Announces Support of Roosevelt

Naturally Roosevelt has been a joy to Carl D. Thompson, who, as editor of "Public Ownership", the League's bulletin, announced with satisfaction the endorsement of Roosevelt for President by the Executive Committee of the League in the October, 1932, issue. Under the heading "Public Power the Key Issue", he said in part:

"The League has been a pioneer in these matters. It held the first public power conference that was ever convened in this country at Washington, D. C., back in 1924. With the help of Senator Norris and others, it drafted and has introduced in Congress the first public power measure in that body. . . .

"It has been active from the first in behalf of the Norris Bill for the government retention, operation and development at Muscle Shoals. It has cooperated with the cities and states of the Southwest in the promotion of the Boulder Dam project. . . .

"Naturally, therefore, the members of the League throughout the country look with favor and with justified satisfaction upon the fact that at last one of the major parties has come to consider this matter of such vital importance that it has taken a definite stand, that its candidate for president has seen fit to declare himself upon the subject,"

He follows, under the sub-heading "Roosevelt Endorsed", with the recommendations of the League's Executive Committee in favor of Roosevelt for President.

Tugwell's Views in Accord with League's

In the May 1933 issue, Thompson quotes a speech of Tugwell's under the heading "Rexford Guy Tugwell Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Sees the Way Out", concluding with Thompson's comment: "This is almost precisely the position which the Public Ownership League has held for years."

In the April 1933 issue Thompson said: "Financing Muscle Shoals and Tennessee Valley Project. We have all been thrilled at the

interview given out by President Roosevelt with regard to his plan for the development of Muscle Shoals and the Tennessee Valley. Here, it seems, at last our dream is to be realized and the splendid efforts of years of struggle rewarded"

Thompson Gloats About "Roosevelt Revolution"

In the June 1933 issue he enthused as follows: "With a veritable revolution under way at the capitol of the nation and a general confusion and lack of knowledge as to just what is going on, just what is the purpose and the meaning of revolutionary measures that are pending, we felt that it was vitally important to get down to Washington, get in touch with members of the Senate and the House and especially those who are members of our Public Ownership League, and try to find out, first hand, just what the situation is.

"A week of conferences with the various members of both Houses reveals a most remarkable, almost amazing situation. No one seems to know just what is happening nor to understand the meaning or purpose of the almost revolutionary program that is under way. And while at first thought this seems quite astonishing, perhaps it is not so remarkable after all.

"We did not find it so difficult to make an appointment with and meet President Roosevelt as we did to get an appointment and meet some of the senators and representatives. In our first conference with United States Senator Dill he urged that we should meet the President and finally succeeded in arranging an appointment.

"You Are Doing a Wonderful Work"—President Roosevelt

"President Roosevelt, as everyone knows who has met him, has a frank, open and friendly manner that is quite captivating. 'How've you been?' he said, in his characteristic and fascinating way—as though we had always been friends. Brushing aside what we naturally thought was an assumed familiarity, I began by the way of introduction to say that I was Secretary of the Public Ownership League of America, etc., but the President interrupted in his jovial manner, saying, 'I know all about it. You are doing a wonderful work. Some day I want to sit down and have a long talk with you.' And then he began to ply us with questions, indicating a better knowledge of the League and its work than I had any reason to expect. Evidently Senator Dill, J. D. Ross and others, who are close friends of the President, must have acquainted him with our work. . . .

How Many Municipal Plants Are "We Gaining"? Asks Roosevelt

"Tell me," said the President, 'HOW MANY MUNICIPAL LIGHT AND POWER PLANTS ARE WE GAINING PER YEAR?'

"That," we said, 'is rather difficult to determine. The power companies take some away from us—we take some away from them.'

"ARE WE MAKING A NET GAIN?' the President put in.

"Oh, yes, quite certainly.'

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WILLIS J. BRADDOCK
Honorary President
ALBERT M. TODD

Executive Committee

WILLIAM H. ROSS, CHAIRMAN
OTTO GILMAN
JAMES H. McGUIRE
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HON. THOMAS R. ARLES

For the Protection and Promotion of our Municipal and Public Utilities
and Natural Resources

The Public Ownership League of America

NATIONAL OFFICE
127 N. DEARBORN ST., ROOM 1439
CHICAGO, ILL.
PHONE DEARBORN 6133

June 26, 1933.

In Re: Appointment of Regional
Directors Under National
Industrial Recovery Act.

Second Message to Members
and Friends of The
Public Ownership League:

Since writing you last Wednesday, June 21st, I have had a long distance conversation with Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, and learn that matters have been held in abeyance and plans somewhat changed.

Mr. Ickes tells me that there will be no regional directors. The state directors will be appointed by the President.

He also suggests that we send direct to him any protests that we may have against the appointment of men that are being proposed for state directors and also any suggestions as to the men that we think ought to be appointed. So address your protests and your nominations and suggestions direct to Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

Let us know of your action and we will support and cooperate with you in every possible way.

Cordially yours,



Carl D. Thompson, Secretary

CDT:MB

Facsimile of Significant Letter Sent Out to "Members and Friends" by Socialist "Public Ownership League." Reveals close ties with Secretary Ickes. "How many municipal light and power plants are WE GAINING per year?" President Roosevelt asked Thompson in 1933 (See page 339).

"'GOOD,' he said in his usual vigorous and emphatic manner.

"The President then asked about certain appointments for the Tennessee River Authority which is to have charge of the Muscle Shoals project—one of which he has since made. . . .

"The President and his economic advisers, and whoever else there may be back of them, are working out a program more far-reaching and revolutionary than has ever been contemplated in this country. . . .

"Mr. Brookhart gave us some very interesting and valuable data on the valuation of the railroads which can be used most effectively in the movement for the public ownership of railroads, of which the Senator has long been an advocate. . . .

"But one thing is clear: We are witnessing a vigorous, heroic and almost revolutionary attempt at social, industrial and financial reconstruction. It is altogether an intensely interesting and epoch-making period in the history of the country."

THE ROOSEVELT RADICAL TOWN HALL AND FEDERAL FORUMS

Town Hall Forum of Washington, sponsored by President and Mrs. Roosevelt and under the chairmanship of John W. Studebaker, Roosevelt's Commissioner of Education, announced that its lectures were to be given in the Auditorium of the United States Chamber of Commerce, commencing 12/2/34, by such radicals as Lewis Corey, who served on a Communist Party campaign committee 1932 (as speaker on the "Economics of Communism"); Norman Thomas, Red-Front leader; Maurice Hindus, the pro-Soviet propagandist and Soviet-recommended author; Hindus' friend Glenn Frank (denounced for the University of Wisconsin radicalism by the Wisconsin legislative committee); S. Parkes Cadman, of the very red National Religion and Labor Foundation and a leader of the pro-Socialist Federal Council ruling group; "brain trusters" A. A. Berle, Chas. E. Merriam, Donald Richberg, Harry D. Gideonse, etc.

After a taste of the programs (Glenn Frank was the first speaker), the U. S. Chamber of Commerce barred the forum. "Silas Strawn, high mogul of the Chamber, forbade future meetings. He described the speakers as a 'cross section of crack-brains'", said Columnists Pearson and Allen, who added, "No one has been more amused and a little irked than the President at the United States Chamber of Commerce in barring the Washington 'Town Hall' forum from its palatial building. Although the Town Hall is privately financed, it was government-inspired by forth-right John Studebaker, new commissioner of education and it has had Roosevelt's enthusiastic support So although not yet generally known, Roosevelt has determined to get PWA funds with which to build a forum where free speech can reign regardless of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce." (12/11/34.)

Roosevelt evidently intends to see that we get not only communistic plays and "Workers' Education" but also radical lectures at

public expense, to prepare us for the "new order of things" he said he was undertaking.

Other Washington Red Lights Among Sponsors

Among the other Washington Town Hall sponsors were such administration bright lights—or red lights—as: Mrs. Louis D. Brandeis, Secy. and Mrs. Hull, Secy. Ickes, Secy. and Mrs. Wallace, Senator and Mrs. Joseph T. Robinson, Senator and Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, Nellie Tayloe Ross, Frederic C. Howe, Miss Grace Roper, George F. Zook, etc.

The Town Hall forum, after it was barred from the U. S. Chamber of Commerce auditorium, moved to the Shoreham Hotel, and in the season of 1935-6 scheduled such speakers as the "little Red flower of radicalism," Fiorello H. LaGuardia; Philip LaFollette (whose Roosevelt-backed Progressive Party formed a united front with the Wisconsin Socialist Party and whose "ministerial" letter Roosevelt just about copied); Robert M. Hutchins of the Moscow State University advisory board and president of the Red center, the University of Chicago; Harold D. Lasswell, University of Chicago Professor, lecturer at the Chicago Communist Party's "Workers' School," 1932; Felix Morley, former director of the Geneva office of the League of Nations Association; Sir Norman Angell, British Socialist; Wm. Y. Elliott, popular expositor on radical forums of the revamping of the American Constitution; Socialist Will Durant, ex-director of the radical Labor Temple School, N. Y. C.; the Red-aiding American Civil Liberties Union's supporter and propagandist Harold L. Ickes; Mrs. F.D.R. herself; socialistic Mordecai Ezekiel, "brain truster" inventor of the logarithm method of raising pigs (Something like: If x equals the squeal, let the logarithm of the price of bacon equal zq^2 over the farmers' acreage); and others of the same ilk.

Other 1935-6 sponsors include: Roosevelt-appointee Dean Acheson; Mrs. J. Borden Harriman of the communist American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia, etc., a long-time radical and, appropriately, hostess for Roosevelt's recent Democratic Convention.

There are persons on the Town Hall sponsoring list whom one could not classify among the radicals. They merely enjoy participation in a White House-sponsored activity, perhaps. But they are, nevertheless paying for "treatments" in radicalism from the smooth experts scheduled as their lecturers and are aiding the Forum by lending it their names and financial support.

Cover Bears Roosevelt's Personal Endorsement

On the cover of the Town Hall's radical lecture schedule appears this endorsement of Roosevelt's:

"We need to have meeting places for the discussion of public questions, in the cities, hamlets and on the farms throughout the length and breadth of the land." Franklin D. Roosevelt."

The same Roosevelt endorsement appears in the U. S. Department of the Interior, Office of Education Bulletin 1935, No. 17, put out by

J. W. Studebaker as head of the Roosevelt "Forum Project". The U. S. bulletin of instructions for founding forums is entitled "Education for Democracy" (price 10 cents U. S. Govt. Printing office). In it, taking his own Carnegie Corporation-financed Adult Education Association forum in Des Moines as a model, Studebaker shows his lecture schedule for 1934-5, which included as speakers: Mordecai Johnson, Communist-defending head of the Government-supported Howard University; radical Wm. F. Ogburn; Communist Anna Louise Strong; ex-Rabbi Lewis Browne, who lost his synagogue (according to the A.C.L.U. reports) because of radicalism; Fred Henderson, as speaker on "Socialist Fundamentals"; radical Hubert C. Herring; and others of the same type, and at least one notable conservative, out of 22 scheduled speakers, thus adding the "spice" which entitles such forums to claim that they present "all sides" of controversial subjects in order to interest non-radicals and get their attention for the more amply presented Red side.

Federal Treasury Pays Communist and Socialist Lecturers

To quote the Awakener of (1/1/36): **"\$330,000 GIVEN BY F.D.R. FOR SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA—Studebaker Open Forums Will Now Receive Relief Funds to Pay Radical Speakers—**Socialist and Communist lecturers, in some cases, will now draw their fees directly from the Federal Treasury under a new allocation of relief money made by President Roosevelt.

"The fees will be provided from a grant of \$330,000 which the President has allotted to Commissioner of Education J. W. Studebaker to set up 'Adult Civic Education' projects throughout the country in the form of open forums. While ostensibly the purpose of such forums will be the 'discussion of current governmental problems', the forums with which Dr. Studebaker has been identified in the past have shown an unhappy tendency to give a predominant role to Socialist, Communist and other critics of the American form of government. By financing the expenses of such forums, the Federal Government will be in the position of subsidizing the lecture activities of such revolutionary propagandists.

"A model forum which Dr. Studebaker has been conducting for over a year in Washington is the 'Washington Town Hall'. The policies of this weekly assemblage may be regarded as an accurate foretaste of the character of the forums which Dr. Studebaker will now set up throughout the United States.

"It is noteworthy that the speakers to whom Dr. Studebaker paid fees of \$100 and upwards to address the Washington Town Hall were so 'Leftist' in their viewpoints that the United States Chamber of Commerce required the Town Hall to discontinue holding its meetings in the Chamber auditorium last year. Within the last month, Representative Tilman B. Parks of Arkansas underwent the experience of being hooted by the 'liberal' audience at this Town Hall when he arose to defend American preparedness policies against the jibes of the guest speaker, Norman Angell, the British Socialist.

"While theoretically the concept of the open forum seems to be in accord with the American town meeting tradition, in practice, forums in America have usually drifted into the control of radical propagandists who have rigged the programs in order to favor Socialist speakers and points of view. There have been some admirable exceptions to this experience, notably Ford Hall in Boston.

"However, the example of the WPA forums now being conducted in New York, which have filled their programs with radical lecturers, indicates the probable usage to which the Federal grant will be put. Even under the most careful supervision, an open forum tends to become a platform for anti-social agitators. And nobody pretends that under this Administration any such supervision is to be expected.

"In the same allocation President Roosevelt also assigned to Commissioner Studebaker a fund of \$75,000 for lectures to be broadcast on the radio. Presumably, the radio broadcasts will tie in with the radical lectures which will be heard in the subsidized forums."

THE ROOSEVELT-L.I.D. SOCIALIST HOUSING CONFERENCE

Support of Wagner Bill Asked

As we entered the Willard Hotel in Washington, D. C., January 25, 1936, tables in the lobby were piled with socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy literature on sale in connection with their "National Public Housing Conference".

Radical Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch (who married Vladimir Gregorievitch Simkhovitch, a Russian, in 1899) head of Greenwich House, N.Y.C., and Mrs. Roosevelt's close friend, headed the Conference as president. The headquarters of the Conference are the L.I.D. headquarters at 112 East 19th St., N.Y.C., and the officers are: Pres., Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch; Sec'y and Director, Helen Alfred; Treas., Louis H. Pink (appropriate name); Vice-Presidents: Edith Abbott, Irving Brant, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Harry W. Laidler, Edouard C. Lindeman, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, John Nolen, Rt. Rev. Msgr. John O'Grady, Cornelia Bryce Pinchot, J. W. Williams, Edith Elmer Wood.

Evans Clark spoke as a member of the policy committee of the National Housing Conference and of the executive committee of the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy. His wife, "Miss" Freda Kirchwey is a director of the communist Garland Fund and he is director of socialistic Edward A. Filene's Twentieth Century Fund, which, according to press reports, financed Roosevelt's NRA before Congress appropriated funds for this purpose and has recently appropriated \$1,000,000 for socialistic cooperatives, to undermine the "profit motive" of private business. Clark asked for support of the Wagner Federal Housing Bill, "still pending in both houses of Congress", and that a campaign be waged for its enactment by this socialist Conference.

Senator Robt. F. Wagner, himself, was there to speak. Like his socialistic labor relations bill, his housing bill is a Roosevelt-favored measure. Roosevelt "declared himself in favor of the Wagner bill" while he did not make it "must" legislation for this Congress, said the Chicago Tribune, 5/6/36.

Tax Exempt Federal Projects Work Hardship on Local Taxpayers

Chas. Abrams, "acting counsel of the New York Housing Authority", spoke of some of the opposition Roosevelt's Federal plans were meeting, one being local opposition to Federal housing projects enjoying the fire, water and other local services of the community paid for by the local taxpayers without sharing the expense—in other words being tax free at the expense of the community. He stressed the unwillingness of his Federal fellow "planners" to increase rental costs by paying taxes but said:

"We must pursue a cautious course for the present and not ask the Federal Government to give too much, lest we be completely lost in a general reaction against spending and get nothing at all." (Sound, sneaking, socialistic advice.) He said that there had been "practically no protest whatever against the agreement made between the Mayor and Secretary Ickes providing for tax exemption" in N.Y. City.

As Mayor LaGuardia, former open Socialist Party candidate, and Ickes are men of like mind, they no doubt quickly made a quiet, friendly little agreement on this. Socialist Party leaders, like Paul Blanshard, etc., sit in power in New York's City Hall now that LaGuardia is mayor.

Among the scheduled speakers were: the "little Red flower" himself, Fiorello H. LaGuardia; Edouard C. Lindeman (of Mrs. Roosevelt's pro-Communist New School for Social Research, the communist American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia, etc.); radical Roosevelt appointee Josephine Roche; M. H. Hedges of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, who attended the 1931 "Progressive" conference which backed Roosevelt for the Presidency; Benjamin C. Marsh, executive Secretary of the communist-Garland-Fund-supported People's Lobby (see page 354 for its objectives), of which Tugwell and other Roosevelt powers are officials; A. R. Clas, Director of Housing, Public Works Administration, and the following heads of various branches of the Housing Division; H. A. Berman, Asst. Dir. and Chief Coun.; B. M. Pettit, Asst. Dir.; C. W. Fitch, Asst. Dir.; J. W. Cramer, Chief, Branch II; H. T. Morsell, Chief, Branch III; R. Voell, Acting Chief, Branch V; H. W. Peaslee, Asst. Chief, Branch VI.

Roosevelt's Personal Letter of Encouragement

Roosevelt's letter to Mary Simkhovitch in support of the socialist-communist L.I.D. Conference appears in the "Stenographic Proceedings of the Third Washington Conference on Public Housing under the Auspices of National Public Housing Conference."

"THE WHITE HOUSE

"Washington

"January 22, 1936

"My dear Mrs. Simkhovitch:

"During the last year, I have noted with interest the enlightened efforts of the National Public Housing Conference to impress upon our people the facts of the American housing problem. In behalf of the poorly housed in the United States, the Conference and its leaders have worked diligently for slum clearance and better housing.

"The Federal Government today, through the Public Works Administration, is engaged in an important slum clearance program. In the development of this undertaking, there is great opportunity for the National Public Housing Conference to continue its work of public education on this vital issue so that a truly significant housing program may proceed on a firm foundation.

"Very sincerely yours,

"(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

"Mrs. Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch,

"President, the National Public Housing Conference

"112 East Nineteenth Street,

"New York, New York."

THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY AS AN EXAMPLE TO THE NATION

When Is News Not News?

"A Washington paper recently carried a two column headline 'Mrs. Roosevelt Spends Night at the White House' implying at least that this was news!", said the Chicago Tribune (1/5/36).

No Escape, Even for Miners

A cartoon, appearing in "Time" magazine, represented two miners at work down in the depths of a mine and one of them exclaiming, "My God! Here Comes Mrs. Roosevelt!" and, in fact, the press has carried reports of Mrs. Roosevelt's visits to mines. (A.P. 2/20/35, etc.)

While her husband, separately, has vacationed and "week-ended" so constantly that were it not for short returns to the White House these vacations would almost constitute one long leave of absence, the first lady, by train, auto, and aeroplane, has flown hither and thither from one end of the country to the other.

One paper, facetiously, carried the comment of a working girl who said to her friend: "They said Mrs. Al Smith didn't have the class to be in the White House but at least she would have been in it!"

At Least, the Most "Literary" First Family

Roosevelt, his wife, and his daughter, all "cash in" on their position by "writing" books and selling them at high prices. Administration officials follow suit. From the platform and over the radio, the first lady generously instructs the women of the nation on how to

bring up children, how to cook, how to lie in bed on Simmons mattresses, how to conduct the home, as well as how to campaign for public ownership and the "new social order". In one of her publications, she gives such advice as:

"For the normal human being, fresh air is a necessity". Again: "Do not worry about insomnia. Just lie in bed and think of pleasant things."

One of her daily syndicated columns sent forth for the education of the nation was devoted to the description of how her little dogs showed her they were chilly in the night and how she got out of bed and closed her bedroom window.

Another epic related to the washing of her hair. This elicited editorial comment that this action on her part might possibly prove beneficial for her brain.

Radio Earnings Finance Radicalism, Mis-named "Charity"

Although Paul Mallon (1/11/36) says that her articles have "failed to please her editors" who have begged her to say something, yet for her "advice" she is well paid. A U.P. dispatch of 10/29/35 states that she received \$72,000 for sixteen fifteen-minute talks and that she donated this sum to the radical American Friends Service Committee, which conducts "International Relations" Institutes in various parts of the country featuring Socialistic, pro-Soviet speakers. (See page 378.) Radical pacifism and internationalism, important propaganda-stepping-stones to Communism, are the keynotes of these "Institutes".

But there are ordinary women, and Mrs. Roosevelt says "It's up to the women", who have not had four or five mansions at a time, nor the aid of twelve or more servants per establishment to bring up their children, as Mrs. Roosevelt has, who believe that they have done a better job as mothers.

Our Advisor's Children Arrested

In commenting on her syndicated articles on the duties of parents, etc., a St. Louis paper says: "The records of the activities of her own children, particularly since her husband became President of the United States, indicate that they could have used some of the correction and advice that their mother has been disseminating in her newspaper articles".

"Sixteen times since March 26, 1934, the three sons of the President of the United States have made the front pages of the country's press for the manner in which they drive their automobiles", said the Los Angeles Times editorial (quoted by Chicago Tribune 11/4/35). "Thirty-three thousand nine hundred and eighty persons were killed in the United States last year as the result of the kind of driving the President's sons indulge themselves in . . . Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. has been arrested three times for speeding, was twice fined small amounts and once forfeited bail. On a fourth occasion he escaped arrest and fine on the plea of an emergency then five days old". (It is on the plea of "emergency" that his father dictates passage of un-

constitutional legislation, which he declares later are not "emergency" but permanent measures.) "In addition, he has figured in three motor crashes, in one of which a woman was injured, and was made defendant in three damage suits aggregating \$36,000. One case was settled by the insurance company. On another occasion he paid a \$20 fine for failing to have his car properly registered. In the same period John and James Roosevelt, his brothers, have each been arrested for speeding and paid fines. Ten days ago John, speeding to catch a plane, drove his car through a railroad crossing gate in East Boston, and he and James narrowly escaped death when their car was demolished by a train."

As the Chicago Tribune (11/15/35) reported: "March 1934—His car struck a woman at Jamaica Plains, Mass.; Jan. 1935—Collision, injuring man in other car at Radnor, Pa.; April 1935—His car struck a man at Malden, Mass." etc.

But instead of expressing a sense of shame for the wildly lawless driving of his own family, Roosevelt came out with an appeal to Americans to drive **their** cars safely in order to cut down the death rate.

Girls Must Learn Liquor Capacity Early—Says Mrs. F. D. R.

When Mrs. Roosevelt stated in a public address, "The modern girl **must** learn early how much liquor she can safely carry and govern herself accordingly", Christian church people buzzed with amazement. They had expected no such worldly pronouncements from the White House. There are many who do not believe that a young girl "**must**" carry any liquor at all.

Again, religious journals criticized the cheapening of White House dignity when, according to reports, beer kegs on tap and a jazz band were introduced into the revered White House halls for a Roosevelt party.

There was some debate carried on in the religious press over the number of these "proletarian" beer kegs. Administration spokesmen insisted there were only enough to furnish safe amounts of beer to the guests, but not enough, as charged, for a drunken orgy.

Roosevelt's Now-Famous Plagiarism

Such incidents, coupled with the rare church attendance of the Roosevelts, inspired a growing impression in Christian circles that the Roosevelts have little real use for religion. To offset this, perhaps, Roosevelt committed his faux pas of sending out a letter to the clergy of the country, 9/23/35, asking their advice and cooperation, which was copied **almost word for word** from a letter that radical Governor Philip F. LaFollette had sent out himself for the same purpose, 3/5/35, from the executive office of Wisconsin. The Chicago Tribune (9/28/35) reproduced the LaFollette and Roosevelt letters side by side.

That Roosevelt received many scathing replies was not divulged by the White House, but by ministers who made their own letters public. Over a year before this, the Roosevelts had been denounced

for their nonchalant socialistic attitude toward their children's divorces and remarriage.

Roosevelt Divorces "Disgrace to Nation," Says Bishop

To quote the N. Y. Post (6/29/34):

"President and Mrs. Roosevelt are criticized as parents by Bishop Charles Fiske, Central New York Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the current number of the Living Church.

"In a letter to the editor he declares that divorces in the President's family are a 'disgrace to the nation,' and an editorial takes even a stronger position.

"Since no one else has said it publicly, and it seems to many of us that it needs to be said', Bishop Fiske remarks, 'let me give brief expression to our sense of shame and humiliation that in the family of our Chief Executive there should be recorded two Reno divorces, with one "remarriage" and another in the offing, in a year.

"That so little sense of the moral responsibilities of high position should be manifested by the family (especially as the mother seems to have ample time, outside of her home, to be active in "good works" in every social cause) seems to us to be a family disgrace, a disgrace to the nation and a disgrace to the Church of which the family are members and in which they are occasional worshippers.

"There have been some expressions of pride among churchmen in having a fellow churchman, a parish warden and vestryman, and a cathedral trustee, as President. Pride came before a fall. Humiliation has followed. We need another "new deal"."

Editorial Comment in "Living Church"

"The editorial in the Living Church, read as follows:

"Bishop Fiske in his letter gives expression to the sense of shame and humiliation that many of us feel in the marital misadventures in which members of the President's family are engaging. We have been inclined to boast of the fact that the Roosevelts are members of the Episcopal Church and to hold them up as shining examples of loyal churchmanship.

"Now, with the President's son divorced and remarried within a week, and his daughter establishing residence in Reno for divorce purposes, some revision of that estimate seems to be necessary.

"One sympathizes, of course, when heart-rending conditions in a home lead to marital shipwreck, particularly when, as in these cases, innocent children are involved. But a divorce followed by a remarriage in five days later evokes no such sympathy for the one who thus shows his defiance of the law of God and the teaching of the church; and a second divorce in the same family, with the hint of another possible remarriage in the offing, certainly does not seem to indicate the kind of parental influence that one might expect from a family of strong religious and social interests.

"The most discouraging feature of it all is that neither the President nor his wife has seen fit to give any public information that they do not regard these proceedings as wholly regular, normal and con-

sistent with the Christian religion. Doubtless, men and women, perhaps sincere churchmen included, will seize upon the fact as a guiding precedent when they grow restive under the bonds of their marriage vows and find, as some have found all through the ages, that the other man's wife or the other woman's husband appears more desirable than the mate to whom lifelong fidelity had been pledged.'"

Democratic Editor, Still Loyal to Party and Principles, Comments

Mr. Crandal Mackey, prominent Democrat and anti-Communist, as editorial writer of "The Chronicle" (Clarendon-Rosslyn, Va.), said (6/19/36):

"Christian people as well as eighty per cent of the clergymen of the country oppose the irreligion, the atheism, the un-Godliness of the New Deal, the easy White House divorces, and the lack of White House religion and reverence."

Wine, Woman and Song: "Tugwell's Trinity"

Under the heading "Tugwell's Trinity", a religious journal stated: "Strange things happen in high places of so-called Christian America. The March number of the Democratic Digest (published by the Woman's National Democratic Club at Washington) gave an address by Rexford Guy Tugwell, a leading spirit in the Brain Trust, whose appointment to the newly created post of Under-Secretary of Agriculture was recently approved by the Senate after rather violent discussion." (1934) "Said Mr. Tugwell: "Twould be treason to the entire spirit of the New Deal to lose sight of the fact that its objective, as stated by President Roosevelt himself, is to make possible more abundant life for the American people. Such an abundant life implies the enjoyment of the good things of life in security and contentment . . . One of the oldest and quietest roads of contentment lies through the conventional trinity of wine, woman and song. We have a chance, now that the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment is an accomplished fact, to establish a tradition of wine, used as a mild social stimulant, together with good food, good talk, and good company, and, let me add, good song."

"Not many years ago it would have been impossible for a reputable leader in the United States Government to make a public statement like this. Surely it intensifies the need of that for which so many are praying and which was pictured so graphically by Dr. Pace's cartoon on the front page of a recent Sunday School Times: 'America at the old-fashioned mourner's bench, pouring out the prayer—"God be merciful to me a sinner."'"

TUGWELL, WHITE HOUSE FAVORITE

Rex (meaning "King") Guy Tugwell, now spending millions of dollars of your money to "make America over", as Roosevelt's "No. 1 Boy" Brain Truster, served in 1929 on the Socialist Party campaign committee for Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist-Communist united front, when Thomas ran for Mayor of New York. Tugwell

has been and still is on the editorial staff of the New Republic, "advocate of revolutionary Socialism", as the N.Y. State Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities (1920) called it.

In 1931 he served on the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union committee on labor injunctions with Donald Richberg, Frank P. Walsh and other Roosevelt "Red lights".

He was a member of the technical staff of the First American Trade Union delegation to Russia, which was denied recognition and denounced by A. F. of L. chiefs as communistic, organized by Frank P. Walsh, Roosevelt's appointee, while governor, as chairman at the N.Y. State Power Authority; Walsh's record in support of the Communist movement is outstanding.

Tugwell is one of the fellow authors and three editors of the pro-Soviet rhapsody compiled by the delegation on their return and sold at Communist Party book stores, entitled "Soviet Russia in the Second Decade—A Joint Survey by the Technical Staff of the First American Trade Union Delegation, edited by Stuart Chase, Robert W. Dunn and Rexford Guy Tugwell." Stuart Chase, a long-time subversive (see "The Red Network"), is the author of "A New Deal". Robert W. Dunn is a Communist Party leader.

Tugwell's Astonishment

Now, the Rex or "King" Guy, Tugwell, has been elevated by Roosevelt from an obscure college professorship to a "kingship" over millions of dollars and thousands of American lives.

To quote the Chicago Tribune, 1/5/36: "Rexford Guy Tugwell lives in a perpetual state of astonishment. It is a question often debated in Washington which astonishes him more—his own intellect or his own beauty. He dresses with the most meticulous care, in the fashion proclaimed by the smartest magazines, and no collar ad could possibly do him justice.

"The press has dubbed Dr. Tugwell brain truster No. 1, but there are many informed observers who believe this is putting the cart before the horse. They believe Mrs. Roosevelt is entitled to this rank, not only because she sponsors Tugwell and Hopkins, the most powerful New Dealers outside the White House, but because she exercises such a tremendous influence upon the President. . . . But Mrs. Roosevelt's influence cannot be doubted, for it manifests itself in results, such as the ill-fated subsistence homestead venture; the selection of her bosom friend, Frances Perkins, for the cabinet, and the powerful positions of Tugwell and Hopkins. . . .

"Aside from his duties as first lieutenant to Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, Tugwell is now engaged in 'making America over' as head of the resettlement administration, but no one ever has seen him with his sleeves rolled up. . . .

"The ghastly experiment at Reedsville, W. Va., her favorite project, is a case in point. The houses were to cost about \$2,500 per family, but, due to faulty design in the patterns for the mail order sections, they did not fit together when delivered. They had to be made over, and the final cost was \$6,800 per family. Private

plumbers wished to install the plumbing for \$300 a house, but Secretary Ickes insisted on doing it with day labor. When he got through with it the cost was \$600 a house, and 'when you flushed the toilets,' as a witness before a senate committee put it, 'nothing happened.'"

Tugwell Says Business Must Disappear

Tugwell's speech before the American Economic Association 1932 (see p. 203 "The Red Network") was entitled "The Principle of Planning and the Institution of Laissez Faire". The following excerpts are of interest. To quote: "Planning will necessarily become a function of the federal government; either that or the planning agency will supersede that government, which is why, of course, such a scheme will eventually be assimilated to the state rather than possess some of its powers without its responsibilities. **Business will logically be required to disappear. This is not an overstatement for the sake of emphasis; it is literally meant.** The essence of business is its free venture for profits in an unregulated economy. Planning implies guidance of capital uses . . . adjustment of production to consumption . . . the insurance of adequate buying capacity. . . . New industries will not just happen as the automobile industry did; they will have to be foreseen, to be argued for, or seem probably desirable features of the whole economy before they can be entered upon. . . . There is no denying that the contemporary situation in the United States has explosive possibilities. **The future is becoming visible in Russia;** the present is bitterly in contrast; politicians, theorists and vested interests seem to conspire ideally for the provocation to violence of a long patient people. No one can pretend to know how the release of this pressure is likely to come. Perhaps our statesmen will give way or be more or less gently removed from duty; perhaps our constitutions and statutes will be revised; perhaps our vested interests will submit to control without too violent resistance. It is difficult to believe that any of these will happen; it seems just as incredible that we may have a revolution. Yet the new kind of economic machinery we have in prospect cannot function in our present economy. The contemporary situation is one in which all the choices are hard; yet one of them has to be made."

Tugwell's Call to the Barricades

Earl Browder's speech over the Columbia network, as secretary of the Communist Party and member of the Comintern, lacked the revolutionary fire, in the opinion of many, of Tugwell's speech delivered before a meeting of Democrats in Olympia Auditorium, Los Angeles, 10/28/35. The burden of Tugwell's speech is well illustrated by the last scene in Roosevelt's communist play "Triple A Plowed Under" in which the workers and farmers unite in Marxist style to demolish capitalism (see page 173).

Tugwell's first words were: "How deep are the sources of your indignation? Do they lie on the surface and are they at the command of those who would have you turn against a national government which has invaded the modern strongholds of privilege? Or do they

lie deeper so that your wrath may sustain a genuine reconstruction of American life?

"And what is needed in these months to come is an access of confidence among all **progressives**, a submission to **discipline** under leadership, and a drive for complete victory. . . ."

Tugwell is strong for **discipline**! Like Marx, he also stresses liberal doses of class hate for revolutionary motive power. To again quote:

"What I have to say to you, therefore, is of this sort: We must draw together, nursing the sources of that anger which has driven us forward and making more and more clear the great hopes which pull us in the same direction. Conservatives prevail by the cohesiveness of inaction;

"What we are witnessing now is the death struggle of industrial autocracy and the birth of democratic discipline. It is the task of the **progressives** to lead the way toward this future and to prevent another turning backward toward the past. Another Harding, another Coolidge, another Hoover entrusted with leadership now would set us back as many decades as we were set back before—and at the end of it there might not be another leader with the **genius** to avert a revolution.

"We have no reason to expect that the disestablishing of our plutocracy will be pleasant. These historical changes never are. We have, however, the duty of avoiding violence as the process goes on. And this is why I regard the coming months as among the critical ones of our history. For the movement will go on in any case; it **lies** in the brains and the blood of a people bringing into substance the stuff of old racial dreams. . . .

We Pitiable Americans!

"We have been pitiable grubbing creatures up to now, laboring in sweat and sorrow to make money, to multiply it at others' expense and to hide it away like misers for our children. But none of us ever thought it good or right to do so. Our generous impulses have had to be vigorously suppressed."

Like Roosevelt, Tugwell feels that America, the most glorious country in the world, was a total loss until they took it over. After emphasizing the need of giving "up the sterile morality of individualism", he says:

"The autocrats must get out of the way along with the moral system which supports them; but it is our duty to prevent that being done with violence. That is why I regard the coming campaign as so important."

Speaking of the coming Roosevelt campaign in military terms as a gathering army, he warns of "reactionaries" opposed to Socialism, and in the Marxian vein of "Workers and Farmers unite!", he says:

"The far more serious attack will be of another sort—the attempt to separate the two great masses of people who have been helped most by our policies and from whom we draw our strength—the farmers and the workers . . . we should succeed for once in estab-

lishing a **farmer-worker alliance** in this country which will carry all before it, which will reduce our dependence on half-way measures. . . . " (This is exactly what Earl Browder is suggesting.)

"To do this we shall have to recognize our enemies, pouring out upon them the indignation we have too much withheld; and we shall have to consolidate our support and go forward with closed ranks. . . .

"The question is whether we shall, in reality, succeed in achieving it; whether those who ought to belong in our army of **progressive action** will actually be found there. . . . A **progressive political army** marches on its morale—and the sources of our morale are two: enthusiasm for a challenging national task well begun and the existence of an enemy we can despise with a lasting and righteous anger.

Roosevelt's Record and Future Plans Well Known Now—Tugwell

"We are fortunate to have gone so far in crisis government under a leader who commanded a vast majority consent. For we have established a record now which may well substitute itself for the plan and the minority dictatorship which others use. It is well enough known by now what the leadership of President Roosevelt commits America to; it is also well enough known by what methods further achievements will be made. . . .

"Our best strategy is to **SURGE FORWARD WITH THE WORKERS AND THE FARMERS** of this nation, committed to general achievements, but trusting the genius of our leader for the disposition of our forces; and the **timing of our attacks**. . . .

"I have the feeling also that the **compulsion** needed for industrial change is more likely to come from the **workers** than from present owners. . . . These, as I have said, are our natural **progressive allies** in the days of **change** which are now upon us. And so, we have come back to the question of strategy. The farmers and the workers must not permit themselves to be separated. Theirs is a common cause."

One wonders whether the Communist "little Red Passion Flower", woman agitator, who harangued the workers to arm against anti-Communists over the Spanish radio during the July (1936) civil war could have made a speech flowering with more Red passion than Tugwell's.

Socialist Program of Tugwell's "People's Lobby"

Tugwell's connection, as director, with the People's Lobby (communist-Garland-Fund-supported) makes the following statement of the Lobby's purposes of interest. It was written by the executive secretary, Benjamin C. Marsh. Henry T. Hunt (vice-president) and Wm. Jett Lauck (treasurer) of the People's Lobby are also Roosevelt appointees.

Marsh's letter in the revolutionary socialist New Republic (11/28/34, on p. 74), entitled "The People's Lobby", was as follows:

"Sir: The People's Lobby, of which Professor John Dewey is president, has adopted a slogan, 'To balance consumption and production by **eliminating profit**.' Its program includes: Increased taxation

of the rich; socialization of ground rent and reduction of interest rates as steps toward the elimination of profits; public ownership of banking, natural resources, transportation, communication and all basic industries; government marketing and government housing corporations; international cooperation through increased freedom of exchange and allocation of natural resources and raw materials.

"Bills will be introduced in the next Congress to carry out this program, and the Lobby is starting a nationwide campaign for members.

"Benjamin C. Marsh.

"New York City."

FIGHTING FOR PEACE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Pacifism Is Not Christian

"Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.

"For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." (Eph. 6:11-12.)

"When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace:

"But when a stronger than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils.

"He that is not with me is against me: and he that gathereth not with me scattereth. (St. Luke 11:21-23.)

The Communist "pacifist" is like a burglar with a gun in his pocket who, intending to rob and kill the home owner, says to him: "Be a good pacifist, like me! Don't show distrust by locking your windows. Don't lock your doors! Never keep a savage dog or a gun in your house!"—and, under his breath—"I'll be around tonight!"

But, there are the "Christian pacifist" dupes with no such bloody intentions. What of them?

If Communists can persuade such dupes to make the Church Militant the Church Pacifist toward creeds, morals, and arms, they may walk in over its dead body to burn, wreck and destroy churches, convents and missions, as they have done in China, Spain, Mexico and Russia, and then complete the work now going on through their radicals in schools, churches and colleges of destroying the souls, faith and morals of children and countrymen of these non-resistant-to-Satan "Christian-pacifists."

These glory in refusing to "fight the good fight", disobey Christ by throwing Christian pearls before blasphemous Red swine and holding "fellowship" with Red "unbelievers", and ignore His admonition to sell one of their garments to buy a sword for protection.

When the crowd came with soldiers to seize Jesus in Gethsemane, where he was betrayed by Judas, Peter "smote the high priest's servant and cut off his right ear." Jesus reproved Peter, not as a pacifist, but because He intended to be crucified as a voluntary sacrifice. He said: "Put up thy sword into the sheath: the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?"

"My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence." (St. John 18:11, 36.)

Peter, as Christ's apostle and close associate, would not have been carrying a sword had Christ been opposed to all arms. It was, in fact, just before His betrayal that He said to his disciples: "When I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, lacked ye any thing? And they said, Nothing. Then said he unto them. But now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise, his scrip and he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one." "And they said, Lord, behold, here are two swords. And he said unto them, It is enough." (St. Luke 22:35, 36, 38.)

The Christian Gospel is found in Scriptures by "rightly dividing the Word of Truth", not by combining such Biblical phrases as "Judas went out and hanged himself" with "Go and do thou likewise", nor by isolating single verses as though they represented the entire Bible.

"Pacifists" who quote "peace" verses as their authority, ignore the whole chapters which flout their program entirely. The Biblical admonitions to seek "the peace of God which passeth all understanding" and to "love your neighbor as yourself" are combined with equally strong instructions to militantly and intolerantly denounce evil, and to relentlessly evangelize the Christianity of the "One Lord, one faith, one baptism", even in the face of death at the hands of offended ones.

Would the Christ who drove out with a whip the desecrators of God's temple be a pacifist toward the present day destruction of God's temples or the conversion of God's temples into atheist museums and stables, or their more subtle perversion by Red ministers into Marxian centers?

"Fellowship of Faiths" Conceived by Radicals To Destroy Christian Entity

There is no more bitter invective in printed literature than He hurled at two-faced hypocrites, sinners and blasphemers. But the modernist "Christian pacifist" would have us make a peace of surrender, not a "peace of God," with all of these. The radicals' Fellowship of Faiths, in which Christianity, Hinduism, Mohammedanism, Judaism, and atheist Communism are jumbled up together as equals, efficiently robs each religious faith of its reason for being. Unless Christ is the Light of the World, as He said, He and His apostles were liars or demented—Why waste time talking about faith in liars or fools? But if He was what He said He was and we accept Him as such, He should not be robbed of His rightful place as "Lord of Lords" and be treated as just one more contradictory teacher in a class with Buddha, Confucius, etc.

"Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness?"

"Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you.

"And will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." (II Cor. 6:14, 17, 18.)

Like the Disciples, whom Christ begged three times in His agony in Gethsemane to stay awake and watch and pray but who, instead, went back to sleep each time, until He told them finally that it was too late for them to be of any comfort, as His time had come, so Christians now are letting their Lord again be betrayed, as they close their eyes to the rising Red atheism and blasphemy now rampant. No disagreeable fight against Marxism in defense of Christianity in school or government, no blood sacrifices, no Cross for them! Under the lethal gas of pacifist propaganda, they expect for themselves an easy rosy crown, won through supine Pacifism. Their faith is based on the auto-intoxication of lethargy.

Few genuine "Christian pacifists" today realize that pacifism is practical co-operation with the Satanic enemies of Christianity. We were never told to make peace with the hellions of Satan, the "prince of the World", disguised, like him, as "angels of light", nor promised peace on earth until Christ comes again, as He promised, to actually rule this world, after Armageddon vanquishes the power of the "Red Beast" with "blasphemy written on its forehead". At present, the lion may persuade the lamb to lie down with him, but if he does, only the lion gets up. The "Christian pacifist" is lucky to escape, as Countess Tolstoy did from Russia, without being digested by the lion he has lain down for.

The most bitter feature of pacifism is that the Tolstoys, for example, paved the way for the countless murders, enslavement and atheization of all Russia by their revolutionary sympathies and teaching of "non-resistance to evil", labeled as "Christian pacifism". Millions have gone, and will go, into the Soviet's Red maw in consequence. On the heads of such "Christian pacifists" rests the real responsibility for mass murders which might have been prevented had they awakened the Russian people, instead of lulling them to sleep in the face of the Red danger with the "dope" of "Christian pacifism". It is too late to lament after the "Red Beast" has gained power.

Are Reds Panting for Bloody Revolution "Pacifists"?

All "pacifists" are not Socialists and Communists, but all Socialists and Communists call themselves "pacifists".

As doped Christians mouth the pacifist-perverted Biblical phrases prompted by Marxians, the "business end" of the so-called "peace" movement is securely in the hands of class-war advocates.

The Quakers' American Friends Service Committee, supported lavishly by Mrs. Roosevelt with \$72,000 at one time (Chicago Daily News 10/29/35), and inspired years ago by sincere pacifists, is under the firm control of radicals whose Institutes of International Relations in various parts of the country are forums for Socialist-Communist, radical-pacifist, internationalist speakers.

Look well into the personnel, officership, financing and control of such "peace" agencies as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and World Peaceways (both backed by Mrs.

Roosevelt), National Council for Prevention of War, Fellowship of Reconciliation, American League Against War and Fascism, note the communistic propaganda, the frequent arrests, the rioting, picketing or other class-war activities of leading so-called "pacifists" controlling such groups and, as the ugly Red face of Marxism grins up at you from the records, the words "peace" and "pacifism", so commonly used as sheep's clothing for wolfish purposes, become transformed into symbols of bloody class-war and Red revolution.

"Pacifists" Page and Eddy Recommend Communist "Daily Worker"

Yet, one cannot blame those who never go into the records for yielding to the seductions of those "pacifists" who make an art of their sentimental siren appeals. One finds it difficult in reading the tender writings of radical "pacifists" like Kirby Page or Sherwood Eddy not to become hypnotized and dreamy-eyed at the unbelievable love and sweetness exuding from their lines. Yet they recommend for reading the bloody cut-throat class-war Daily Worker of the Communist Party, in the same pamphlet which might persuade one that they themselves would faint at a fight with a fly—perhaps swoon at the suggestion that they could deprive a little fly of its life.

One almost chokes up with emotion at the gentleness and beautiful idealism of sentiments of Kirby Page, when, in answer to the question whether he would fight if his own mother were attacked, he replied, in effect, "Why should I kill some other man's mother just because someone kills mine?"

One might become intoxicated under their spell to the point of agreeing if a rattlesnake wished to bite us for a taste of fresh meat, as unselfish "Christians", it would be our duty to set an example of Love and Sharing by not only giving the snake one bite but inviting him to lunch again.

Eddy and Page Aided by Communist Garland Fund

Yet the same gentle doves, Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page, took thousands of dollars to run their "pacifist" magazine "World Tomorrow" from the Garland Fund directors, Communists Wm. Z. Foster, Robert W. Dunn, Scott Nearing, etc., henchmen of the bloody Moscow Communist rulers whose hands drip with the blood of liquidated millions and who are striving unceasingly with their American accomplices to make the streets of America also run with blood.

Kirby Page was in the employ of the same communist Garland Fund on their Committee on American Imperialism, and he signed the advertised appeal for donations to the Garland Fund to aid the murdering Chinese Communists in China; etc., etc.

The Soviet Government's agency, the American-Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with Russia, recommends Sherwood Eddy's books "The Challenge of Russia" and "Russia Today".

On the cover of "Creative Society", by John MacMurray, with foreword by Sherwood Eddy, appears the blasphemous design of the Soviet atheist emblem, the hammer and sickle, intertwined with the Cross of Christ!

Both Eddy and Page serve on the infamous red National Religion and Labor Foundation, which distributes outright atheist Soviet Communist cartoons and literature, etc. As one studies the many class-war affiliations of these and other "pacifists", the mesmerism of their "pacifism" yields to disillusionment.

World Peace Impossible with Communism Rampant

Since peace is the absence of strife, there can never be peace in this world so long as the world's wolf, Communism, maintains in Russia the largest army in the entire world, the largest war trained forces of men, women, and children in the history of the world avowedly preparing to further Red world revolution by bloodshed, and also controls and supports Communist Party sections in some 58 countries agitating strikes, riots, atheism, bloody civil warfare, and the overthrow of all religion and all non-Communist governments.

The Socialist-Communist idea of "peace" is that opponents should give up "fighting the good fight", and let them have their way.

But there are some who, as Christ commanded, fear not those who would "kill the body" but those who would "kill the soul", and who prefer death to homage to Satanic Marxism.

M. Herriot, French statesman, in close touch with the Soviet Government, announced to the French Chamber in connection with the recent Soviet-French pact that the Russian army has a peace strength of 1,350,000 men and that its war strength and reserves amount to 17,500,000 men, that it has the largest tank force in the world and the largest air force in the world.

That Litvinoff, alias Finkelstein and a string of other aliases, one of that criminal band who aided Stalin in the Tiflis bank robbery, an arms smuggler, formerly wanted by the European police and exiled from various countries, should act both as a representative of bloody Communist Russia and as president of the Council of the League of Nations in the name of "Peace", is one of those great jokes on civilized humanity which cannot be "laughed off" and is evidence supporting the contention that the Socialist-supported League of Nations is also Socialist-controlled.

Soviets Propagandize "Peace" As Preparation for "Class War"

The article "From the Struggle for Peace to the Struggle for Revolution" (International Press Correspondence of the Comintern, 9/19/35), shows the diabolical nature of Communist "peace" movements in the following:

"Communists will strive to lead the opponents of war, organized in the struggle for peace, to the struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war against the bourgeoisie, for the overthrow of capitalism . . . the defense of the Soviet Union must be considered paramount. If the commencement of a counter-revolutionary war forces the Soviet Union to set the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in motion for the defense of Socialism, the Communists will call upon all toilers to work with means at their disposal and

at any price for the victory of the Red Army over the armies of the imperialists." (Emphasis in original.)

M. Ercoli in his speech before the Comintern Congress, 8/13/35 (now printed), called "The Fight for Peace", said: "... for all capitalist countries the beginning of the war will denote the onset of a revolutionary crisis, and during this crisis we shall fight with all our strength at the head of the masses to convert the imperialist war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie, we shall fight for revolution and for the conquest of power. (Applause.)

"But this prospect, comrades, does not mean that we shall have an easy task.

"The victory of revolution never comes by itself. It has to be prepared for and won. And only a strong proletarian revolutionary party can prepare for and win victory." (Stalin, 'Report of the Work of the Central Committee to the Seventeenth Congress of the C. P. S. U.,' see *Socialism Victorious*, p. 16, International Publishers, New York.)

"These words of Comrade Stalin, the leader of the international proletariat, acquire a deep significance, especially just now when we speak of our tasks in case of the outbreak of a new world war. . . .

French Communists Complimented for Successes

"I would also like to say to our comrades of the French Communist Party: **You have been able with your courageous tactical turn to raise high our banner in your country.** This imposes on you a great obligation, not only before us but before the masses. The class struggle goes forward. . . .

"The World Party of the Bolsheviks and Stalin is the guarantee of our victory on a world scale. Let us close our ranks, comrades, in the fight against imperialist war, for peace, for the defense of the Soviet Union.

"Raise high the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

"Long live the triumph of the revolution and of socialism throughout the world!

"(Prolonged, stormy applause. The delegates stand and greet Comrade Ercoli. The 'Internationale' is sung. All the delegations shout their greetings. Cries of 'hurrah!' A prolonged ovation.)"

Soviet Murder Regime "Diplomat" Presides Over League

It was the British Socialist, the late Arthur Henderson, former chairman of the executive committee of the Socialist International, who conducted those silly, ceremonious "disarmament conferences" which mouthed endlessly, filling the press and archives with wordy piffle, running up expense accounts for the nations to pay, while Soviet Russia, the only great menace to peace in the world since the War, went on, unopposed, murdering Christians in Russia, conquering Outer and Inner Mongolia and vast portions of China, stirring up mutinies in the East Indies and the British Navy, and carrying on world warfare by agitating for violent revolution in all countries. Then, to cap the climax, the world's Red Wolf, the Soviet govern-

ment, was asked to sit at the "Peace" table of the League of Nations and its representative to preside over it!

It is not to be wondered that Japan, facing the reality of a Communist Asia at her door, in addition to Soviet agitations within, walked out of the League of Nations, slamming the door, threw the Soviet control out of power and set up in its place a buffer government next door, in Manchukuo.

Nor is it to be wondered that, when an anti-Communist government took power, Germany, finding herself disarmed by the League from without, while the other League member-nations themselves utterly disregarded the disarmament provisions of the Versailles treaty, and faced with imminent Soviet-led Revolution from within, unrebuked by the League, also walked out of the League, squelched her internal Reds and set up a real army.

Now the League is howling, not because Red-controlled France, riven with Communist agitation, is supplying arms and munitions to the Red government of Spain against its own anti-Communist citizens and has made a military pact with bloody Communist Russia against Germany, but because Germany, in reply, moved troops into her own territory adjoining the powerful underground French fortifications trained against the German border.

The anti-Red nation or act is always held to be in the wrong in the League of Nations' "chess game", in which Socialist and Communist representatives hold the main positions of honor and power.

Stalin, Bandit, Revolutionist, and Mass Murderer, a Friend of "Peace"

Stalin, former bank robber and murderer of millions of "liquidated" Russians, wearing sheep's clothing in his pose as a friend of "Peace", praising his ally, the League, and assailing Germany and Japan because of their enmity to Communism said, (Communist "Daily Worker", 3/19/36): "I believe the position of the friends of peace" (like himself) "is strengthening. They have at their disposal such instruments as, for instance, the League of Nations."

This quotation was taken from Stalin's personal interview with Roosevelt's good friend and supporter, Roy W. Howard, director of the socialist-supporting Scripps-Howard newspapers. These papers feature such outstanding red leaders as Heywood Broun and Harry Elmer Barnes as columnists (see "The Red Network") and rise to the defense of radicalism and Socialist public ownership with zeal not outdone, at times, by the Daily Worker.

It is in keeping with the rest of his socialistic record that President Roosevelt should not only preach class hatred but at the same time have exerted every effort, despite the protests of the voters, to drag us, in the name of "Peace", into the League of Nations' World Court and, foiled in this by public pressure on the Senate, should have attempted to put through stringent, hypocritically-named "neutrality" legislation giving himself dictatorial power which could be used to cooperate with the League, to sit in judgment like an Emperor, and to involve us in war by acting against nations chosen for "punishment".

Said Mr. John Bassett Moore, authority on international law: "This obviously would bring us fully into any war Taking the pending bill as a whole, with its misconceptions of law, its confusion its general incoherency the more one studies it the clearer it becomes that it is inspired by the thought of enabling the United States through unlimited power to the President to co-operate with the League of Nations in avowed war the bestowal of such power would constitute the worst form of dictatorship ever set up."

Frank Simonds warned that the efforts to drag the United States into the League through the front door, by vote of the people, and the second attempt to drag us in through the World Court, both having failed, the third attempt would be through the "trap door", which is the Executive branch of our government. "That trap would consist in giving the President discretionary power to interpret neutrality laws."

Roosevelt and the "Back Door" of the League

Roosevelt, however, regardless, did shove us in the "back door" of the League by affiliating the United States with the League's International Labor Office.

The Communist International's own publication (International Press Correspondence, 1/11/36 issue) praised President Roosevelt in an article insisting upon oil sanctions against anti-Communist Italy, saying: "We all remember that in October President Roosevelt placed an embargo on the export of war material to the belligerent countries This move represented a departure from the policy of neutrality and isolation until then pursued by the U.S.A.

"What is the most characteristic feature of the speech and of the Bill?

"1. President Roosevelt made some statements first put forward by the Communists, i.e., that fascist dictatorships were a great danger to peace. He condemned alike Nazidom, Japanese militarism and Italian fascism If the President of the United States sees fit to condemn fascism in such outspoken terms, he is giving evidence of the power of the movement against war and fascism first launched by the Communists and discussed as the main item on the agenda of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. . . .

"The Reynolds Neutrality Bill on the other hand contains a number of important innovations. Hitherto the policy of freedom of the seas ruled supreme in the policies of the United States. The United States Congress has now given up the principle of freedom of the seas, and neutrality of the United States will in future mean the imposition of an embargo on war materials for belligerents and the prohibition of exports of copper, coal, nickel and oil beyond normal quantities.

"Another important innovation is the right given the President and Congress to distinguish between aggressor and victim, and if the case arises, to discriminate against the former.

"... The Roosevelt speech caused great consternation in Rome and Berlin and Hitler is redoubling his anti-Soviet attacks."

Stalin's Accomplice in Banditry League's "Peace" Light

The Comintern's organ, the Daily Worker, (7/3/36) in an editorial entitled "Reinforcing the League" said:

"Litvinoff made what was generally considered to be the most constructive speech of the day."

"So remarked the New York Herald Tribune Geneva correspondent, John Elliott, after hearing the Soviet statesman speak at the most momentous session in the League of Nations' history."

"Because of the failure of sanctions in the case of Italy, Mussolini, seconded by Nazi Germany, sought to wreck the League through intrigue among smaller nations.

"Yet two new encouraging notes were struck. The powerful speech of Maxim Litvinoff, for the Soviet Union, showed new means of reinforcing the existing League apparatus which did not fail but was betrayed. It held out the prospect of a network of regional mutual assistance pacts to supplement and strengthen the League."

"Then there was the speech of Leon Blum giving voice to the aspirations and hopes of the fighting French masses backing the People's Front, warning the Nazi war-mongers that they cannot make capital out of the great strike struggles of France."

"The Soviet Union, growing stronger every day, and France of the People's Front, backed by a more militant proletariat, are a combination that must worry all war plotters." (It worries all those who wish to avoid Red civil war and Communism.)

Moscow Aids "Peace" by Financing Spanish and French Disorders

While our Reds' favorite argument for Communist agitators is, "Oh, let them blow off steam, as they do in England!", the London Patriot (3/26/36) makes the following comment under the heading "Spain Sold to the Soviet":

"It now comes out that last year on 20 August, Moscow decided to spend two million pesetas on preparing for the Spanish elections and five millions in France. It is now stated that the Spanish paper Trabajo (Work) on 11 January published an article headed 'Moscow provides the money,' and that many Spanish Communists not only are not ashamed of being in the pay of Moscow, but glory in it. The same can be said of some of the street-corner orators in England. 'The League of Revolutionary Atheists' received special pay in Spain: an organiser from Moscow coming on purpose to aid them. In 1930 if any foreign friend of Spain ventured a warning as to Red propaganda, the answer always was that in a Catholic country there was no danger. But as the Soviet intends to stamp out the Catholic and all other Christian churches, and overthrow also the Moslems whose belief in one God offends the 'militant Godless,' it would be well for the British Empire to take warning. Moscow paid to turn the Working World in Spain into a daily; and as soon as the censorship was lifted off the Press, the Red propaganda began. It is use-

less for Largo Caballero to say that Moscow never paid him a peseta. Direct into his own hand, possibly not; but that he climbs into power with Moscow aid is undeniable. . . .

"Let Englishmen awake and realise that after Spain and France, England is intended to be conquered by the militant godless. Let the English clergy cease crying 'Peace' where there is no peace, lest they (like those of Russia) have to dig their own graves, to a chorus of ribald laughter from International Bolsheviks, who are being sent into England (as to Spain) by the Moscow mockers of God.

"God is not called upon to fight for cowards," so the moment is opportune to repeat an ancient warning, 'Drowsy Christians awake from sleep; God loves only the valiant.'"

Communist "Peace Councils"

The London Patriot (6/25/36) under the heading "Peace Councils" reports:

"Among the many subsidiary bodies formed by the Communist Party are local organisations called 'Peace Councils.' Reports of their formation and their activities are given in the Daily Worker, the only paper that seems to take any interest in them. A good number of these Councils have been established recently, and in some districts they are running campaigns against rearmament, military tattoos, recruiting appeals, etc. For instance, the Hendon Peace Council has been holding meetings and distributing leaflets against the Hendon Air Display on Saturday. It is only necessary to read the Daily Worker reports of these activities to see that the Communists are the real force in these so-called Peace Councils.

"The organisations that join these Councils usually include the local branches of the League of Nations Union, the "Labour" Party, and the Communist Party. The Kingston Peace Council for instance, is composed of the League of Nations Union, the Labour Party, the Communist Party, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. . . ." (The American section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation is a part of Mrs. Roosevelt's National Peace Conference and is headed by John Nevin Sayre, brother of Roosevelt's Asst. Secy. of State.)

"The L.N.U. speaker spoke in strong terms of protest against the Government's betrayal of the League by lifting sanctions, and urged strenuous public opposition to the Government's decision. He also condemned the rearmament plans, and blamed the Government for the failure of the Disarmament Conference and the success of Mussolini in Abyssinia. The Communist speaker took a similar line, but added a demand for Britain to join the Franco-Soviet Pact."

In another section of the same issue: "The various patriotic organisations of France—who would be damned straight off-hand as "Fascists" by our Socialists, Pacifists, Labourites—have been legally suppressed and disarmed, so that a nationalist political creed of a great majority of Frenchmen has not a chance for public demonstrations while the armed forces of the country are in the hands of Communist and Socialist leaders of government. The strike is the legal weapon of revolutionaries in all countries; and we had a practical

demonstration in 1926 of how it can become a start of revolution and thereby an international tool manipulated by Bolsheviks resident here and in Moscow.

"The Patriot" Assails British Tolerance and Indifference

"Owing to the cultivated blessed innocence of the British public, and with the stupid meddling interference of bishops and clergy and Parliament in any movement which can be described as 'Labour Unrest,' Britain is as open as most countries of the Continent to the stirring of our allotted section of World-Revolution. Our Legislators and Administrators have not even got the backbone to stop the issue of the daily organ of the Soviet in its ceaseless cultivation of strikes in industry, in the spreading of sedition in our armed forces, and in the propaganda of class-hatred. Our people have not been kept advised of several years of intense revolutionary activity in Spain, conducted by the Communists, inspired and financed from Moscow, and aimed at the destruction of Christianity, Capitalism, and Civilisation. Of the madness of British mortals a prominent feature is the general belief that we are never likely to be the victims of the destructive force of a revolutionary power which we can see spreading over all other countries. Not only do many of our 'intellectuals' keep themselves doped on the happenings of past years, and on the characters of their moving spirits, but they idiotically accept open-mouthed the flap-doodle being broadcast by the Bolshevik directors of world Communism, that the enslaved people of Russia are going to be given the inestimable blessing of secret balloting for their future masters—and some other crumbs of 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.' There is a string tied to the promise of future reforms, in the shape of a statement that there will be only one political party in Russia—'Communism'—and the leaders of that will certainly be the same gang of atrocious tyrants who have for long proclaimed that they recognise no force in the laws of God or man."

National "Peace" Conference to Cooperate with Communists

Bearing in mind Mrs. Roosevelt's inauguration of the National Peace Conference Emergency Peace Campaign, 4/21/36, the following report in the Communist Party's Daily Worker (6/25/36) is of interest:

"The coming World Peace Congress, called for Geneva in September, to which the **American League Against War and Fascism** is sending a delegation in common with most of the other peace societies in the country, including the **National Peace Conference** and the **League of Nations Society**, should be the occasion for an all-round strengthening of the League in every locality, in organizational support in activity and personnel. The World Peace Congress movement comprises the bulk of the peace movement of Europe, including the great trade union federations and the most important Socialist and labor parties."

James Lerner, head of the youth section of the communist **American League Against War and Fascism**, in the new communist paper

"Champion of Youth" (7/36), writes of the 1933 communist World Congress of Youth Against War and Fascism (see page 247 "The Red Network" for its militant communistic activities) and the coming session under League of Nations Association sponsorship. To quote:

League of Nations Assn. Sponsoring World Youth Congress

"The first attempt to establish an international union of all youth for peace was that of the Paris Congress held in the summer of 1933. Out of that grew the Youth Section of the American League Against War and Fascism among other kindred groups in many other countries. . . .

"Geneva in September will now be the scene of the Congress of all youth. About 20 national organizations in the United States have already registered their intention to send delegates, most of whom will also attend the Brussels sessions.

"The World Youth Congress is being sponsored by the **League of Nations Association**, which is allotting credentials for American delegates. . . .

"With Paris, 1933, and Brussels, 1936, behind us; with the experiences of war, and successes in the fight for peace established, we are certain that the ship returning to America on September 16, 1936, will carry not only representatives of a large section of America's young people, but the program which will win the majority for peace—for the **League of Peoples**."

"50 American Delegates Prepare to Leave for Brussels Sessions on Sept. 3—Dr. Harry F. Ward Is Leader of Delegation" is the caption in the communist *Daily Worker* 8/12/36 of the report stating that Clarence Hathaway, editor of the *Daily Worker*, Margaret Forsyth, member of the national board of the Y.W.C.A. and Dorothy Detzer, of the W.I.L.P.F., both also executives of Ward's communist American League Against War and Fascism, Lucille Milner of the A.C.L.U., etc. were members of the delegation, and to quote: "Other American organizations to be represented at the Peace Congress are: Church Peace Union and World Alliance for International Friendship through the Church, National Council for the Prevention of War, Institute for International Education, National Council of the Young Men's Christian Association, Carnegie Endowment's European Center, Foreign Policy Association, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, New Jersey Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, League of Nations Association, National Board of the Young Women's Association, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America."

League of Nations "International and Communistic"—London Saturday Review

The London *Saturday Review* (May and June 1936 issues) made these statements:

"What secret pact has Eden made with Russia—and by whose authority? There is something rotten in Eden's pro-Russian policy; something strange about this question. IT IS SINISTER.

"We know that Ramsay MacDonald never made any secret of his affection for Bolshevism. We know that Eden owes his tragical advancement to MacDonald. We know that at Geneva, at Moscow and in London Eden has sedulously cultivated Litvinoff. . . .

"The policy of the League is to denationalize nations and destroy their individuality. It is destructive of the independence of the people, by usurping their sovereignty. **THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IS INTERNATIONAL AND COMMUNISTIC.**"

Regarding the Stalin interview of Roosevelt's friend and supporter Roy W. Howard of the pro-Socialist Scripps-Howard newspapers (now sold in pamphlet form at Communist book stores), the London Patriot (3/12/36) made this pertinent comment:

Stalin Sheds "Peace" Garb and Threatens Japan

"Considerable space was given in the Press last week to an interview Mr. R. W. Howard, president and editor of the New York World Telegram, had with M. Stalin. One of the statements made by the latter was as follows:—

"If Japan ventures to attack the Mongolian People's Republic, and seeks to destroy its independence, we shall have to help that republic."

"M. Litvinoff's assistant, M. Stomoniakoff, recently so informed the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow. We will help that republic in the same way as we did in 1921."

"The help that Moscow gave in 1921 was practically to filch Mongolia when other nations were not taking notice. The statement, too, raises another point. M. Litvinoff is making Soviet Russia one of the most active members of the League of Nations, which, we are told, is designed to prevent war. Why, then, if there is likelihood of trouble over Mongolia, does not the Soviet Government propose to refer the matter to Geneva, instead of uttering war threats against Japan?"

Roosevelt and Secretary Hull, in a White House conference with Senate leaders held before the assembling of Congress, 1935, made it understood that a resolution affiliating the U.S.A. with the World Court of the League of Nations should be rushed through before opposition could be mobilized.

Roosevelt's Abortive Attempt To Join World Court

The resolution was introduced by Senator Pittman, January 9th, and secured a favorable vote of 14 to 7 from Roosevelt's Senatorial "Fidos" on the Foreign Affairs Committee. Then sufficient opposition was rallied to barely defeat Roosevelt's plans—for the present. The 52 votes for adherence and 36 against lacked but 7 votes of the necessary two thirds majority. More than two thirds of the Democrats were favorable and almost two thirds of the Republicans unfavorable.

Rep. George H. Tinkham of Mass., a patriot and real American statesman, charged that during the closing days of Congress (1934) Roosevelt's henchmen had rushed through without hearings, debate or roll call, a resolution affiliating the United States with the International Labor Office at Geneva, and provided for an annual American

contribution of \$250,000 toward the expense of this office. The ease with which this was slipped over no doubt emboldened the Roosevelt Socialists to try the same method of rushing through U. S. affiliation with the World Court.

The International Cooperative Alliance of Socialist cooperatives (which praise Roosevelt so highly) also maintain a committee at the International Labor Office headquarters (p. 307 People's Year Book).

"Miss" Perkins Clashes with Versailles Treaty Facts

"Miss" Perkins, with the veracity so characteristic of the Roosevelt administration and all Reds, had assured the hectic Congress which passed the resolution for I.L.O. affiliation in its closing days, Mr. Tinkham said, that the International Labor Office was not a part of the League of Nations.

But article 392 of the Versailles Treaty, which established the I.L.O., specifically declares that, "The International Labor Office shall be established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of the organization of the League."

League Advocate Suggests Second Evasion of U.S. Laws

The Awakener (1/15/35) says: "The confidence of the League supporters in President Roosevelt's ability to win the first test fight on the World Court is seen in the address of Hamilton Holt, founder of the League of Nations Association, at Winter Park, Fla., on January 6th. In this address, Mr. Holt predicted that the World Court resolution 'should pass with scarcely one vote of opposition.' He then urged that the President evade the difficulty of securing a two thirds majority in the Senate on the League issue by the expedient of putting the United States in the League by the passage of a joint resolution of Congress, which would require only a majority vote. 'Why not try to enter the League by a joint resolution of Congress, as you did the other day when America officially joined the International Labor Office?', he asked the President.

"In this connection it is regarded as interesting that on the program of the 'League of Nations School', which has just been held in New York by the Greater New York Branch of the League of Nations Association, one of the official speakers was Ludwig Lore, who was one of the founders of the American Communist Party. Another was Mrs. Vera M. Dean, one of the most outspoken admirers of Soviet Russia on the American lecture platform. Another was Senator Pope. The purpose of the 'School' was to train pro-League lecturers who are to go out in flying squadrons and whip up sentiment for the League by speeches before all the clubs and organizations in New York. Similar work is being done by the League units in other cities."

Hamilton Holt bestowed honorary degrees upon both President and Mrs. Roosevelt, with thick flattery for Roosevelt's socialistic program. Four of his radical "pacifist" connections during the World War are cited in the Report of the N. Y. State Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities, called the "Lusk Report".

The "Sin" Is in Being Caught

Mr. Archibald E. Stevenson, the counsel of the committee which compiled the Lusk Report, tells an amusing story illustrating the veracity typical of intellectual radicals. He arranged a luncheon engagement with Holt, after Holt had publicly denied that he was a member of one of the organizations as cited in the Lusk Report. While Holt was reiterating his denial of membership, at luncheon, Mr. Stevenson pulled out and placed before him a letter signed, admittedly, by Holt himself proving Holt's membership.

The letter, part of a shipment of records being transported to a place of safekeeping by Reds, had, without Holt's knowledge, been waylaid by Government operatives.

Holt is connected with Open Road (an affiliate of the Soviet government's Intourist), which conducts propaganda tours catering particularly to students, teachers and intellectual radicals.

Holt Now Sponsoring Communist Youth Exhibit

Now (1936), he is a member of the sponsoring committee of the communist American Youth Congress' American Youth Exhibit, in company with the Communist writer Sherwood Anderson, the Communist Negro atheist poet Langston Hughes, and other outstanding radicals. The committee is composed of Murray Baron, Norman Bel Geddes, Margaret Bourke-White, Stuart Davis, Mary Fox, Hamilton Holt, Langston Hughes, Alvin Johnson (head of Mrs. Roosevelt's pro-Communist New School for Social Research), Henry Noble MacCracken (Hallie Flanagan's fellow radical and sympathetic chief), Vito Marcantonio (the Communist Party's mouthpiece in Congress and Mrs. F.D.R.'s "peace" associate), Gov. Harry W. Nice (who was Roosevelt-supported (1934) when he ran against the patriotic anti-New Deal Democrat, Gov. Albert C. Ritchie), A. Philip Randolph (Negro head of the communist American Negro Congress), radical Rose Schneiderman (Mrs. Roosevelt's Russian-born radical friend and a Roosevelt appointee), Lillian D. Wald (another of Mrs. Roosevelt's radical co-workers of the same type), and Chas. C. Webber (militant left-wing Socialist, now organizer for the pro-Communist Methodist Federation for Social Service).

Carnegie Millions Subsidize League Propaganda

Propaganda for U.S. affiliation with the League of Nations is subsidized by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. (How one learns to loathe that word "peace" after seeing the strife promoted in its name!) In its publication, "International Conciliation", for June, 1936, it bemoans the failure of Roosevelt's plans for World Court affiliation but shows how Roosevelt (despite the will of the voters registered repeatedly since the war) cooperated with the League in the matter of sanctions. To quote:

"In two days, the League's Committee of Thirteen adjudged that Italy 'has resorted to war in disregard of its covenants under Article 12 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.'

"On the same day the United States took drastic action, based on its **Neutrality Act**. President Roosevelt bluntly described the situation as 'a state of war within the intent and meaning of the Joint Resolution.' He issued two Proclamations, one embargoing the export of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to both belligerents, and the other warning American citizens against traveling on ships of either country. He went even further, however, in an accompanying statement, saying: 'In these specific circumstances, I desire it to be understood that any of our people who voluntarily engage in transactions of any character with either of the belligerents do so at their own risk.'

Roosevelt Sets Pace for League Against Italy

"This news, reaching Geneva early Sunday morning, was electric. It meant, in short, that the United States had already embargoed arms shipments, that it would not enforce the old 'freedom of the seas' policy which had caused such conflict in the World War, and that it would not interfere with sanctions. Its immediate result was that the League the next day adopted the same list of arms to be embargoed as had President Roosevelt, though applying it only against Italy as the aggressor.

"Immediately after, the League Committee for Coordination of Measures under Article 16 of the Covenant adopted with lightning-like rapidity a series of proposals on financial measures, prohibition of imports from Italy, embargo on certain exports to Italy, and organization of mutual support. Throughout the discussions the status and policy of non-member States had been of predominant importance. . . .

"Meanwhile, the extent of American trade with the belligerents was of vital interest on both sides of the Atlantic. On October 30, Secretary Hull emphasized that the Government was giving 'the most diligent and earnest attention to this and other phases' of the dispute. . . . On the same day, President Roosevelt, in a similar press statement said: 'I do not believe that the American people will wish for abnormally increased profits that temporarily might be secured by greatly extending our trade in such materials; nor would they wish the struggles on the battlefield to be prolonged because of profits accruing to a comparatively small number of American citizens.'

"Other branches of the Government acted on the same view. Secretary of Commerce Roper stated that in accordance with the policy of discouraging trade with the belligerents, the Shipping Board had sent letters to operators of all ships in which it had financial interest urging them to keep their vessels away from Italian and Ethiopian waters. Similarly, Secretary of the Interior Ickes expressed hope that American oil exporters would keep the letter and spirit of the Neutrality Act.

"Meanwhile the League was moving ahead not only to consolidate existing sanctions, which had been confined largely to matters predominantly within the control of League States, but to extend them to certain war materials where the cooperation of non-Member

States was essential. The Committee of Eighteen devoted its second session to the possibility of including in the list, petroleum, iron, steel, and coal. Most difficult problems arose, however, as to transit, transshipment, quotas, and ratios. The Committee, therefore, decided on November 6 to approve the inclusion 'as soon as the conditions necessary to render this extension effective have been realized.' This was understood in part to mean informal consultation with or information as to non-Member States."

Roosevelt Administration in Silly, Untruthful Denial

Under attack, the Roosevelt administration claimed that it was not following the program of the League of Nations.

"Secretary Hull very shortly expressed the American Government's views. On November 15 he stated that:

"The American people are entitled to know that there are certain commodities such as oil, copper, trucks, tractors, scrap-iron and scrap-steel, which are essential war materials although not actually arms, ammunition, or implements of war, and that according to recent government trade reports a considerably increased amount of these is being exported for war purposes. This class of trade is directly contrary to the general spirit of the recent Neutrality Act. . . .

"President Roosevelt in a letter on December 6 reiterated this viewpoint. His first thought, he said, had been that the United States should not be drawn into the conflict, but . . . 'I did not lose sight of the truth that the best guarantee against such a calamity would be the smothering of the fire itself You state that the efforts of fifty-two nations may come to nought if the United States stands aloof. I submit that, far from standing aloof, we have, in the various steps taken to date, done our share towards the restoration of peace, and in a number of respects have gone beyond the actions so far taken by other nations.'"

U. S. participation in a Pan-American Union affiliated with the League of Nations would appear to be next on the Roosevelt program of socialistic internationalist meddling.

"Peace Dove" Litvinoff

The life of "Peace Dove" Litvinoff is of interest at this time in part because he was the Roosevelts' honored guest at our American White House (As yet it is ours!), where he came at Roosevelt's invitation to negotiate recognition of his bloody Soviet government and sign an agreement trickily worded to the effect that no Bolshevik propaganda would be carried on in America, a pact which both Roosevelt and Litvinoff knew to be a lying one, then, as well as now. Immediately after the signing, Litvinoff was questioned on this point and he said that the work of the **Soviet Government's Comintern** was not referred to in the pact but only the **Soviet Government** and that more should not be read into the agreement than was there.

Litvinoff is also of interest because the heavily financed Emergency Peace Campaign inaugurated by Mrs. Roosevelt and other radi-

cals is now under way to bring about U. S. affiliation with the League of Nations, over whose Council Litvinoff presides as President.

The Communist Daily Worker (7/20/36), under the heading "Soviet Citizens Celebrate the 60th Birthday of a True Bolshevik", says in part:

"Litvinov is a tried, old Bolshevik, and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who entered the Bolshevik Party when the organization first started on the historic road which brought **Socialism** and a classless society to one-sixth of the earth's surface.

"He was a member of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party from 1898 and a Bolshevik since the split in the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party at its Second Congress in 1903 in London.

"He has led the Soviet foreign policy since 1928. . . .

"The life of Litvinov is a thrilling episode in the history of the Russian revolutionary movement.

"He was born July 17, 1876, into the family of a bank clerk in Bielostok. He became acquainted with Socialist principles while in military service.

Arrested and Imprisoned in 1901

"He soon attracted the attention of the police by his revolutionary activity. In 1901 he was arrested and imprisoned, but continued his work, writing revolutionary proclamations which were distributed outside of prison.

"During August of 1902, Litvinov with eleven comrades escaped from prison, attacking and disarming the guards.

"After his escape, he went abroad and became an active worker in the Swiss department of Iskra (organ of the Russian Social-Democrats) as the manager of the dispatch section organizing rendezvous for newcomers, etc.

"After the split in the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party at the Second Congress in 1903, Litvinov joined the Bolsheviks, and the Central Committee sent him to Riga.

"His work in Riga continued throughout the period of the first revolution until 1905.

"The Central Committee then sent him abroad with orders to purchase arms for the Caucasian comrades.

"After this he again returned to Russia, where he fulfilled various party tasks in Petersburg, the Urals, and the Middle Volga.

Arrested in France—Deported to England

"During one foreign trip, he was arrested in France and deported to England. He remained in London until 1918, being nearly all the time the secretary and leader of the local Bolshevik group, conducting the struggle under Lenin's direct leadership.

"He was at the same time the representative of the Bolsheviks on the International Socialist Bureau.

"Immediately after the October Revolution, Litvinov was ap-

pointed by telegraph as Ambassador to Great Britain by the Council of People's Commissars.

"Since then Litvinov never left the ranks of Soviet diplomacy.

Imprisoned by British As Hostage

"In September, 1918, he was imprisoned by the British Government as a hostage for the British agent, Lockhart, who had been arrested in Moscow, and later was exchanged for him.

"Arriving in Moscow at the end of 1918, he was appointed a member of the Collegium of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and soon sent to Stockholm.

"Here he made the first peace proposals to all governments, which, however, did not arouse a sympathetic response.

Deported by Swedish Government

"Deported by the Swedish Government, he returned to Moscow where besides working in the Foreign Commissariat, he was a member of the Collegium of the Commissariat of State Control."

"The Portrait of a Diplomat" by Hanns Anderson of Copenhagen gives many interesting side lights on "Peace Dove" Litvinoff and cites a few of his aliases which include: Meier Moses Wallach, Enoch Finkelstein, Ludwig Wilhelmovich Nitz, Felix, called Papasha, Gustav Graff and Polyanski. To quote:

What's in a Name?

"Like the majority of the Bolsheviks, Meier Wallach comes from an East-Jewish family. His parents presumably lived in the ghetto of Bielostok. Five of his brothers and sisters became known, and all of them bear different surnames.

"His oldest brother, Leo, has been living in San Francisco since 1905, the year of the first revolution. There at 628 Fourth Ave., he follows the honorable trade of presser of gentlemen's clothes. He relates that 'our real family name was Polyanski but my brother Maxim, whom one regarded from his earliest youth as a political personality, for this reason assumed the name of Meier Wallach on his own initiative. But then when he fled to Germany, he had suddenly become Gustav Graff while he still was called Litvinoff. As far as I know, at least, he never used the name Finkelstein.'

"Nevertheless, his sister is called Esther Finkelstein. She is faring very badly, since her landlord in Warsaw threw her out on the street a year ago because she could not pay one hundred marks in arrears. At that time she complained very much because her big brother did not want to help her in any way.

"A second sister lived in England before the war. That was Rebecca. She always harboured Wallach when the ground became too hot for him in England. Unfortunately it is not known what she is doing today."

Seeming Family Trait Crops Out in Brother

Another brother Savelij (Solomon), we are told, "also calls himself Litvinoff for unknown reasons". He was sentenced for the forg-

ery of several millions in bills of exchange in connection with his Soviet Commercial agency in Paris and in 1931 was deported. "Meier the almighty brother did not even prevent his deportation. Such a high comrade as Meier naturally ran no danger of being made responsible for the disgraceful deeds of his brother, who let himself be caught, as is otherwise the rule in the Soviet Union".

"The third brother answers to the name of Rabbi Jankel Wallach and lives in Bielostok, Lodz and Warsaw just as it may happen." This older brother, to quote, "a dirty rabbi with curls in front of his ears, insists that he knows the name of his brother exactly. In reality the latter is named Meier Moises Wallach—Meier supposedly standing for 'light'. Jankel, to whom has fallen the sad earthly lot of caring for the spiritual welfare of his worldly brothers, one day ran to the railroad station in order to beg from his brother, Comrade People's Commissar, on the latter's passage through Jankel's city. 'Meier! Meier!' he called from the barriers of the station, and indeed he could walk along the platform for a few minutes with him. Unfortunately, unfortunately, he spoke so much about the money which the mighty Meier Wallach must have that the latter finally gave him a cigar and then was in a terrible hurry about his departure. Protected by a cohort of selected body-guards, Meier travelled to Geneva as Litvinoff. . . .

Litvinoff's Family "Love" Ebbs at Call for Money

"At that time Jankel again had to complain about his brother Meier's miserliness, since he turned to him for help when he was ill. After much waiting, he finally received an answer from Litvinoff's secretary to the effect that Comrade Minister Litvinoff was not in a position to take money with him across the frontiers. Axriel Wallach, the son of Rabbi Jankel, who even went to Moscow personally, was also rejected in no uncertain terms by Tanja, Meier's daughter. The kindred feeling of Jewish families, which usually asserts itself, seemed to fail in Meier's case the moment his private purse was called into service. . . .

"Wallach should be regarded as the prototype of this Bolshevik company as a whole. He was one of the most active conspirators. Already at that time he was travelling throughout all Europe with the money that had been collected by the poor peasants of the Caucasus. Karl Woltz, one of the detectives of the Ochraha, relates how he often stood before a small hotel in the Neustädtische Kirchstrasse in Berlin 1902-3 to watch an 'immensely rich Russian' by the name of Wallach both day and night. 'Yes, Wallach, who later added the name Litvinoff, was at that time the ringleader of the Russian terrorists who provided his people in Berlin with funds. . . .'

"Litvinoff-Wallach himself describes his activity in this book" ("The First Fighting Organization of the Bolsheviks" compiled by S. M. Posner), "shedding a characteristic light on his activity and proving at the same time that his present day policy is only a continuation of the old policy with other means . . ."

Wallach Smuggles Arms for Revolution

"Then for what purpose were these dark movements of arms? This is also told us in Posner's book. The general plan was the following: Arms and equipment were to be brought by a freighter to a point on a Finnish bay previously agreed upon; there the freight was to be transhipped to two other boats and sent to Petersburg. A total of twelve thousand men were to be armed. In order to divert the attention of the police, country houses were to be set on fire, and castles of the Czar in the neighbourhood of Petersburg were to be dynamited as a signal for the revolt. In this undertaking a total of 15,000 guns, 3,000 revolvers and several tons of dynamite were transported."

And again: "From Paris he attempted to buy some thousands of guns of the Mauser and Mannlicher system, some dozens of machine guns and short arms, as well as ammunition. **In the guise of an officer of the Republic of Ecuador**, he got in o touch with a Danish officer in Hamburg and bought machine guns. Here he was supported by B. S. Stomonjakoff, then studying in Liège, Camille Huysmanns, at that time the secretary of the IInd International, De Bruker and Luter. The latter, who was then living in Germany under the assumed name Eugen Pierre, reports about this purchase of weapons in another part of the same book. . . .

Stalin Murders Thirty-two at Tiflis—Litvinoff Arrested Helping with the Loot

"It is a known fact that Stalin himself directed an attack on a bank transport in Tiflis in July, 1907, in which thirty-two persons were killed and 250,000 rubles seized as booty. Litvinoff-Wallach, who tended to avoid such dangerous ventures, was arrested with his companion, Fanny Yanpolska, on January 18th, 1908, at the North Station in Paris during his attempt to bring the stolen bank notes to safety and exchange them. At that time he called himself Wallack-Meer 'in French'. We well remember how Foreign Commissar Litvinoff took the floor before the committee of the League of Nations in December, 1934, speaking on the 'fundamental arguments about terrorism'. He 'repudiated' this 'political expedient' as 'senseless and harmful', and as a member of the Soviet Government, he regarded it 'with indignation and disgust.' What a monstrosity lies in the fact that serious politicians in the world permit a man to tell them this, a man who not only practised terrorism in all its ramifications himself, but also represents a 'state' which uses the political expedient of terrorism in all of the countries of the world today, and especially today, as part of its imperialistic doctrine of expansion.

Litvinoff's One Aim—World Soviet Union Attained through Revolution

"Wallach remained in England during the War, and there married the very well-to-do Ivy Low. He was naturalized under the name Litvinoff, after having called himself Finkelstein during the preceding years. . . . Not only are the headquarters for all Bolshevik machinations in the world located in Moscow, the Comintern (Communist

International) founded in 1919, not only do the guns and revolvers for revolts in France, Spain, Brazil or Chile come from Moscow or are bought and transported with Soviet money; not only has the Red Army conquered and Bolshevized large parts of China, and completely controls Outer Mongolia Litvinoff's official activity in the capitals of the world serves but one end: the inciting of nations against one another, the launching of senseless wars, out of whose chaos Bolshevism is to grow, and new 'Soviet republics' are to arise as members of the World Soviet Union. . . .

"He wished several times to return to England, but did not receive permission to enter the country. Even when he was to be officially appointed as ambassador in London in 1924, he was again rejected. It was not until much later that the English Government changed its attitude, when Wallach became the Foreign Commissar in 1930. The same Litvinoff who formerly had to be arrested was then permitted to receive Eden in Moscow, as is well-known, and to cheer the English King. The same Bolsheviks who had murdered the King's cousin, the Russian Czar and his family in a bestial manner, and who simultaneously are exerting every effort to revolutionize the British colonial empire and separate it from its mother country intoned 'God save the King'. Nor did it apparently seem a violation to have Wallach march behind the bier of King George, while his comrade from the 'Humanite' published a base utterance about the ceremonies. . . .

"Civil Wars" and "Class Wars" Not League's Business—Litvinoff

"This shrewd card player had the main say in 1927 during the disarmament negotiations in Geneva. It was there that he spoke about the definition of an aggressor, and was so incautious as to say the following open words: '. . . . We never believed, nor did we have any cause to believe that the avoidance of civil wars and class wars was included in the meaning which the League of Nations ascribed in the questions of disarmament and guarantees of safety. I can unhesitatingly assert that the Soviet Government would never have given its consent to a joint solving of problems which touch on **class warfare** or the war against the revolution with the British Government or with other governments represented here'

"These words will always be indicative of the world-revolutionary aims and the double-dealing of official Soviet diplomacy. Already at that time one was willing to listen to everything that Litvinoff said if only to sustain the life of the League of Nations. At the same session, even when Litvinoff stated that:

"'During the ten years of its existence, the Soviet Government has attacked none of its neighbours, has declared war on nobody, and has also not taken part in the wars of third states,' no protest was raised, although the facts in the Caucasus, in China and in Outer Mongolia spoke for themselves, and the Soviet Union has been waging open imperialistic wars up to the present day. . . .

"KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR BY KEEPING WAR OUT OF THE WORLD"—Browder

SAVE
AUGUST 30
RIVERVIEW
PARK
Hear Earl Browder

THE COMMUNIST Campaigner



VOL. 1 No. 2

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PRICE ONE CENT

CHICAGO MARCHES FOR PEACE, AUG. 1

NEGRO CANDIDATE TELLS WAR FACTS

"Every Negro should fight for peace, against war. We have nothing to ho, for from war except worse discrimination, worse slavery than we have now. The last war woke me up and I fight for peace from now on," said Harry Haywood, Negro Communist candidate for Congress in the 1st Illinois district.

and the hundreds of other cases where white workers defended Negroes framed by the white courts showed him the road to follow—the road against war to peace and socialism as the only solution of the Negro problem.

Fascism Means Slavery

Dollars vs. Dollars

We see by the papers that the Republicans have raised \$500,000 in one dollar bills for their campaign. The rest of the 5 million or so that they will need can be gotten by the same means. Now, the facts are that we simply haven't any big boys to go to for campaign donations. So you see, we've been counting on all of you. And we suggest that a dollar on the side of the Communist platform stands to gain considerably more than a

Fascist War Makers Greatest Menace

Churches, labor unions, women's organizations, and civic organizations will take part in the great Peace Parade and Jane Addams Memorial, on August 1, 22nd anniversary of the outbreak of the world war in Europe. Fifty-four organizations were represented at the meeting, held Wednesday, July 15, where plans for the parade were made, and officers elected.

There will be many picturesque floats in the parade, depicting the horror of war and the glories of peace. A puppet depicting the Struggle for Peace, is being rehearsed at Hull House, scores of people are taking part in it. All

Join THE STREAM OF MARCHERS . . .
IN THE MUSIC, THE PAGEANTRY!
THE UNITED PEOPLE'S EXPRESSION FOR PEACE!

PEACE PARADE

AND

Jane Addams Memorial

SAT., AUG. 1st ASSEMBLE

2:00 P. M.

OHIO & LA SALLE STS.

A WAR NOW

would be a scientific, wholesale, impersonal slaughter of men, women and children, thru the use of modern distributors of death—deadly poison gases, machine guns, and bombs from the air. The war shadow looms large in Europe and the far east. The peoples of all nations must in self defense unite to block the aggressive war makers!

AUGUST 1, 1936 marks the 22nd anniversary of the start of the World War. Join the progressive, enlightened peoples of all lands who will march for peace on August 1. Join the thousands of your neighbors who will do honor to the memory of JANE ADDAMS, that staunch fighter for Peace!

EVERY friend of peace is cordially and urgently invited to join in the August 1st Peace Parade and Jane Addams Memorial Pageant.

MARCHERS will assemble on north LaSalle and Ohio Streets at 2:00 P.M. Saturday, August 1st. The Jane Addams Memorial Pageant will be held in the Band Shell, off Roosevelt Road, in Grant Park. For further information, phone, visit or write the Arrangements Committee Offices, Room 607, 184 W. Washington Street, Dearborn 6902



JANE ADDAMS
1860-1935

ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE
ROBERT MORRIS LOVETT, Chairman HARRY L. JUREY, Secretary

Endorsed by the Chicago Federation of Labor
The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
The American League Against War & Fascism
and scores of Church, Civic, Fraternal and other organizations

Rev. Norman B. Barr
Bishop James A. Barr
J. P. Breckenridge
Dr. Herace J. Bridges
Kenneth Colgrove
Rev. Alfred H. Cope
Dr. Arthur G. Fells
Julia I. Felsenthal
Rabbi S. Goldmen
Meyer Malachuk
Helen M. Hefferan
Melville Herskovits
Lillian Herstein
Dr. Arthur E. Holt
Rev. Douglas Horton
Rev. H. M. Kingley
Mary E. McDowell
Dr. A. W. Palmer
Dean C. W. Reese
Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich
Amelia Sears
Graham Taylor
Rev. Ernest P. Tittle
Bishop E.L. Waldorf
Mrs. Quincy Wright

The Communist and Socialist Parties both support this march, as well as the scores of settlement houses, churches, women's organizations and national groups.

War benefits only the millionaire imperialists for whose interests armies are thrown at each other's throats. The rich get super profits, and the working class gets conscripted into armies and into industry.

The Communist party calls on all defenders of peace to join the Peace Parade on August 1st.

THREAT TO SPAIN

the workers and peasants of Spain.

All power to the Spanish people in their struggle against fascism and military dictatorship.

Write or Wire Secretary of State Cordell Hull, demanding that he withdraw the American war vessel to American waters.

Parade Poster and Communist Party Sheet Announcing Communist-Socialist Jane Addams "Peace" Parade. Names of endorsers at left of poster repeated enlarged at right for legibility.



10,000 Reds Hold Mass Meeting to Plan Downfall of U. S. Government. Photo shows a section of the avowed Communist gathering at the Los Angeles Plaza. They frankly expressed their ambition to destroy the U. S. Government.

Discuss War and Armament in Secret, Warns Litvinoff

"And in his speech at the 4th session of the Central Executive Committee on December 29th, 1933, Litvinoff said verbatim:

"One can speak publicly about peace and about disarmament; but it is more convenient to speak about war and about armament in a tête à tête, in three's or in four's." In other words, this means that one can deliver propaganda speeches for the 'World Proletariat' in Geneva, but engage in direct military talks behind the scenes. This is not surprising for a man who sits in the Communist Central Committee in Moscow with Stalin, Manuïlski and Luis Carlos Prestes, the ringleader of the Communist revolt in Brazil.

"Wallach-Finkelstein-Litvinoff is and remains the typical representative of an anti-national policy of confusion and menace to peace. He is of a feather with his colleagues and accomplices Radek-Sobelsohn and Bela Kun-Kohn. Sobelsohn, Wallach and Kohn—what an illustrious constellation in the firmament of modern world politics!"

Red Millions for Spreading Pacifism Considered Well Spent

Prize fighting would be a delightfully easy profession if a pugilist could be always assured of a weak and "pacifistic" opponent. In the same way, Marxians have long figured that the millions and millions of dollars they have expended in America to inculcate pacifist propaganda and to secure tolerance and "free speech" for their treasonable agitations to overthrow the government were well spent.

Whenever quantities of pacifist "Peace" talk, like deadly laughing gas, is being sprayed, one may look for a Socialist-Communist at the pump.

Pacifism is the lethal gas used to anesthetize the patient into limpness before he goes under the knife to have his vitals removed.

Pacifism toward unbelief is sprayed into Christians by Socialists in the name of "tolerance" and "modernism". Pacifism toward Communism-Socialism, politically, is sprayed into the public in the name of "tolerance", "liberalism", "progressivism", "free speech" (for treason and vice). Derision of patriotism, and pacifism toward military defense of the American Government and its principles, are sprayed everywhere in the name of "Peace" and "Anti-War" propaganda.

Mrs. Roosevelt Sprays Poison of Pacifism

It is in keeping with her pro-Socialist record that Mrs. Roosevelt toured the country as a paid speaker on "Ways of Peace" (AP 3/3/36), preaching, in the name of "Peace", nationalization or government ownership of munitions, which, if achieved (as in France and Russia), would nullify the second amendment to the Constitution providing that: "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." Even such arms as the people already possess, with only paper pellets for ammunition, would be useless.

It is also in keeping with her pro-Socialist record that she should have broadcasted for and given her hearty support to radical World Peaceways.

•And who is back of this "World Peaceways" pacifist spray pump? None other than such radicals as Norman Thomas, Franz Boas, George S. Counts, Jerome Davis, Evans Clark, Reinhold Niebuhr, Frank L. Palmer, Harry A. Overstreet, Kirby Page, John Nevin Sayre, Alva W. Taylor, Mary Woolley, F. Ernest Johnson, some twenty or twenty-five leading figures in the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union and other Garland-Fund-supported organizations, such as the Committee on Militarism in Education, propagandizing disarmament, as "peace", on Red funds—in fact, representatives of the principal Communist and Socialist propaganda agencies in America. (See "The Red Network".)

"Peace" Lecture Fees Donated to Red "Charity"

The fees from Mrs. Roosevelt's "peace" lectures, according to the press, were to be given, as usual, to "charity", which in the past has consisted in making huge donations to the National Women's Trade Union League (communist-Garland-Fund-supported and Communist-Party-boosted) and the American Friends Service Committee (the left-wing Quaker group dominated and captured by radicals, who hold "Institutes of International Relations" in various parts of the country, propagandizing pacifism, internationalism and Socialism and addressed by outstanding leaders of this school of thought).

The American Friends Service Committee's Mid-West Institute of International Relations, for example, is held yearly at Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. Listed among its "Faculty" members for the June 22 to July 3, 1936, Institute are:

Norman Thomas, national director of the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy, head of the Socialist Party and a leader of the Communist-Socialist Party united front movement; Julien Bryan, of the communist Friends of the Soviet Union and pro-Soviet lecturer under communistic auspices; Heber Harper, Co-Advisor with George S. Counts (1935) of the communist Moscow State University (Anglo-American section); Toyohiko Kagawa, a former leader of the red Proletarian Party of Japan and Japanese correspondent of the pro-Communist National Religion and Labor Foundation (see "The Red Network for its Communist atheist cartoons, literature distribution, etc.); Ernest Fremont Tittle, of the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy, the National Religion and Labor Foundation, the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, etc., etc.; Senator James P. Pope, "advocate of United States membership in the League of Nations, member Senate munitions investigating committee" (with radical Senator Nye and its Chief Investigator, H. S. Raushenbush, who was formerly paid by the communist Garland Fund); Walter Van Kirk, secretary of the Department of International Justice and Good Will (sweet title!), Federal Council of Churches, since 1925 (his writings are recommended by the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy; chairman of the National Peace Conference's Emergency Peace Campaign, which he launched, featuring Mrs. Roosevelt and British

Socialist Lansbury as speakers, and the Communist Party's mouth-piece in Congress, Marcantonio, who released Mrs. Roosevelt's "peace" pigeons).

"Charitable" Nature of "Mid-West Institute" Reflected by Red Leaders

One of the members of the Central Committee of the Mid-West Institute is Frank W. McCulloch, who took Karl Borders' place (after Roosevelt gave Borders a Government position) as Chicago leader of the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy's unemployed organization, the Workers' Alliance, which amalgamated with the Communist Party's group in the U.S. Dept. of Labor Auditorium in April, 1936. McCulloch is active in Red riots. When arrested in 1935, he was released under bond (Chicago Examiner 1/14/35).

Among official sponsors of recent Mid-West Institutes who are listed in "The Red Network" are: Edwin R. Embree, Jane Addams, Albert Buckner Coe, Paul Douglas, Robert M. Hutchins, Chas. W. Gilkey, Louis L. Mann, Chas. Clayton Morrison, Albert W. Palmer, Ernest F. Tittle, and Walter Dill Scott. Other sponsors active in various phases of the Marxian movement include: Judge Harry M. Fisher, supporter of Jewish colonization in Soviet Russia's Biro Bidjan; Henry P. Chandler, radical Hull House official; etc.

There are also a few dupes, perhaps, who believe that they are aiding "peace" by backing such radical-pacifist propaganda and Red speakers. Just how they reconcile with "peace" Norman Thomas', McCulloch's, and other "pacifists'" Red activities and arrests, and the class-war affiliations of the majority of the Institute speakers and sponsors, is one of those psychological kinks so common in "intellectual" circles where common sense is so frequently discarded as being **too common**.

Faculty members in recent Mid-West Institutes have also included: Kirby Page, Devere Allen, John A. Lapp, Dorothy Detzer, W. E. B. DuBois (all listed in "The Red Network"), Clark M. Eichelberger (national director of the League of Nations Association), etc.

"Charitable Activities" of Friends Service Committee Cover Nation

Some idea of the scope of this well subsidized radical pacifist, internationalist, pro-Socialist propaganda agency, to which Mrs. Roosevelt donated \$72,000 at one time, may be gathered from the 1936 announcement of the Mid-West Institute: "Similar Institutes of International Relations under the Auspices of the American Friends Service Committee and with the Cooperation of the Congregational Council for Social Action are as follows:" It then lists: Duke Univ., Durham, N. C. (Tom A. Sykes, High Point, N. C.); Bethel College (G. R. Gaeddert), Newton, Kans.; Grinnell College (Guy W. Solt), Grinnell, Ia.; Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. (Richard R. Wood, 304 Arch St., Phila., Pa.); Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. (Harold Chance, 120 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.); Mills College (Joseph Conard) Oakland, Calif.; Whittier College, Whittier, Calif. (Lydia Michener, 48 South Lotus, Pasadena, Calif.); Reed College (Paul Elliott), Portland, Ore.

"Peace" Doves Fly Peace Messages

We have a typical picture, in the launching of the Emergency Peace Campaign 4/21/36, of the sweet-sounding, radical-pacifist movement. The grand send-off of this highly financed campaign to spray pacifism and radicalism, and push us into the League of Nations, featured the addresses over a nation wide hook-up of Mrs. Roosevelt (long active in numerous communist-Garland-Fund-supported organizations) and the twice-imprisoned British Red, George Lansbury, intimate of Lenin and Trotzky both before and after the Bolshevik revolution.

To quote from the N. Y. Times report (4/19/36):

"Pigeons To Fly For Peace

"Will Bear Messages From Mrs. Roosevelt to Many Cities

"... On that day pigeons from all parts of the country will leave Washington bearing peace messages from Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt to their various cities. Two hundred will fly to Brooklyn.

"Representative **Vito Marcantonio** of New York will give the signal to release the birds from the grounds of the Washington monument, according to Mr. Statelman, thereby marking the first step in a two-year peace campaign 'to keep the United States out of war.'"

Interesting Facts About Mrs. Roosevelt's "Peace" Associate

Marcantonio, who released the "love doves" with sweet "peace" messages from our first lady, to quote an AP report of 2/15/36: "Spent more than three hours in a Manhattan police station today ... Marcantonio was one of thirteen persons arrested as police broke up a meeting of some 10,000 unemployed WPA and ERB workers in Madison Square. The meeting had been called by leaders of the group in spite of the refusal of city authorities to grant a parade permit ... Marcantonio was one of the speakers. As the meeting started there was a mass movement as if to parade and the police rushed forward. Fists flew." The heading was "Congressman Jailed in N. Y. Relief Clash—Marcantonio Attempts to Lead WPA Parade; Turned Loose, Reputedly by Mayor" (Mayor LaGuardia was his former law partner).

The communist New Masses (3/10/36) praised Marcantonio as a speaker for the "most successful New Masses Forum event held so far", with John L. Spivak (writer for communist New Masses and Daily Worker), and Wm. E. Browder (a Communist Party leader and brother of Earl, Sec'y of the Party), as other speakers, and Ella Reeve Bloor as chairman. "Mother" Ella (more appropriately, as in Cockney, "Hella") Bloor, a Communist Party leader and organizer, is given an ovation at Party meetings where she is proudly introduced as the "Comrade who has occupied more jails than any other woman in the U.S.A."!

The Communist Party's Daily Worker which frequently eulogizes Marcantonio's record and his activities in Congress, where he introduces Communist-Party-sponsored Bills, said, editorially (5/5/36):

"We suggest that all persons interested in **progressive social leg-**

isolation write to Mr. Marcantonio in Washington, D. C., at once declaring their support of H.R. 11186."

This Bill provided for the six billion dollar relief appropriation demanded by the communist Workers' Alliance.

Marcantonio Introduces Bill to Communize United States

One of the Communist Bills introduced in Congress by Marcantonio, H.J. Res. 327, which was effectively exposed by patriotic Mrs. Vinton E. Sisson, national defense chairman of the D.A.R., proposed to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor, working hours, compensation, etc., of all persons and, to quote, "to establish and **TAKE OVER natural resources, properties and enterprises in manufacturing, mining, commerce, transportation, banking, public utilities and other business, to be owned and operated by the government of the United States or agencies thereof.**" Which is nothing less than pure Communism.

Marcantonio is a member of the sponsoring committee of the communist American Youth Exhibit and a member of the "People's Committee for a Farmer Labor Party", the Party being organized by the Communist Party as a political Red Front.

Crimson Record of Mrs. Roosevelt's Other "Peace" Associate

And who is this British "Peace" agent, George Lansbury M.P., who signs himself "Right Honorable", who came to help Mrs. Roosevelt at the Pacifist pump, to spray the anesthetizing message of pacifism to America? As one might expect, he is a world leader of class-war Socialism-Communism. To quote from his record in "Potted Biographies" (1933 edition), which gives the records of outstanding British Reds (Boswell Publishing Co., London), he has been "twice imprisoned. From radicalism" (he) "progressed to Socialism and has reached Communism, in active co-operation with Bolshevism."

Several pages of his blood-red seditious utterances urging the revolutionary "General Strike", making "suggestion for the foundation of a Soviet Government for Britain", etc., appear in the record. Again quoting:

"Following Mr. Lansbury's return from Russia" (1920) "certain wireless messages between Tchitcherin and Litvinoff (Finkelstein) were intercepted by the British Government, and were made public 19 August. They showed very close relations with the Daily Herald, and preparations for subsidising it." (Litvinoff was then in England.)

One intercepted wire quoted was from Litvinoff to Tchitcherin, (2/29/20), saying: "'Reply as soon as possible how much you consider we ought to give to the Herald. Lansbury seems particularly anxious about obtaining paper. Would it not be cheaper to buy paper for him in Sweden instead of making him a present in money?'"

"Litvinoff to Tchitcherin, 11 July.—'If we do not support the Daily Herald, which is now passing through a fresh crisis, paper will have to turn "Right" trade union. In Russian questions it acts as if it were our organ. After Lansbury's journey it has gone considerably

more to the "Left," and decidedly advocates "direct action." I consider work of Daily Herald as specially important for us. I beg for early reply, as there is no hope of establishment of a purely Communist paper.'

"Tchitcherin to Litvinoff, 20 July.—'If you have not enough ready money for the subsidy to Daily Herald, tell him subsidy will be paid by those who have authority to organize the financing of our institutions abroad. The subsidy for the preservation of control must be paid by degrees.'

"Litvinoff to Tchitcherin, 22 July.—'I have given instructions that the Chinese bonds which are there be handed over to the Herald.'"

Poisoning Public Mind Against "General Peace", Said Daily Herald

The day following publication by the government of these wires, the Herald came out in denial saying it "was another attempt of the Government to poison the public mind against general peace."

Note that expression "GENERAL PEACE", particularly the word "**PEACE**"! If ever the Devil wore the livery of the Church to do Devil's work, he has used the word "PEACE" to get his ends and to stir up atheistic bloody Communist strife in that name.

"Potted Biographies" states that Lansbury is one of the most effective agitators sent out to win churchmen over to Socialism and to the Socialist Party, for he professes Christianity, while the left-wing, openly anti-Christian, Socialists are kept in the background for the decoying of Christians. To quote, "he is clever enough to have done more harm in corrupting honest Labour and industrial trade unionism by his writings than any other of the Socialist leaders."

He was the leader of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain (see "The Red Network"), founded by Friedrich Engels, Marx' collaborator, at the time when the Party proposed joining the Communist International, with the provision that it might preserve a little local independence from the complete submission to Moscow in every detail, decision, policy and activity, which is required from all branches of the Comintern; but the Comintern demanded implicit obedience in all things at all times and would make no exception in this case (1934).

In 1923 he was vice-president of the communist Workers International Relief.

Lansbury Demands Freedom for Comintern Leader Arrested in Brazil

To quote The Patriot, 3/26/36:

"Moscow's Hand In Brazil.

"Our insufferable Socialists are now trying to bring pressure on the Brazilian Government to release Luis Prestes, an executive member of the Communist International, and leader of the recent Communist uprising in Brazil. Prestes, having planned murder on a wide scale, is now safe under lock and key, paying the penalty for treason against the State, and it is a wonder he has not already forfeited his life. The Brazilian people made it very evident they wanted

Great Labour, Socialist and Democratic Convention
to hail the Russian Revolution
and to Organise the British Democracy
To follow Russia

May 23rd, 1917.

To Trade Councils, Trade Unions, Local Labour Parties, Socialist Parties, Women's Organisations, and Democratic Bodies.

DEAR COMRADES,

The Conference to which we recently invited you is already assured of a great success.

It will be one of the greatest Democratic Gatherings ever held in this country. It will be historic. It will begin a new era of democratic power in Great Britain. It will begin to do for this country what the Russian Revolution has accomplished in Russia.

There is little time for preparation. Action must be taken immediately by every Branch and Society desiring to be represented. It seems not unlikely, owing to the rush of applications for delegates' tickets, that the Committee may be unable to give facilities for those who delay till the last moment.

The Conference will be held in the ALBERT HALL, LEEDS, on SUNDAY, JUNE 3rd, commencing at 10.30 a.m.

We now send you the Resolutions which are to be discussed. Owing to the shortness of time for the preparation for the Conference the proceedings will not be subject to the rigid rules which usually govern Labour and Socialist Congresses. It will be a Democratic Conference to establish Democracy in Great Britain.

Russia has called to us to follow her. You must not refuse to answer that appeal.

Send in your application for Delegates' Cards at once. You are entitled to send one delegate however small your membership may be, but an additional delegate for each 5,000 of your membership above the first 5,000, or part of 5,000.

Applications, accompanied by a fee of 2s. 6d. for each delegate, must be sent to one of the Secretaries as under:

ALBERT INKPIN, Chandos Hall, 21a Maiden Lane, Strand, London, W.C.2.
 FRANCIS JOHNSON, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Square, London, E.C.4.

In the confident hope that your Society will join in this great event,

On behalf of the United Socialist Council,

We remain,

Yours fraternally

H. ALEXANDER
 CHAS. G. AMMON
 W. C. ANDERSON
 C. DESPARD
 E. C. FAIRCHILD
 J. FINEBERG
 F. W. JOWETT

GEO. LANSBURY
 J. RAMSAY MACDONALD
 TOM QUELCH
 ROBERT SMILLIE
 PHILIP SNOWDEN
 ROBERT WILLIAMS

nothing to do with the Reds financed by Moscow, and yet James Maxton, **George Lansbury**, Aneurin Bevan, and Wm. Gallacher, amongst others of the same kidney, are demanding that Prestes should be set free to continue his nefarious work. Men such as he, however, who have not the least compunction in shedding blood on a vast scale, should not be surprised when law and order retaliate." (Wm. Gallacher is a Communist Party member of Parliament.)

Lansbury One of Those Calling Infamous Leeds Conference

In 1917 when his country was at war and needed loyalty, not revolution, behind the lines, Lansbury helped inaugurate another "Emergency" campaign. Note, in the reproduction (p. 383) of the Manifesto which he joined in issuing to call the infamous Leeds Conference, the words "**There is little time for preparation.**"

Also note that the call was to England "**TO FOLLOW RUSSIA**" and to do for England "**what the Russian revolution has accomplished in Russia.**"

"Russia has called to us to follow her. You must not refuse to answer that appeal," his Manifesto said.

The Emergency Peace Campaign announces, July 15, 1936, that meetings were held in 278 cities during the spring and that during the summer 235 college men and women are at work for the campaign in 23 states.

Will enough steam be generated by our Lansbury-Marcantonio-Roosevelt-launched Emergency Peace Campaign to push the U.S.A. into that Litvinoff-dominated net of intrigue, the League of Nations? Will we "answer the call of Russia" and join the League, and give Roosevelt the autocratic "neutrality" power he demanded to designate the "aggressor" nation—which in line with his utterances and record would undoubtedly be the nation opposing Soviet Russia?

Carl Haessler and other Communist Party leaders have predicted that the U.S.A. will fight in the next war on the side of Godless bloody Soviet Russia. God forbid!

"Peace" and Class-War

Anyone interested in the connection between class-war-Socialism-Communism and the "peace" movement for disarmament and entangling alliances, would do well to study the affiliations of the "Sponsors for Emergency Peace Campaign".

Heading the national committee as chairman is Rockefeller's "Christian Socialist" minister, Harry Emerson Fosdick, who served on a campaign committee supporting the Socialist Party Red-Front leader, Norman Thomas, in 1929, was an ardent petitioner for U. S. recognition of bloody Soviet Russia, and now works for the liberation of Angelo Herndon, convicted Negro Communist Party organizer, and Communist Tom Mooney. Fosdick's "Inter-Religious Committee for Justice to Thomas J. Mooney" is probably the first group to dignify as "Thomas J.", dynamiter Anarchist-Communist Tom Mooney, who promises Stalin to aid Red revolution in the U.S.A. if he is released. (See "The Red Network," p. 199, for Mooney's

letter to Stalin.) In 1931, Fosdick served on the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union national committee on labor injunctions.

One notes that Socialist "Pacifist" clergymen do not agitate about the liberation of other types of criminals socially less dangerous but bleat endlessly over the "cruel unjust" convictions of dynamiting revolutionaries who frankly promise that if released they will continue their seditious work. More than once I have attended a Communist mass meeting where Mooney's special Red revolutionary message to the meeting was read and cheered. "Free Tom Mooney" banners decorate practically every Communist Party meeting and parade. Articles and reports about him, by him, and for him, fill the Communist press.

If Communists Mooney and Herndon are freed and cause the Red revolutionary bloodshed they openly and proudly promise to then work for, the clergymen now aiding their liberation should be tried as accessories to their crimes.

Fosdick teaches at Union Theological Seminary, nicknamed the "Red Seminary". His brother, Raymond, exerts a controlling influence over the Rockefeller Foundation purse strings. The University of Chicago, whose Red policies are supported and upheld by the Foundation with its millions, rivals in radicalism Columbia University, which is often referred to as "Columbia, the germ of the nation".

Other Active Radicals National "Peace" Sponsors

Another of the Emergency Peace Campaign national sponsors is Smedley D. Butler, the "cussing General", who has become, the past year or two, a headliner at Communist mass meetings, where he cusses out war in behalf of the U. S. Government, calling it just a "Wall Street racket" and says his work with the Marines was only in aid of Wall Street. How they cheer him!

For the Red affiliations of the following national sponsors, see "The Red Network": Grace Abbott; Roswell P. Barnes; Allan Knight Chalmers; Stuart Chase; Dorothy Detzer; John Dewey; W. E. B. DuBois, whose second cousin, a Negro cook, says he is "part Injun and talks wild"; Sherwood Eddy; Mary Fox; Zona Gale; Sidney E. Goldstein; John Haynes Holmes, who, it seems, joins all the Red groups; Hamilton Holt, who as president of Rollins College recently gave honorary degrees to President and Mrs. Roosevelt for their services in behalf of the "new social order"; Hannah Clothier Hull; James Weldon Johnson; Frederick J. Libby; Edouard C. Lindeman; Fred Atkins Moore; Charles Clayton Morrison; Ray Newton; Reinhold Niebuhr; Frank Olmstead; Mildred Scott Olmstead; Albert W. Palmer; A. Philip Randolph, now head of the Communist-controlled National Negro Congress; Elbert Russell; John Nevin Sayre; Tucker P. Smith; Monroe Sweetland; Graham Taylor; Norman Thomas; Ernest F. Tittle; Mary Van Kleeck; Lillian D. Wald; James P. Warbasse; William Allen White, who also contributed financially to communist "New Masses" and appealed for convicted Communist

Angelo Herndon (Daily Worker 9/14/35); Mary Woolley; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

Not listed in "The Red Network", are these national sponsors: Prof. Norman F. Coleman of Reed College, petitioner for Soviet recognition and endorser of the book "Professional Patriots", put out by the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, which ran serially in the Communist Party's Daily Worker as Communist propaganda; Frank P. Graham of the communist Moscow State University advisory board, defender of communistic Commonwealth College (see), and opponent of anti-Communist sedition bills; Ivan Lee Holt, eulogist of Soviet Russia (see reproduction from communist Daily Worker) and now head of the Federal Council of Churches pro-Socialist ruling group; Negro Mordecai Johnson, Communist-defending President of Howard University (see this book); W. O. Mendenhall who also petitioned for Soviet recognition, was president, until 1934, of the American Friends University, and serves on the faculty of the American Friends Service Committee pro-Socialist radical-pacifist Institutes of International Relations; Edw. L. Parsons, national vice-chairman of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union, etc.; Aurelia H. Reinhart, of "Open Road", a Soviet Government "Intourist" affiliate promoting radical propaganda tours.

The various local sponsoring committees are of the same type as the Chicago committee which includes the following whose radical affiliations are listed in "The Red Network": Socialist Paul H. Douglas, Roosevelt appointee; Horace J. Bridges; Norman B. Barr; Albert B. Coe; Theo. C. Hume, who is also a lecturer for the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy; Rabbi Louis L. Mann; and Chas. W. Gilkey.

The affiliations of the Sponsors of the Emergency "Peace" Campaign reach into every nook and cranny of the Red **class-war** movement. Many of these same people are signers of the recent "People's Mandate to Governments" demanding disarmament and "recognition of world interdependence to end the **economic** anarchy which breeds war." This is circulated by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, affiliate of the communist American League Against War and Fascism which was set up by order of the Comintern. The W.I.L.P.F. long received communist Garland Fund financial support.

Federal Council Features Un-American "Peace" Campaign Platform

The Federal Council bulletin (6/13/36) devotes three quarters of a page to the Platform of the National Peace Conference Emergency Peace Campaign. The planks include the old Socialist-internationalist demand for "reduction of tariff barriers" (So that American labor may be swamped by goods produced under peonage?), "continued membership in the International Labor Organization" of the League of Nations, "control of the munition industry" (Nationalization of munitions, already accomplished by the Reds now ruling France and urged for the U. S. by Mrs. Roosevelt), "extension of existing neutrality

legislation to include an embargo on supplementary war material" (So that we may legally dance to Litvinoff's League of Nations' tune?), "American adherence to the World Court"; and the statement made in conclusion is: "We support continued cooperation with the League of Nations in all its social, economic and humanitarian activities and in its efforts to remove the causes of war". (Socialists claim that the causes of war are economic and caused by Capitalism.)

If sincere, these people might begin by insisting that the League, as a cause of war, remove Litvinoff, as its Council president, and his war-mongering government from League membership.

Member Organizations

Member organizations of the National Peace Conference are as follows: American Association of University Women; American Friends Service Committee,* Philadelphia; American Unitarian Association*, Boston; Central Conference of American Rabbis*; Church Peace Union; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*; Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches*; Committee on Militarism in Education*; Committee on Women's Work of the Foreign Mission's Conference; Council of Women for Home Missions; Department of International Justice and Good Will of the Federal Council of Churches*; Fellowship of Reconciliation*; Institute of International Education, which sponsors the Moscow State University Communist summer school for American students; Intercollegiate Council on International Cooperation; League of Nations Association; Methodist Episcopal Church, World Peace Commission (dominated by radicals); National Board, Y.W.C.A.* (which joined the communist Scottsboro Defense Committee, etc.); National Council, Y.M.C.A.*; National Council of Jewish Women; National Council for Prevention of War*; National Federation of Business and Professional Clubs; National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods; National Student Federation*; Women's Christian Temperance Union; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*; World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches; World Peace Foundation; World Peaceways*; World Peace Fellowship of Christian Endeavor.

"The Foreign Policy Association* is also a member, but as it is exclusively a research organization, its membership is on a consultative basis." (*Described in "The Red Network" or in this book.)

Preparatory Conference at Rye, N. Y.

There was consternation when a representative of the press aired, with unflattering clarity, the proceedings of the quiet preparatory conference held by representatives of this National Peace Conference, a coalition of some 30 "peace" societies, at the Westchester Country Club, Rye, N. Y., in December, 1935.

The secret meeting was addressed by Roosevelt's Asst. Secy. of State Francis B. Sayre, endorser of the Lane pamphlet which was paid for by the communist Garland Fund.

One of the pieces of "peace" literature distributed at the meeting was the magazine called "Fellowship", published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a member organization of the Conference, headed by Socialist John Nevin Sayre, brother of Francis B. Sayre.

The magazine contained a list of "goals" for Fellowship of Reconciliation groups, suggested by John Nevin Sayre, who is a national committeeman of the Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union. Among these goals are: "Infiltration of pacifism in churches, schools, peace groups and other local organizations." John Nevin Sayre is also a leader of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

It was announced that the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was financing the nationwide "establishment on a permanent basis" of this coalition movement to wreck national defense and spray pacifism, and that "a nationwide radio program of peace education" and the organizing of "public mass meetings on questions of war and peace", and preparation of propaganda for member organizations to disseminate would now be undertaken.

Walter Van Kirk, a radical pacifist whose "peace" writings are recommended by the socialist-communist League for Industrial Democracy, was chosen to direct the Emergency Peace Campaign. He is one of the small ruling clique of the Federal Council of Churches whose radicalism has caused so much agitation for withdrawal from the Federal Council on the part of member churches.

Seek Still More Money for "Peace"

July 15, 1936, the Emergency Peace Campaign sent out an appeal for still more funds saying:

"500 meetings are being planned for this fall with special legislative emphasis. Big halls are engaged for Armistice Day gatherings, and in January meetings in a thousand cities are to be held just as Congress convenes.

"The sinews of peace are money. Already \$275,000.00 have been sent in or pledged toward the millions of dollars which we have undertaken to raise. Will you help liberally now in this united campaign, the leaders of which you know and in whom you have confidence—Frederick I. Libby, Dorothy Detzer, John Nevin Sayre, Kirby Page, Clarence E. Pickett, and others!"

The University of Chicago "Daily Maroon" 4/29/36 reported:

"Opportunity for education in international relations at slight expense is afforded by the summer program of the Emergency Peace campaign. Half the expense of University students who attend the organization's summer institutes on the Pacific coast, at Duke university, and at Grinnel college, or \$30 a month, will be paid by this agency propagandizing for peace.

"Volunteers who complete the period of one month's instruction will be sent to rural communities in the United States for eight to ten week periods during which they will lead discussion and forum groups and organize demonstrations on behalf of peace. Though not directly engaging in the coming political campaign, volunteers will take an

active part in informing citizens with regard to the records of Congressmen as they bear on questions of peace and war."

The Advisor (7/1/36) states: "A report on the activities of the propagandists states:

"They will make no attempt to preach peace, but will join with summer neighbors in discussing the social and economic causes of war and of possible ways of removing them.

"The peace workers will organize forum groups, produce plays bearing on peace and international relations, using local casts as much as possible; distribute posters and literature, and inform residents of the records of politicians on legislation likely to involve the United States in international difficulties."

"These people are clever, of that there can be no doubt. They do not go preaching their defeatist and disloyal doctrines, but cleverly organize discussions on popular subjects of the day and thus interject their propaganda."

What Is "Pacifism"?

Pacifism, at best, is an anesthetic poison, at worst, a mask for Red revolution. To date the sole accomplishment of the pacifist movement in various countries has been to smooth the way for the Red Beast's advances. It has not prevented a single war or decreased international armaments. It is Red-controlled everywhere.

Armed Forces Deter War, Just As Police Deter Crime and Disorder

Radical Pacifists pretend that a National Guard or an army incites war (like a police station in the neighborhood incites crime?). Reds arrested in their strikes and class-war activities know from experience that the reverse is true.

Instead of turning to "pacifism", after incessant harrying by paid "peace" agitators propagandizing the horrors of "militarism", of patriotic military training in schools, of having an army at all, of the brutal nature of army officers—the anti-Communist villains!—one having any acquaintance with the poised, law-abiding patriotic gentlemen of our small armed forces might, instead, feel like this:

In Search of Peace

I cannot be a "pacifist".
They picket, march and fight
And riot, rave and yell so much,
To show that War's not right!

For me a military life—
From strife give me release
In quiet ordered army posts
Where one can live in peace!

DO YOU SEE THE ROOSEVELT REVOLUTION?

Ernest K. Lindley, Roosevelt's admiring biographer, in 1931, wrote "Franklin D. Roosevelt—A Career in Progressive Democracy" and, in 1933, "The Roosevelt Revolution—First Phase".

Some 30 years ago, revolutionary Jack London, with Roosevelt appointees Clarence Darrow and Leonard D. Abbott, etc., organized the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, later named the "League for Industrial Democracy", which formed its Communist revolutionary organization of 800,000 in Roosevelt's Department of Labor Auditorium in April, 1936.

Jack London on Red Revolution

In the August, 1909, International Socialist Review, page 97, London said:

"I received a letter the other day. It came from a man in Arizona. It began 'Dear Comrade.' It ended 'Yours for the Revolution.' I replied to the letter, and my letter began 'Dear Comrade.' It ended 'Yours for the Revolution.'

"In the United States there are 400,000 men, of men and women nearly 1,000,000, who begin their letters 'Dear Comrade' and end them 'Yours for the Revolution,' in France 1,000,000 men; in Austria 800,000 men; in Belgium 300,000 men; in Italy 250,000 men; in England 100,000 men; in Switzerland 100,000 men; in Denmark 55,000 men; in Sweden 50,000 men; in Holland 40,000 men; in Spain 30,000 men—comrades all, and revolutionists.

"These are numbers which dwarf the grand armies of Napoleon and Xerxes. But they are numbers, not of conquest and maintenance of the established order, but of conquest and revolution. They compose, when the roll is called, an army of 7,000,000 men, who, in accordance with conditions today are fighting with all their might for the conquest of the wealth of the world and for the complete overthrow of existing society.

"There are 7,000,000 comrades in an organized, international, worldwide revolutionary movement. Here is a tremendous human force. It must be reckoned with. These revolutionists are swayed by a great human passion. They intend to **destroy bourgeoisie society with most of its sweet ideals and dear moralities**, and chiefest among these are those that group themselves under such heads as **Private Ownership of Capital**, survival of the fittest, and patriotism—even patriotism.

"Such an army of revolution, 7,000,000 strong, is a thing to make rulers and ruling classes pause and consider.

"The cry of this army is:

"**'No quarter! We want all that you possess. We will be content with nothing less than all you possess. We want in our hands the reins of power and the destiny of mankind. Here are our hands. They are strong hands. We are going to take your governments, your palaces, and all your purpled ease away from you.'**

"Well may rulers and ruling classes pause and consider. **This is Revolution.**

"And, further, these 7,000,000 men are not an army on paper. Their fighting strength in the field is 7,000,000. Today they cast 7,000,000 votes in the civilized countries of the world.

"Yesterday they were not so strong. Tomorrow they will be stronger. And they are **fighters**. They love **peace**.

They are unafraid of war. They intend nothing less than to destroy existing society and to take possession of the whole world.

"If the law of the land permits, they fight for this end peaceably, at the ballot box. If the law of the land does not permit their Peaceable Destruction of Society and if they have force meted out to them, they resort to force themselves. They meet violence, with violence.

"Their hands are strong and they are unafraid. In Russia for instance, there is no suffrage. The government executes the revolutionists. The revolutionists kill the officers of government. The revolutionists meet legal murder with assassination.

"Now here arises a particularly significant phase which would be well for most rulers to consider. Let me make it concrete. I am a revolutionist. Yet I am a fairly sane and normal individual. **I speak and I think of these assassins in Russia as 'My Comrades.'** So do all the comrades in America, and all the 7,000,000 comrades in the world.

London's Comrades Assassinate Ministers

"Our comrades in Russia have formed what they call 'The Fighting Organization.' This fighting organization accused, tried, found guilty and condemned to death, one Sipiaguin, Minister of the Interior. On April 2 he was shot and killed in the Maryinsky Palace. Two years later the Fighting Organization condemned to death and executed another Minister of the Interior, Von Plehve. Having done so, it issued a document setting forth the counts of its indictment. Now, and to the point, this document was sent out to the Socialists of the world, and by them was published everywhere in the magazines and newspapers.

"The point is, not that the **socialists** of the world were unafraid to do it, not that they dared to do it, but that they did it as a matter of routine, **giving publication to what may be called an official document of the international revolutionary movement.**

"The time has come for the revolution to demand consideration. It has fastened upon every civilized country in the world.

"Nor has the flame of revolution left the United States untouched. The first four years of the twentieth century were considered prosperous years, yet in that time more than 300,000 men added themselves to the ranks of the revolutionists, flinging their defiance in the teeth of bourgeoisie society and taking their stand under The Blood Red Banner.

"In the state of the writer, California, one man in ten is an avowed and registered revolutionist."

London also said: "**Few members of the capitalist class see the revolution. Most of them are too ignorant, and many are too afraid to see it. It is the same old story of every perishing ruling class in the world's history. Fat with power and possession, drunken with success and made soft by surfeit and by cessation of struggle, they are like drones clustered about the honey vats when the worker-bees spring upon them to end their rotund existence.**"

London, in truth, should have said that the revolutionary "bees",

instead of working, agitate feverishly to spring upon the peaceful non-radical workers and end their existence and confiscate their savings.

It is true that few of the industrious sturdy American citizens who supply the actual comforts and necessities of life to America "see the revolution". Many good Democrats do not see the "Roosevelt revolution", because they are so blinded by faith in the Party label he wears.

Only Awakened Americans, Ignoring Party Labels, Can Save America

While, in 1936, the election of a Republican Congress and President offers America practically its only chance of halting the progress of the "Roosevelt revolution" (as the Communist and Socialist Parties have also warned), yet Republican, like Democratic, non-radicals, who lean trustfully on Party labels, still fail to realize that the same busy Red revolutionists who seized the Democratic Party have their fellow buzzards also plotting within the Republican Party to feed off of the "dead", if that Party gains power. People's supine faith in any Party, as such, is mere laziness, for in reality the Party leans on the people, and in proportion to the force of its "pushers", it leans **Left or Right**. With a great Leftist propaganda machine and press subsidized by millions of dollars having already been in motion for years, the days are gone when an intelligent person can merely vote and go home to sleep. Rightists must either also enter the propaganda lists or accept defeat.

Too many of those who do "see", and dislike, the Socialist-Communist revolution, now in its "first phase" as the "Roosevelt revolution", merely talk vaguely of moving elsewhere if Roosevelt is re-elected and sluggishly state that he cannot be defeated, because they themselves do not wish to make the effort to help to defeat him.

One pities the great majority of fine Frenchmen and Spaniards who view with horror their approaching Sovietization. But what were those same horrified ones doing 15 years ago, 10 years ago, even one year ago, when the present culmination was brewing all about them? Probably assuring themselves that their few countrymen who saw the revolution and warned them were "alarmists."

One who is too proud to fight the Red revolution may be humbled one day to serve Red masters.

A FEW ROOSEVELT APPOINTEES, ADVISORS AND SUPPORTERS

(*Indicates listed in "The Red Network")

A

ABBOTT*, GRACE: headed U.S. official delg. to Intl. Labor Conf. 1935; in broadcast from Intl. Labor Office, Geneva, said social progress had been checked if not put back for years "by nine men", a fling at Supreme Court decision; supported Josephine Roche in Denver as candidate for Gov.; on com. for celebration of 20th anniversary of W.I.L.P.F., see p. 214; Survey Assoc.* p. 313; see p. 385.

ABBOTT*, LEONARD D.: field supervisor, Federal Writers' Project; U.S. leading Anarchist; presided at discussion of child welfare with President's group 11/12/34; see pp. 23, 129, 172.

ACHESON, DEAN G.: apptd. Under Secy. of Treasury 5/19/33; resigned 11/15/33; secy. to radical Justice Brandeis 1919-21; a Frankfurter "Hot Dog Boy"; Town Hall, see p. 342.

ACRET, GEORGE; Upton Sinclair man; apptd. by F.D.R. to Guffey Coal Bd. as patronage for Sinclair support; see p. 188.

ADDAMS*, JANE: offered appointment to Chicago Regional Labor Bd.; see pp. 12, 97, 103, 153, 154, 155, 202, 213, 214, 227, 231, 313, 379.

ALEXANDER, W. W.: asst. admin. Tugwell's Rural Resettlement Admin.; nat. Com. on Militarism in Edu.*; com. on church and race relations, Fed. Coun. Chs.*; endorser Lane Pamphlet*; secy. Interracial Dept. Nat. Coun. Y.M.C.A.; acting pres. Dillard U., New Orleans.

ALLEN, FLORENCE E.: apptd. Federal Judge; contrib. to A.C.L.U.; mem. Nat. World Court Com.; contrib. to ultra-radical "Christian Century"*; Lg. Women Voters*; Survey Assoc.*, p. 313; one of ten radical-pacifist co-authors (Mrs. F.D.R., Jane Addams, etc.) of book "Why Wars Must Cease", put out by Com. on Cause and Cure of War (see Catt); in speech at radical Labor Temple*, N.Y. City,

took the radicals' position, denouncing U.S. protection of its citizens in Mexico and Nicaragua from Red aggression (N.Y. Times 3/14/27); mem. socialistic Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, 1927, headed by pro-Soviet Socialist Sherwood Eddy, other executives being the following leading radicals: Kirby Page, Reinhold Niebuhr, Sydney Strong, John Nevin Sayre, Eliz. Christman, Jerome Davis, Hubert C. Herring, Bishop F. J. McConnell, Chas. Clayton Morrison, A. J. Muste, E. A. Ross, and Wm. Scarlett; "this organization with five others not allowed to use the Public School buildings in the City of New York because of their unpatriotic meeting held at the Sturtevant School on Armistice Day, 1926." (Report of Francis Ralston Welsh 5/17/27.)

ALSBERG*, HENRY G.: nat. dir. Federal Writers' Project, WPA; see p. 170.

ALTMAYER, ARTHUR J.: mem. Social Security Bd. 1935-39; previously, other New Deal jobs; mem. Am. Assn. Labor Legis.*; was secy. Wis. Indust. Commn. under radical Gov. Philip LaFollette.

ARTHUR, CHESTER A.: preparing report for F.D.R. (Commonwealth College Bulletin 6/15/36); Pacific Coast ed. of Communist "Labor Defender"; head of Pacific Coast br. communist Intl. Labor Defense; see p. 206.

ASHER*, ROBT. E.: F.E.R.A.; formerly Chgo. L.I.D. office; married Ethel Watson, ex-wife of Clarence Senior, secy. Socialist Party of Am.; complained at L.I.D. "Red Network dinner" about small space given him in "The Red Network".

ASTOR, VINCENT: millionaire publisher of "Today", radical Admin. mouthpiece; F.D.R. describes his relationship to Astor as that "of a very distant cousin" (Pearson and Allen column 5/5/35); owner of Presidential vacation yacht "Nourmahal".

B

BAKER, JACOB: asst. admin. CWA, FERA, WPA; chmn. Commn. on European Cooperatives, see p. 300; vice pres. Vanguard Press, set up by communist Garland Fund to publish "class struggle" literature; sponsor Consumers' Union (Communist backed), p. 314; mem. exec. com. Lg. for Mutual Aid*; see pp. 43, 129, 165, 311.

BARBER, PHILIP: N.Y. dir. Federal Theatre Project, WPA; nat. exec. bd. communist New Theatre Lg.; see pp. 166, 169.

BARKER, RACHEL: Indian Bur., Dept. of Interior; radical Am. Indian Defense Assn.; see p. 67.

BARROWS, ALICE PRENTISS: specialist in school building problems, U.S. Office of Edu., Dept. of Interior; former investigator Russell Sage Found., which supports much radicalism; one of radical "plotters" mentioned by Dr. Wirt in his charges before Cong. com.; Lg. Women Voters*.

BARUCH, BERNARD MANNES: F.D.R. advisor and frequent guest at White House; in article "Pinch Hitter for Presidents" (Am. Magazine 10/33), he is called "the most influential private citizen in the United States of America today. He is an old friend and intimate advisor of President Roosevelt, and is almost daily, personally or by telephone, in conference with him"; in constant touch with Wallace, Tugwell, etc. (Geo. N. Peek, in Sat. Eve. Post, 5/23/36); communist "Daily Worker" called him "unofficial President of the United States during Roosevelt's vacation" (7/29/33); both N.Y. News (7/28/33) and Daily Worker (7/29/33) reported him to be in France working for Soviet recognition, inferring that he left Paris for Vichy to see Litvinoff at the same time that Litvinoff arrived at Royat, not far from Vichy; called "Man Behind the Throne" (Peoria Journal 7/15/33); called "Anti-American", 1928, together with F.D.R. and Nicholas Murray Butler, in W. G. Shearer's pamphlet (Chgo. Tribune 3/13/35); characterized as "master of Hugh Johnson, acting president of the United States, and uncrowned Prince of Wall Street" (N.Y. Times 3/13/35); Geo. N. Peek, Hugh Johnson, and Raymond Moley among his proteges; at private session

at New Sch. for Social Research with Borah and other outstanding radicals (see p. 83); column "In Washington", N.Y. Times 3/13/35, said that he was aligned during Pres. Harding's Admin. with Socialist Chas. Edward Russell and N.D. farm leaders against the Admin. attitude and that he wrote and spoke frequently in this alignment and "was attacked as a sort of Communist by the Chicago Board of Trade".

BASSHE*, EMJO: Federal Theatre Project, WPA; leading Communist; see pp. 163, 179.

BAY, HOWARD: Federal Arts Project, WPA; designer of model of scene in Communist play "Battle Hymn" by Communist Mike Gold on display at main Workers' Book Store of the Communist Party, N.Y. City; see p. 179.

BEARD*, CHARLES A.: apptd. on Com. for Celebration of 150th Anniversary of the Constitution; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; A.C.L.U. Com. on Academic Freedom 1924- (A.V.I.F. report); communist Am. Lg. Against War and Fascism; attacked anti-mutiny Bill (US 3/19/35); his book "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the U.S." praised by communist Proletarian Party's "Labor Digest" (9/22/23) and by Communists and Socialists ever since; his book "The Devil Theory of War" published by the communist Garland Fund's Vanguard Press, 1936; Survey Assoc.*, p. 313; his wife, Mary, also at 1931 "Progressive" Conf. and was mem. nat. exec. com. Am. section, communist Intl. Women's Cong. Against War and Fascism, which the communist Am. Lg. Against War and Fascism and other radical groups sponsored (Daily Worker 5/19/34); see pp. 109, 110, 113, 115, 129, 261, 266.

BECKER, SAMUEL: counsel Fed. Communications Commn.; "Last week's quizzing" (of Am. Tel. and Tel.) "was done by a restless, brilliant New Dealer who celebrated his 33rd birthday the day before the hearings opened. Counsel Samuel Becker, like many on the Commission's telephone staff, is a graduate of the LaFollette school of Wisconsin liberalism. Though he did not participate directly in Wisconsin's famed telephone inquiry, which resulted in three rate reduction orders during Depression, he became executive counsel to Governor Philip Fox

LaFollette in 1931, went to PWA in 1933. After graduation from the University of Wisconsin (Class of 1922), he romped through Harvard Law School, where he became friends with Felix Frankfurter. After teaching law at Tulane University, he practiced his profession in his home town, Milwaukee. Occasionally Counsel Becker leaps from his bed in the dead of night, scurries to his office to perfect an idea that struck him suddenly. Just as suddenly he sometimes drops his work, heads for the nearest pool parlor for relaxation. Young though he is, Counsel Becker made even self-possessed Mr. Gifford squirm on the witness stand last week. President Edgar Selden Bloom of Western Electric, big A. T. & T. manufacturing subsidiary, complained that Mr. Becker "shut him off" every time he started to talk." (Time 3/30/36.)

BERLE, ADOLPH A., JR.: mem. original "brain trust"; advisor on prices, banking, and railroads; now N.Y. City Chamberlain under red Mayor LaGuardia and special counsel to the railroad division of RFC; law associate of radical Justice Brandeis 1916-17; Nat. Youth Admin.; Am. Youth Cong., see pp. 247, 248; contrib. to A.C.L.U.; Survey Assoc.* p. 313; signer of telegram of congratulation sent to LaFollette after his nomination for President in 1924, saying: "We believe that the time has come for a *new deal* . . ."; see under Chas. W. Taussig; see also pp. 21, 257, 341.

BERRY, GEORGE L.: div. admin. and asst. to admin. NRA; mem. Roosevelt's Advis. Coun. on Social Security; pres. Intl. Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union since 1907; chmn. radical Labor's Non-Partisan Lg., formed with Sidney Hillman*, John L. Lewis, etc., to elect F. D. R.

BIDDLE, FRANCIS: chmn. Nat. Labor Bd. 12/34; resigned 7/35; Phila. lawyer; A. F. of L. leader said about him: "He's our man."; represented A.C.L.U. Com. on Labor Injunctions to test Constitutionality of law 7/34; active in Red Sacco-Vanzetti agitation; verse published in "Liberator", of which wife was a stockholder and Communist Max Eastman was editor; dir. For. Policy Assn.*

BILLIKOPF, JACOB: chmn. U.S. Regional Labor Bd., Phila., 1933; now

chmn. Nat. Labor Relations Bd. (Daily Wkr. 5/6/36); born Wilna, Russia; v.p. Am. Assn. for Old Age Security*; trustee Howard U.; pro-Communist New Sch. for Social Research* advis. bd., with Mrs. F. D. R., see p. 79; trustee "The Nation"*; dir. Survey*, pp. 313, 314; pres. Nat. Conf. of Jewish Social Wkrs.

BLAGDEN, WILLIE SUE: WPA Federal Theatre Project, Beacon Hill, Boston; left-wing Socialist; secy. to "Miss" Fannie Hurst (radical friend of Mrs. F. D. R.); see p. 245.

BLAINE, JOHN J.: apptd. mem. RFC bd. 1933; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; co-author of radical anti-injunction Act; called "radical of the radicals" (Chgo. Tribune 6/21/33); LaFollette "Progressive" Rep.; deceased; wife also at 1931 "Progressive" Conf. and was one of 22 women aiding W.I.L.P.F. "Peace" lobby under Mrs. Meta Berger (Milw. Leader 3/8/34); see pp. 107, 114, 116.

BLAKE, BISHOP EDWARD: dir. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Lg.; Methodist; spkr. communist Am. Lg. Against War and Fascism cong., 1/36, quoted as saying, when bright flood lights were turned on him: "I'm not used to such white lights. Tinge them with a bit of red." Also: "Our economic and social order must be changed if civilization is to stand. The use of force to support wrong has always been upheld. The use of force to support right has invariably been labeled 'treason'"; "The Big Joke on Uncle Sam" by R. M. Whitney (1924) stated: "Gregory Zinoviev, Commissar of Soviet Russia, speaking at the Communist International in Moscow last year, in the presence of Bishop Blake of the Methodist Church in the United States, and Bishop Mulson of Zurich, Switzerland, quoted Lenin as follows: 'Our propaganda necessarily includes the propaganda of atheism . . .'; spkr. Communist protest meeting against anti-Communist Dunkel Bill, Mich. (Nat. Republic 7/35); opposes loyalty oaths for teachers; nat. com. A.C.L.U. 1936.

BLANKENHORN, HEBER: chief investigator of Nat. Labor Rel. Bd. in the field of labor espionage; his efforts, before LaFollette com., against employers who oppose Red terrorism appreciatively written up in communist Daily Wkr. (4/24/36); recently wrote

the well-known patriotic anti-Communist, Mr. Harry Jung, derisively, "You are on the way out."

BLANKFORTH, MICHAEL: Federal Theatre Project, WPA; Communist playwright; see pp. 163, 170; mem. Com. Against Theatre Censorship, backed by communist New Theatre Lg. and Communist-aiding A.C.L.U. (Daily Wkr. 4/19/35.)

BODE, LYDIE: U.S. Indian Bur. (under John Collier); radical Am. Indian Defense Assn.; see p. 67.

BORDERS*, KARL: field research dir. FERA; ultra radical; see p. 379.

BONN, JOHN E.: dir. German group, Federal Theatre Project, WPA; see pp. 163, 169.

BONNER, MIRIAM: FERA teacher; also teacher Communist Party's Workers' Sch.; see p. 211.

BRANDEIS*, JUSTICE LOUIS D.: Roosevelt advisor; intimate of Felix Frankfurter; Gen. Hugh Johnson, NRA admin., said, "During this whole intensive experience, I have been in touch with that old counselor, Judge Brandeis"; votes with radical Justice Cardozo; see pp. 109, 162, 189, 191.

BRECKENRIDGE*, SOPHONISBA P.: Roosevelt Admin. delegate to Montevideo Conf. 11/33; 20th anniversary celebration W.I.L.P.F., p. 214; Urban Lg., p. 231.

BROOKHART*, SMITH WILDMAN: apptd. special advisor to AAA, U.S. Dept. of Agr. by F.D.R., 5/33, after his defeat for reelection to Senate, 11/32; radical "Progressive" Rep. in Senate; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; sometimes called "Agricultural Ambassador to Soviet Russia"; at close of one speech, distributed copies of a Stalin speech; advocate of public ownership of railroads, see p. 341; declared faith in Communism (Chgo. Tribune 3/31/34); spkr. at Wash. communist Youth Cong. 1/5/35; favors "nationalizing" farms (Milw. Leader 4/10/34); signer Communist Angelo Herndon petition (Labor Defender 10/35); see pp. 107, 116.

BROUN*, HEYWOOD: Theatrical Code Authority, NRA; arrested Milw. (Chgo. Tribune 3/22/36); backed Communist Party convention (Daily Wkr. 6/18/36); nat. com. A.C.L.U. 1936; communist Am. Lg. Against War and Fascism; says of F.D.R., p. 331; Debs Radio Station, p. 188; Am. Youth Cong., p. 254; see p. 141.

BRUERE, HENRY: Roosevelt advisor; Survey Assoc.* p. 313.

BRUERE*, ROBT. W.: chmn. Nat. Cotton Textile Industrial Bd., NRA; U.S. repres. to Intl. Labor Orgn.; I.W.W. Defense Com.; Survey p. 313; former mem. Socialist Party; one of radical "plotters" mentioned by Dr. Wirt in his charges before Cong. com.; wrote article for A.C.L.U. defending I.W.W.; contrib. to A.C.L.U.; chmn. bd. Palisades, N. Y., Public Sch.

BULLITT*, WM. C.: first U.S. Ambassador to Soviet Russia; addresses Moscow U., see p. 10; selected by Roosevelt as his representative at Patrick Henry celebration; his speech on Patrick Henry incensed Senator Carter Glass of Va.; apptd. Ambassador to France 8/25/36.

BURGESS*, ERNEST W.: econ. advis. AAA.

C

CAHILL, EDW. W.: see p. 149.

CAHILL, HOLGER: natl. WPA dir. of "Creative Arts"; see p. 170.

CALLAHAN*, PATRICK HENRY: one of three exec. dirs. F.D.R.'s Good Neighbor Lg.; exec. com. very red Nat. Religion and Labor Found.*; Cath. Assn. for Intl. Peace*; World Peaceways*; etc.

CARDOZO, JUSTICE BENJ. N.: unofficial advisor to F.D.R.; Survey Assoc.* p. 313; votes with radical Justice Brandeis; in 1922, while one of Justices of N.Y. Court of Appeals, dissented from majority opinion upholding the conviction of Communists James Larkin and Benjamin Gitlow for violation of New York's criminal anarchy law. They had already served part of their sentences. (Communists' Fed. Press 7/17/22); p. 109.

CARLTON, WINSLOW: ex-dir. Calif. State division of cooperatives; testified with J. P. Warbasse for Cooperative banks; see p. 311.

CARMALT, JAMES W.: mem. Nat. Mediation Bd. (to adjust railway labor troubles); exec. asst. and legal advisor to Railroad Coordinator Eastman; formerly assistant to Louis D. Brandeis in preparation R.R. rate advance case (U.S. Daily 8/6/34); Survey Assoc.*

CARTER, JOHN FRANKLIN: employed by Tugwell's "Division of Information"; promoted to Admin.

Division; under pen name "Jay Franklin", writes pro-New Deal propaganda and syndicated column "We, The People"; "A recent article offers as a solution of the farm problem the turning over of the entire three billion farm and relief appropriation to Tugwell's Resettlement Admin." (Industrial Control Reports 6/13/36.)

CATT, CARRIE CHAPMAN: dir. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Lg.; co-worker with Jane Addams; in introducing Mrs. F.D.R. as spkr. for her radical-pacifist Conf. on Cause and Cure of War, she said, "for the first time in the history of our country we have a woman in the White House who is one of us" (Chgo. Trib. 1/18/34); Mrs. F.D.R. is one of ten radical-pacifist authors writing book "Why Wars Must Cease" for the Com. on the Cause and Cure of War, headed by Mrs. Catt; "The Woman Patriot", 5/1/22, stated: "Frequent changes of name as advised by Nicolai Lenin are resorted to by the International feminist-pacifist bloc as often as necessary, but the entire movement originates with the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance. The work is divided up like an army's artillery, cavalry and infantry into three mobile divisions: the political under Mrs. Catt and her International Woman's Suffrage Alliance and League of Women Voters.* The pacifist under Miss Jane Addams and her W.I.L.P.F.* The industrial under Mrs. Raymond Robins and her International League of Working Women and Women's Trade Union League.* The three branches are employed precisely as a wise general would engage artillery, cavalry or infantry; using all three together whenever necessary, each one alone for special objectives"; Communist magazine "Woman Today", 3/36, in long article by Isobel Walker Soule (wife of George), eulogizes her—to quote: "She thrilled to the idea of a united peace movement. I saw before me a dynamic leader, but one who needed help. A movement of all peace societies united into a great Peace Army! . . . In time peace may be accepted internationally, she believes, but I could see that she held no illusions about the fact that the fight for peace is the greatest battle of the century."

CHAMBERLAIN*, J. P.: Intl. Labor Orgn.; radical Lg. for Organiza-

tion of Progress*; v.p. Survey Assoc.*, p. 313; chmn. For. Policy Assn.*; chmn. unemployment insur. com. of Am. Assn. Labor Legis.*; exec. com. Nat. Com. on Labor Injunctions of Am. Civil Liberties Union.

CHASE*, STUART: F.D.R. advisor; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; an outstanding radical; edtl. staff communist New Masses*, 1926; author "A New Deal" (pub. 8/32) suggesting the Socialist program and nickname of F.D.R.'s regime and ending with the words "Why should Russians have all the fun of remaking a world?"; People's Lobby* (with Tugwell); etc.; see pp. 21, 116, 216, 261 (Fed. Coun.), 313 (Survey), 385 (Peace).

CHRISTGAU, VICTOR: apptd. exec., asst. to admin., 6/33, and asst. admin., 1/34, AAA; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; former radical Cong. from Minn.; protege of Tugwell; Sec'y Wallace also wanted him to stay but he resigned in dept. row (Chgo. Tribune 2/21/35); p. 116.

CHRISTMAN*, ELIZ.: mem. code authority of leather and woolen glove industry; secy.-treas. Nat. Women's Tr. Un. Lg.*; educated at socialist Brookwood Labor Coll.*; mem. Lg. Women Voters*; pro-radical Chgo. Woman's City Club; nat. com. very red Nat. Religion and Labor Found.*

CLARK, CHAS. E.: Nat. Labor Relations Bd.; delivered opinion forcing AP to restore Morris Watson, N.Y. supervisor communist play "Triple A Plowed Under", to his position (Daily Wkr. 4/27/36) see p. 331; was one of judges awarding first prize in Yale drama tourney, 4/11/35, to Communist play "Waiting for Lefty" by Clifford Odets; the New Haven Schools Com. cancelled permit and refused to allow the play to be shown in its buildings; the communist Daily Worker (4/18/35) quotes Clark's praise for play and protest at its barring; Dean Yale U.

CLARK*, EVANS: prepared report for F.D.R.; economic advisor N.Y. Housing Authority; Nat. Public Housing Conf.; World Peaceways*; Survey Assoc.*, p. 313; exec. com. L.I.D.*; etc.; see pp. 344, 378.

CLIFFORD, ARTHUR: Federal Writers' Project; writing history of Michigan for American "Baedeker"; head of Mich. branch communist Am. Youth Cong.; Detroit Communist.

COHEN, BENJ. V.: Frankfurter "Hot Dog Boy"; gen. counsel Nat. Power Policy Com. since 1934; assoc. gen. counsel PWA, assisting congressional coms. in the drafting of several acts, 1933-4 and lobbying them through Congress, including F.D.R.'s Public Utility Holding Co. Bill (Wheeler-Rayburn); counsel for Am. Zionist Orgn.

COHEN, FELIX S.: asst. solicitor Dept. of Interior; see under "Communizing the Indians", p. 68.

COLLIER, JOHN: Commr. Bur. of Indian Affairs, Dept. of the Interior; dismissal asked, p. 65; Am. Indian Defense Assn., p. 67; poem to anarchist Ferrer, p. 71; enthusiastic supporter of A.C.L.U.; Sacco-Vanzetti Nat. Lg.* (a Communist agitation) 1928; on 1933 "honor roll" of "The Nation", "revolutionary Socialist" weekly; see chapter "Communizing the Indians", p. 64; also p. 134.

COOKE, MORRIS L.: Rural Electrification Admin. (under Ickes); chmn. Miss. Valley Com., PWA; was dir. 1923 Pa. Giant Power Survey under pro-radical Gov. Gifford Pinchot; F.D.R., when Gov., apptd. him to N.Y. State Power Authority under radical chmn. Frank P. Walsh*; wife heavy supporter of Survey Assoc.*

CORCORAN, THOS. G.: RFC counsel; special asst. to Atty. General Cummings; Frankfurter "Hot Dog Boy"; previously secy. to radical Sup. Ct. Justice O. W. Holmes (intimate of Frankfurter and Brandeis); co-draftsman Securities Act 1933, Securities Exchange Act 1934, Stock Exchange Bill and Public Utility Holding Co. Bill (Wheeler-Rayburn) 1935; New Deal lobbyist.

COSTIGAN*, SEN. EDW. P.: 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; sponsor of F.D.R.'s second major relief bill (Chgo. Daily News 3/29/33); spkr. at A.C.L.U. Conf., p. 142; Town Hall Forum, p. 342; spkr. L.I.D. radio program, p. 21; signer petition F.D.R. for radical program and redistribution wealth; with leading radicals, cabled Hitler asking assurance that Communists Torgler, Thaelmann, etc., were not being mistreated (communist Daily Worker 8/15/34); see p. 117, "Progressive" Conf., for Mrs. Costigan; see pp. 113, 114, 117.

COYLE, DAVID CUSHMAN:

mem. PWA Technical Review Bd.; consultant to Nat. Planning Bd.; on Socialist Norman Thomas' campaign com. 1929; spkr. radical Chgo. Forum on "Needed Changes in Public Opinion for a New Social Order" (Chgo. Daily News 1/13/34); one of radical "plot-terers" mentioned by Dr. Wirt in his charges before Cong. com.; see also pp. 21, 217.

CRONYN, GEO. W.: field supervisor Federal Writers' Project, WPA; see p. 172.

D

DANA*, H. W. L.: advisor Federal Theatre Project, WPA; long communistic record; see pp. 103, 165, 170, 180.

DANIELS, JOSEPHUS: apptd. Ambassador to Mexico 3/17/33; trustee and mem. exec. com. U. of North Carolina, headed by radical Roosevelt appointee Frank P. Graham; one chapter of book on present Godless Red government of Mexico, "No God Next Door" by Michael Kenny, S.J., is entitled "Our Ambassador Aids Calles' Communists". Rev. Kenny says that Daniels, on 7/25/34, in addressing a group of tourist teachers from the U.S. at the American Embassy, praised fulsomely Secretary Vasconcelos' report on rural schools of Mexico, ignoring its "dereligionizing aim and plan", and compared Calles, Mexico's Red dictator, repeatedly with Jefferson; "Speaking at American University here" (Wash.), "immediately after a conference with President Roosevelt in the White House, Ambassador Daniels told his startled listeners, who were only prepared for a 'routine' talk: 'The time has now come for a constitutional convention to examine the Constitution of the United States, and reform it to meet the conditions of 1935.'" (Chgo. Examiner 6/1/35.)

DARROW*, CLARENCE: chmn. NRA Review Board; resigned with communistic declaration; mem. numerous Communist organizations; N.A.A.C.P., see p. 227; atheist; said: "I say that religion is the belief in future life and God. I don't believe in either." (N.Y. Times 4/19/36); see also pp. 23, 155.

DELANO, FREDERIC A.: Nat. Resources Bd.; uncle of F.D.R.; Survey Assoc.*, p. 313; chmn. of a Lg. of Nations Comm.; trustee Carnegie Endow. for Intl. Peace.

DELL*, FLOYD: field supervisor Federal Writers' Project, WPA; see p. 172.

DENNISON, HENRY S.: Nat. Labor Bd. 1934; Nat. Youth Admin., see p. 257; trustee Antioch College, headed by radical Roosevelt appointee Arthur E. Morgan; apptd. (1/34) Am. mem. of Com. of Intl. Labor Orgn., attended 1935 Apr. and Oct. sessions, Geneva; pres. Dennison Mfg. Co.; mem. unemployment com. radical Am. Assn. for Labor Legis.*; fellow advis. bd. mem. with Mrs. F.D.R. of pro-Communist New Sch. for Social Research, 1931.

DEWSON, MARY W.: industrial economist U.S. Dept. of Labor, since 1933; mem. Consumers' Advis. Bd., NRA; mem. Roosevelt's Advis. Com. on Econ. Security; dir. women's div. Dem. Nat. Com.; mem. unemployment com. radical Am. Assn. for Labor Legis.*; research secy., 1919-24, now chmn. labor standards com., Nat. Consumers' Lg.*; past pres., now dir., Consumers' Lg. of N.Y.

DODD*, WM. E.: Ambassador to Germany; A.C.L.U. Chgo. Com.; etc.; Communist mag. "Anvil", May-June 1935 issue, announced "'Red Wedding Morning—a Communist Love Story' by Martha Dodd, Daughter of the U. S. Ambassador to Germany"; Dodd has just been in the U.S. on leave and has been making speeches derogatory of the Constitution, in typical New Deal fashion.

DOUGLAS*, PAUL H.: Consumers' Advis. Bd., NRA; World Tomorrow, p. 130; Debs Radio Station, p. 188; Am. Friends, p. 386; see also pp. 21, 103, 130, 216, 258 (sprk. Govt. Exhibit), 379.

DUBINSKY*, DAVID: Am. delg. to Intl. Labor Orgn. 1935 sessions, chosen by Wm. Green as his substitute; Russian-born Red revolutionary; now raising funds for and sending money to Spanish Soviets (8/36) and supporting F.D.R.; pres. Intl. Ladies Garment Wkrs. Union; see pp. 41, 98, 187.

E

EASTMAN, JOS. B.: apptd. 6/33 Federal Coordinator of Transportation; regarding railroads, "the coordinator recommends as the only satisfactory ultimate solution government ownership and operation" (New Republic 6/10/36).

ECCLES, MARRINER S.: protege of Tugwell (Chgo. Trib. 8/11/34); Banking law, p. 29; the "New Republic" ("advocate of revolutionary socialism") 11/28/34 stated: "The real encouragement to the liberals, however, came in the appointment by Mr. Roosevelt of Mr. Marriner S. Eccles as Governor of the Federal Reserve Board. No man intending to turn conservative would ever have made that selection. Mr. Eccles is the most liberal-minded banker in America. It was Mr. Eccles who, in February, 1933, before the Senate Finance Committee, denounced as a failure the capitalistic system as it had existed, and declared that if it were to survive, it would have to be in a much modified form. While the other prominent men before the Committee were urging governmental economy and budget balancing, Mr. Eccles urged a great public-works and relief program outlining the major features of the New Deal policies before they had taken shape at the White House. I do not know whether it is true or not, but I am told that his testimony before that Committee attracted the attention of Dr. Tugwell, and that it was largely through Dr. Tugwell that Secretary Morgenthau brought Mr. Eccles to Washington as a special Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. However, his selection as head of the Federal Reserve Board was Mr. Roosevelt's own, and it can be taken for certain that there is nothing about Mr. Eccles' exceedingly unorthodox financial views that clashes with Mr. Roosevelt's. Nor is there any doubt at all that Mr. Roosevelt is thoroughly acquainted with these views. He is the first man of his type not merely to head the Reserve Board but to be within speaking distance of it, and his appointment is a certain indication that there will be no reversion to the outworn methods of a former day in the financial policies of the administration. It is my belief that the conservative element recently in touch with the President has not yet properly grasped the full implication of his selection."; see pp. 29, 42.

EINSTEIN*, ALBERT: mem. Bd. of Sponsors and Advisors of the Federal Subsistence Homesteads Project (Paradise Corners, N.J.); see communistic record in "The Red Network"; German Govt. confiscated his property as a Communist; "Most honored guests at

the White House last week were Herr Doktor and Frau Albert Einstein. They dined and spent the night, visited the President's office to see his collection of ship prints" (Time 2/5/34); paid the tuition fee for Paul Beeck to attend communistic Commonwealth College winter quarter (Commonwealth bulletin 1/1/35); see p. 88.

ELY, GERTRUDE: head of Women's WPA for Pa.; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; Bryn Mawr, Pa.; one of group visiting Moscow 1931; signer of resolution for recognition of Russia; signer of telegram greeting Soviet In-tourist Anniversary celebration 1934; Survey Assoc.* p. 313; see pp. 113, 117.

ESSMAN, MANUEL: WPA dir. settings for Red play "Turpentine" of WPA Negro Theatre project; see p. 179.

EZEKIEL, MORDECAI: economic advis. to Secy. Agr. since 1933; assist. chief economist Fed. Farm Bd. 1930-33; assisted in formulating plans for farm relief and in drafting AAA; Guggenheim Foundation (which finances training outstanding Leftist writers, etc.) fellow in economics 1930; author of "\$2500 a Year", "literally borrowed from the present economic plan of the Soviets". He and Tugwell "are to be properly regarded as the brain cells and spark plugs of the New Deal" (Chgo. Tribune 2/28/36); Town Hall, 342; see pp. 109, 217.

F

FAHEY, JOHN H.: chmn. bd. HOLC; mem. Fed. Home Loan Bank bd.; Survey Assoc.* p. 313.

FARLEY, JAMES A.: Postmaster General, chmn. Dem. Nat. Com. and chmn. N.Y. State Dem. Com.; he said that Roosevelt's "program was worked out in Mr. Roosevelt's mind before he was even nominated for the Presidency" and that "the President's departure from old practices of rugged individualism was long planned and is now beginning to pay dividends" (AP 6/27/34); in 1934 New Dealers increased cost of their franked mail from \$14,300,000 (1933) to \$23,000,000 (Awakener 1/35); see p. 325 for Farley's postoffice deficits represented as surpluses.

FECHNER, ROBERT: apptd. dir. Emergency Conservation work, in charge of CCC camps, 1933; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; exec. officer Intl.

Assn. of Machinists, 1913-33, of which radical Wm. H. Johnston, chmn. original Conf. for Prog. Political Action, was intl. pres. during same time; mem. Mass. com. of Committee on Militarism in Education (given \$12,400 by communist Garland Fund to fight patriotic military training); Am. Civil Liberties Union (Rep. Fish in Cong. Record 1/28/35); see pp. 97, 117.

FILENE, A. LINCOLN: Fed. Bd. for Vocational Edu.; "mem. advis. com. on nationwide survey of secondary education conducted by Secy. of Interior"; mem. indust. advis. bd. NRA; treas. and chmn. bd. of Wm. Filene's Sons Co.; brother of Edw. A.; mem. and supporter Survey Assoc.* p. 312; Nat. Comm. on Enrichment of Adult Life.

FILENE*, EDW. A.: reported to have financed NRA set-up before Congress appropriated funds; his proteges apptd. to important New Deal posts; founder and pres. Twentieth Century Fund, see pp. 9, 344; Am.-Russian Chamber Commerce; financing socialistic cooperatives with a million dollars; heavy supporter Survey Assoc.* p. 312; announced his support of Socialist-Communist Upton Sinclair; Am. Assn. Labor Legis.*; For. Policy Assn.*; Lg. Nations Non-Partisan Assn. (Holt); Nat. Child Labor Com.*; advis. bd. Nat. Student Fed. of Am. (see under Neblett); see p. 21.

FITZPATRICK*, JOHN: NRA Regional Labor Bd.; Federal Labor Advis. on the packing industry, Chgo.; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; pres. Chgo. Fed. of Labor; fellow executive with Wm. Z. Foster as organizers of Steel Strike 1919; socialist Farmer-Labor Party; sponsor dinner to radical Judge Holly 4/25/34; sponsor of Chicago Red theatre (Chgo. Exam. 12/2/34); sponsor Berger Nat. Found. dinner 11/21/31; mem. Chgo. Com. for Struggle Against War which organized the communist Am. Lg. Against War and Fascism* local branch, see p. 117; former pres. Public Ownership Lg.*

FLANAGAN, HALLIE: dir. Federal Theatre Project; studied theatre in Russia on a Guggenheim fellowship (Mordecai Ezekiel also Guggenheim beneficiary) and on return wrote Red play "Can You Hear Their Voices?", described by communist New Masses (6/31) as "the best play of revolutionary interest produced in this country." A satire on farm relief. It ridicules the

Red Cross and reaches its climax with a riot scene in which the farmers assemble to seize food by force. From this point New Masses describes the plot as follows: "The Governor orders out the militia. Expecting this, Wardell and his wife send their two boys hitch hiking to Communist headquarters in N.Y. 'Tell them that Jim Wardell sent you. They'll take care of you. Tell them that things have gone too far and that we're organizing, that we may be sent to jail and that the comrades need help.'"; see chapter on, pp. 162-183.

FRANK, JEROME N.: apptd. gen. counsel AAA and Fed. Surplus Relief Corp.; then with RFC; Frankfurter "Hot Dog Boy"; mem. edtl. com. Lg. for Industrial Democracy*; cited on "honor roll" for 1933 of radical "Nation" because of his "shrewd and creative work in behalf of social control and long range planning"; mem. Am. Civil Liberties Union (Rep. Fish, Chgo. Tribune 3/28/34).

FRANKFURTER*, FELIX: Roosevelt advisor and White House intimate; radical Justice Brandeis apostle; has been called "our invisible Jewish President"; "papa" of over 100 radical "Hot Dog Boys" in Admin. positions, including Lee Pressman, Alger Hiss, Frank Shea, Victor Rotnem, Jerome Frank, James M. Landis, Thos. G. Corcoran, Chas. Wyzanski, Nathan Margold, Benj. V. Cohen, Paul Freund, Thos. Elliott, etc.; see p. 81; "Last summer Prof. Felix Frankfurter was an unannounced White House guest for weeks" (Paul Mallon 11/2/35); called the most influential single person in U.S.A. with the President by Gen. H. Johnson, see p. 81; Russ.-Am. Industrial Corp.; dir. Survey*, p. 313; aids European Marxism, see p. 153; Harvard U., 1936, elected Walter Pollak, Communist Intl. Labor Defense atty., to Phi Beta Kappa membership for his "brilliant work" in connection with the Communists' Scottsboro case, a reflection, according to reports, of Frankfurter radical influence at Harvard; fellow v.p. with Mrs. F.D.R. of Nat. Consumers' Lg.* in 1936 and for a number of years past; on advis. com. with Mrs. F.D.R. of pro-Communist New Sch. for Social Research* 1931, see p. 80; was chief protagonist of the Communist Sacco-Vanzetti agitation 1927; Am. Assn. for Labor Legislation*; nat. com. Am. Civil Liberties Union*; Com. for Immi-

grants in America; Foreign Policy Assn.*; Zionist Org. of Am.; Nat. Popular Govt. Lg.* and one of its 12 lawyers agitating and filing false charges against the U.S. Dept. Justice, 1924, which agitation was successful in forcing cessation and withdrawal of funds for its anti-Communist activities to this day; nat. legal com. Nat. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People*; endorser "Professional Patriots"*, A.C. L.U. book by Norman Hapgood used as Communist propaganda; asked by Communists to go to Germany to defend Communists charged with burning of German Reichstag; cited on the 1933 "honor roll" of the radical "Nation" "for his share in writing the Securities Act, but more especially for his help in drawing into the various government services men of broad social vision and disinterested enthusiasm." (The Nation 1/3/34); asst. to Secy. of War Newton D. Baker*; "The outspoken T.R. did not relish the professor's philosophy in dealing with the I.W.W., in the west, and frankly said so." (Pitts. Sun Telegraph 8/7/35); trustee of the "University of Exile" of Mrs. F.D.R.'s New Sch. for Social Research formed to aid "distinguished scholars" (Reds) expelled from Germany (N.Y. Trib. 2/19/35); see also pp. 74, 81, 83, 109, 185, 191, 227, 261 (Fed. Coun.), 266.

FRAZIER*, LYNN J.: 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; North Dakota radical; New Deal backer; introduced unconstitutional Frazier-Lemke Bill; aids I.W.W., see pp. 102, 103; Liberty Defense Lg., p. 103; advis. ed. communist "Champion of Youth", substitute for "The Young Worker" (official organ Young Communist Lg.); see pp. 91, 106, 107, 117.

FURSURETH, ANDREW: Intl. Labor Orgn. delg.; pres. Intl. Seamen's Union; nat. com. A.C.L.U. 1922.

G

GARRISON, LLOYD K.: apptd. chmn. Nat. Labor Relations Bd. 7/34, resigned 10/34; nat. com. A.C.L.U. 1936; former pupil Felix Frankfurter; recommended by socialistic Edw. A. Filene; Dean Law Sch. of Wis. U., which was condemned by legislative investigation for communistic activities; spkr. with Glenn Frank at U. of Wis. convocation called to protest

"mob violence" of students who ducked Reds in pond (including Monroe Sweetland*, who boasts that he is organizing to speed Communist and Socialist Party unity and Red revolution); upheld free speech for Communists and said "the Red menace is a myth and Communism is a bogey man to frighten children" (Chgo. Trib. 5/18/35); v.p. radical Nat. Urban Lg. (honored by Mrs. F.D.R.); see p. 10.

GEDDES, VIRGIL: dir. Fed. Experimental Theatre Project; bd. communist New Theatre Lg.; producing plays in cooperation with Mrs. Roosevelt's New School for Social Research; see pp. 163, 165, 170, 173, 180.

GERMER, ADOLPH: organizer, and nat. exec. sec'y for 3 years, of Socialist Party; apptd. one of 3 mem. regional compliance council NRA for Ill., Ind., Wis., Mo.; labor paper publisher Rock Island; former secy. United Mine Workers (the communist Garland Fund paid thousands of dollars for agitations within this union; Ill. district 12, sub-dist. 5, for "educational work", for example, rec'd \$3,675 at one time, the Taylorville, Ill. dist. \$4,425, etc.).

GLAGOLIN, BORIS L.: WPA Theatre, Milwaukee; former Soviet theatrical director, see p. 181.

GOLD*, MICHAEL: WPA Theatre playwright; a Communist Party leader and writer; was daily columnist of Communist Daily Worker on Party affairs until recently; scenic model of his play "Battle Hymn" by WPA Arts division on display at Communist Party's N.Y. bookstore; greets Soviets, along with Sinclair Lewis and Upton Sinclair (F.D.R.'s Red supporters), etc.; see pp. 60, 63, 163, 165, 170, 179, 180.

GOLDEN*, CLINTON S.: recently resigned as Pitts. regional dir. Nat. Labor Relations Bd. to organize for Communist-backed Committee for Industrial Organization (N.Y. Times 6/14/36); dir. northwestern area for C.I.O. organizing steel workers; communist Garland Fund director; bd. Commonwealth College, see p. 205.

GRAHAM, FRANK P.: pres. Univ. of N.C.; chmn. F.D.R.'s Advis. Coun. on Social Security; vice chmn. Nat. Consumers' Advis. Bd.; dir. F.D.R.'s Good Neighbor Lg.; communist Moscow State U. advis. bd., see p. 10; aid

to red Commonwealth College see p. 204; presided over Southern Policy Conf. in Chattanooga "composed of one member from each Southern State and three members at large" "which will seek to correlate" activity favoring ratification Federal Child Labor Amendment and similar measures backed by radicals (N.Y. Times 5/17/36); see pp. 237, 386.

GRATTAN*, C. HARTLEY: editor research section FERA 1934-5; edtl. bd. pro-Communist "Common Sense"; signer communist John Reed Club protest against anti-Red propaganda; red Nat. Com. for Defense Political Prisoners; etc.

GREEN, WM.: mem. Nat. Labor Bd. and Labor advis. bd. NRA; on F.D.R.'s Advis. Coun. on Social Security; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; pres. A.F. of L.; favors radical amendment to U.S. Constitution to prevent U.S. Supreme Court from holding Acts of Congress unconstitutional (Chgo. Trib. 6/18/35); signer of statement demanding that U. S. quit Olympics; announced as going to Wis. to organize support for radical Robt. LaFollette (Chgo. Times 7/18/34); lauded LaFollette record in Congress (Progressive 10/20/34); "witness for labor" in "trial" of Hitler put on by Reds at Madison Square Garden, N.Y. City (3/7/34), under joint auspices Am. Jewish Congress (headed by radical Stephen S. Wise) and A.F. of L., with Communist Roger Baldwin, Socialist Abraham Cahan, radical Arthur Garfield Hays, John Haynes Holmes, Rabbi Wise, etc., etc., as fellow spkrs.; yet has issued excellent reports against Communism; a compromiser; orders all Communists expelled from A.F. of L. one moment and allows entire Red unions to enter A.F. of L. the next; sent red David Dubinsky to Intl. Labor Org. in his place, yet may expel him and other unions for C.I.O. affiliation; "Not many papers failed to carry the story of William Green's threat of a general strike in the event of the failure of Congress to re-enact the Blue Eagle Law but all neglected to tell their readers that the A.F. of L. meeting closed as Green joined 22,000 of his followers in singing the red theme song, the 'Internationale'." (Awakener 6/1/35); see p. 118.

GRUENING*, ERNEST H.: apptd.

dir. Division of Territories and Island Possessions, Dept. Interior, 8/15/34, administering affairs of 2,000,000 people; his book "The Public Pays" published by the Vanguard Press (communist Garland Fund publishers) 1931; lecturer New Sch. for Social Research*; dir. Foreign Policy Assn.*; was on communist Garland Fund's Com. on Am. Imperialism*; edtl. bd. radical Nation*, then ed. N.Y. Post, apptd. 2/34 by F.D.R.'s radical friend "Dear Dave" Stern; was dir. publicity of LaFollette-Wheeler Socialist-Progressive Campaign 1924.

H

HAAS, FATHER FRANCIS J.: Nat. Labor Bd. since 1933; urges complete unionization of all industry; spkr. on "workers' rights" at Communist-aiding Am. Civil Liberties Union conf. 12/8/34; advs. com. Am. Assn. for Old Age Security* since 1927; pres. Catholic Assn. for Intl. Peace* 1929-31; radical Am. Assn. Labor Legis.*; dir. Carnegie Church Peace Union; pres. and dir. of Nat. Catholic School of Social Service; see p. 140.

HAMILTON, WALTON HALE: on Federal pay roll; prepared report on milk industry; was mem. nat. NRA bd. prior to 6/35; prof. law Yale U.; was associated with Felix Frankfurter and radical Roosevelt appointees John Fitzpatrick, H. W. L. Dana, Robt. Bruere, Rose Schneiderman, Chas. A. Beard, W. Jett Lauck, Leo Wolman, etc. on advs. com. and edtl. bd. Workers' Education Bureau, 1924, headed by Socialist J. H. Maurer; "was the liberal who led the Amherst College fight to prevent the ousting of Pres. Meiklejohn*" (Paul Mallon's column 10/2/34); he was Amherst Prof. economics 1915-23; edu. advs. socialist Brookwood Labor Coll.; listed in radicals' "American Labor Who's Who"; see "love life of a cow," p. 316.

HANDLER, MILTON: apptd. gen. counsel for Nat. Labor Bd. and Nat. Labor Rel. Bd.; resigned 7/34 and returned to Columbia U. (Asst. Prof. Law School); formerly secy. to Sup. Ct. Justice Harlan F. Stone, who votes with radicals Brandeis and Cardozo; spkr. for Social Service discussion groups, N.Y. City.

HARRIMAN*, MRS. J. BORDEN: apptd. Democratic advisor and hostess

Dem. convention; long Red record (communist A.S.C.R.R.*; W.I.L.P.F.*; Nat. Consumers' Lg.*, etc.); Town Hall, p. 342.

HARRIS, MRS. HENRY B.: WPA Theatre Project; as dir. Socialist Rand School* Playhouse (N.Y.) was "handicapped for scenery, etc. As a result of a telegram to Hallie Flanagan, she was placed on WPA payroll and the Theatre Project supplied with a crew, scenery and lighting equipment" (Awakener 4/1/36).

HARRIS, REED: Asst. Writers' Project Admin. WPA; see p. 171.

HARRISON, G. M.: Cincinnati; dir. F.D.R.'s Good Neighbor Lg.; mem. F.D.R.'s Adv. Coun. on Social Security; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; delg. to 1924 Conf. for Progressive Political Action; mem. com. 24 labor leaders formed by W.I.L.P.F.* to support signature campaign (Milw. Leader 10/29/35); one of two on exec. bd. A.F. of L. opposing the ousting of radical Com. for Industrial Org. unions (Chgo. Tribune 7/15/36); Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks; see p. 118.

HASTIE, WM. H.: Negro lawyer, politician; asst. solicitor, Dept. of Interior; spkr. Am. Friends Service Com. Institute of Race Relations with radicals Mary Van Kleeck, etc. 1936; Nat. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People*; see p. 229.

HASTINGS, MILO: WPA playwright; co-author red WPA play "Class of '29", see p. 182.

HENDERSON, LEON: economic advs. and mem. NRA bd.; dir. Research and Planning Divis. NRA 1934; Consumers Adv. Coun.; mem. Industrial Com., Nat. Resources Bd.; dir. radical-supporting Russell Sage Found. 1925-33; "pro-laborite Henderson has worked in close harmony with Hillman" (Pearson and Allen column 2/12/34); Survey Assoc.* p. 313.

HERRICK, ELEANOR MOREHOUSE: regional dir. Nat. Labor Relations Bd. (N.Y., Conn., and N.J.); graduate Arthur E. Morgan's socialistic Antioch College; mem. advs. com. N.Y. State Employment Service since 1934 (under Roosevelt's supporter Gov. Lehman); labor advisor to radical Mayor LaGuardia 1934; contrib. to communist magazine "The Woman Today" (4/36); prod. mgr.

DuPont Rayon Co. 1923-27; former exec. secy. and v.p. N.Y. City branch Nat. Consumers' Lg.*; Lg. Women Voters*; was character witness for Clarina Michelson (dir. communist Garland Fund and on bd. of communist magazine "The Woman Today," in trouble as organizer of a strike in which several were arrested) (Daily Worker 2/29/36).

HIGH*, STANLEY: org. for Dem. Nat. Com.; President's advisor on radio speeches, etc. and head of his Good Neighbor Lg., set up like so many of F.D.R.'s radical schemes as a Delaware Corp.; capitalized at \$100,000; a long-time radical; spkr. for Roosevelt at communist Am. Youth Congress; "A statement on expenditures by the Good Neighbor Lg. recently filed with the clerk of the House showed that while Mr. High was the largest single contributor to the league, having given \$6,000, he had taken out in eleven weeks as salary the sum of \$3,300. At this rate his salary would be \$15,600 annually or more than twice the amount he has contributed to the league. During this same period the league statement revealed a loan of \$2000 from the Democratic National Committee. . . . The league has issued a number of campaign pamphlets to date, while the Democratic National Committee has put out none. Mr. High has been a frequent visitor recently at the White House." (N.Y. Times 6/20/36); was on advis. bd. communist-Garland-Fund-subsidized Russian Reconstruction Farms* 1925; Fed. Council Churches*; For. Policy Assn.*; Garland-Fund-financed Com. on Militarism in Education* and endorser of its Lane Pamphlet* opposing all patriotic military training; was contrib. to Garland-Fund-supported "World Tomorrow"*; bd. dir. World Peaceways* since 1933; was author of the slogan "Go to Leavenworth rather than fight" yet was in World War as second lieut. in aviation corps; proponent of intermixture of races; with Communist Roger Baldwin, Arthur Garfield Hays, etc., cabled Hitler asking assurance that Communists Torgler, Thaelmann, etc., were not being mistreated (communist Daily Worker 8/15/34); see photo with Earl Browder, secy. Communist Party, etc., this book, p. 59; Am. Youth Cong., p. 254.

HILLMAN*, SIDNEY: appointee to Nat. Labor Advis. Bd. 1933; advisor and guest at White House; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; an outstanding Russian-born, left-wing, pro-Soviet Socialist leader; was communist Garland Fund* dir.; formed Russ.-Am. Industrial Corp. backed by Lenin, Debs, Frank P. Walsh, Frankfurter, etc.; A.C.L.U.; spkr. 20th Anniversary Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom*, see p. 214; the Communist Party's Daily Worker concerning the organization of the communist Farmer Labor Party said editorially 5/27/36: "The declaration of Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, at its eleventh biennial convention in Cleveland, that the Amalgamated pledges its support for the building of local and State Farmer-Labor Party groups, is to be welcomed. . . . Hillman's statement also offers the hope that Labor's Non-Partisan League will take a similar position. This organization has been formed by John L. Lewis, Hillman and other A.F. of L. leaders to swing labor votes behind President Roosevelt"; see pp. 41, 78, 98, 103, 119, 185, 188, 257 (N.Y.A.).

HINCKLEY, ROBT. H.: representing FERA on coast, see p. 211.

HISS, ALGER: Frankfurter "Hot Dog Boy"; asst. to Solicitor Gen. Stanley Reed in Dept. of Justice.

HOLLY*, WM. H.: apptd. Federal Judge by F.D.R.; former law partner red Clarence Darrow; atty. Mrs. F.D.R.'s Nat. Women's Tr. Un. Lg.* since its organization; chmn. exec. bd. socialist Pub. Ownership Lg.*; was Chgo. chmn. communist All-Am. Anti-Imperialist Lg.*; contrib. to communist Intl. Labor Defense*; co-author with Communist Harry Gannes; before Legislative committee following my testimony on U. of Chicago radicalism, which included citation of the U. of Chgo. profs. active in Chicago branch of Communist-aiding American Civil Liberties Union (A.C.L.U.), Holly, as witness, lied on the witness stand, stating that the Chgo. branch of the A.C.L.U., which he formed and was executive of, was not a part of the A.C.L.U.! The mass of evidence I presented in spite of the opposition of the "whitewash" committee was sufficient to convict U. of Chgo. trustees under

the Ill. Sedition law and the committee decided to hold no further hearings. Had they done so, I would have urged Holly's impeachment for perjury; see p. 11; the Communist Party's *Daily Worker* (4/1/36), under the heading "Red Squad's Attempt to Jail Party Member Is Lost in U.S. Court", stated that Chas. Sotis "was seized several weeks ago and charged with perjury because police said he was a member of the Communist Party when he took out his citizenship papers." (His attorney was Bentall of the communist Intl. Labor Defense). "Judge Holly instructed the jury to bring in a verdict of not guilty. The police demanded a five-year sentence and deportation. Jubilant over this victory, workers are preparing for the case of Erich Becker which comes up April 24. Authorities are trying to send him back to Nazi Germany." (A German Communist rioter); Holly also granted an injunction to defend Communist Erskine Caldwell's play, "Tobacco Road", barred by the Mayor for obscenity; chmn. bd. directors of Abraham Lincoln Center, Chgo.; in the 1936 Year Book of Lincoln Center, the Dean, Curtis Reese, lists as settlement activities meeting there the following: South Side Libertarians (anarchist), Workers' Laboratory Theatre (Communist), Second Ward Socialist Branch, Spartacus Youth Branch (Communist), Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom (affiliate of communist Am. Lg. Against War and Fascism), Jack London Club (Communist), Humanist Laymen (atheistic), Icor (Communist org. for settlement of Jews in Soviet Biro Bidjan), Defense of Ethiopia Group (Communist), Am. Friends of the Chinese People (Communist); see p. 139.

HOPKINS, HARRY L.: CWA, FERA, WPA admin.; entire experience in social work; mem. Mary Ware Dennett Defense Com.* 1930, formed by Am. Civil Liberties Union for defense of this radical who wrote an obscene sex pamphlet which caused her arrest; announced policy of carrying strikers on relief (Chgo. *Daily News* 8/30/34); under him, FERA funds used to teach Communist propaganda; Red Federal Arts Project has his active support; said about Upton Sinclair, Communist-Socialist-New-Dealer running for Governor of California on Democratic

ticket: "I certainly do want to see Sinclair elected. He's on our side."; staunch champion of "boondoggling"; says its critics are "just too damn dumb to appreciate the finer things of life."; see p. 206.

HOUSTON, CHAS. H.; vice-dean Law Sch. Govt.-supported Howard U. for Negroes; nat. com. A.C.L.U.; Nat. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People atty. aiding Communist Herndon case (*Daily Wkr.* 10/8/35).

HOWARD, ROY W.: F.D.R. advisor and supporter; letter from F.D.R., see p. 329; interview with Stalin, see p. 367.

HOWE*, FREDERIC C.: Consumers' Counsel AAA; long-time extreme radical; nat. com. A.C.L.U.; etc.; Town Hall, see p. 342; was on Defense Com. I.W.W., see p. 129; was on LaFollette-Wheeler Campaign Com. 1924; signer with A. A. Berle, Jr. (see) of message to LaFollette; Fed. Emergency Admin. Public Works; "On February 9th of this year, Mrs. Roosevelt journeyed to Hyde Park, accompanied by Dr. Frederic C. Howe, national official of the League for Industrial Democracy, and called a meeting of 400 of her fellow-townsmen. She presented to this meeting the proposal that socialist work-shops be set up in the town to employ the Hyde Park jobless, through a 'non-profit making corporation' which should be financed by the borrowing of government funds. Specifically, the establishment of a cooperative knitting mill was suggested, although neither markets for its products nor skilled unemployed for its staff seem to be available. A Hyde Park citizens' committee is now at work, studying a method for following up Mrs. Roosevelt's proposal."; see pp. 100, 103.

HUNT*, HENRY T.: apptd. gen. counsel FERA 1933; long time radical; nat. com. Am. Civil Liberties Union and several Communist organizations; active in Passaic strike called Reds' "first lesson in revolution."; see pp. 140, 354.

HURST*, "MISS" FANNIE: a dir. F.D.R.'s Good Neighbor Lg.; radical Jewish authoress; friend of Mrs. F.D.R.; on atheist Ingersoll, American Civil Liberties Union committees, etc.; on Norman Thomas Campaign com. 1929; Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom; married Jacques Danielson ("Who's Who in America" 1915,

"American Women" May 5, 1914); see p. 188.

HUTCHINS*, ROBT. M.: Chgo. regional NRA Bd.; pres. U. of Chgo., a Red center, and at 1933 legislative hearing proudly stated he taught a course including Marxism and Leninism himself; advis. bd. Moscow State Univ. (Russia); series of radical pamphlets used by FERA classes are prepared at U. of Chgo.; numerous U. of Chgo. profs. busy at U. of Chgo. and Wash. on Federal projects, including Wm. Ogburn, Donald Slesinger, Helen R. Wright, Paul Douglas, Leonard D. White, etc.; trustee Rosenwald Fund; Nat. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People*, Chgo.; asks Federal dept. of education with head in F.D.R.'s cabinet (Chgo. Examiner 10/31/33); Dr. Hutchins would have the public school system nationalized and supported in great part by Federal funds" (Chgo. Tribune 10/34); his report advocating U.S. adherence to Lg. of Nations and World Court financed by Rockefeller Fund (L.A. Examiner 12/3/34); his "puerile" report on Am. foreign economic policy, advocating cancellation of the Johnson Act so that foreign countries can float new loans in U.S.A. without paying debts already owed U.S.A., denounced by L.A. Examiner, 11/29/35; see p. 10; Town Hall, see p. 342; 20th Anniv. Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom, see p. 214; see also pp. 22, 36, 166, 313 (Survey Assoc.), 379.

I

ICKES*, HAROLD L.: Secy. of the Interior; holds 30 jobs under New Deal (Chgo. Trib. 1/24/35); 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; called, sarcastically, "Honest Harold" by Chicago political associates who tell unflattering tales about him; branded as "political Judas" by Cong. Simpson; see "The Red Network"; former pres. Chgo. branch Nat. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People*; sponsor with Mrs. F.D.R. radical Town Hall Forum, Wash., see p. 342; Survey Assoc.* p. 313; Communist Strachey said his views were similar to Ickes' as expressed in Ickes' book "Social Control of the Sources of Living" (Chgo. Tribune 3/23/35); supporter Communist-aiding A.C.L.U., which distributes one of his speeches as part of its propaganda; Spkr. at Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Free-

dom* 20th Anniv., see p. 214; communizing of Indians under his direction, see p. 64; as all Reds do, opposes use of troops in any labor controversy (Chgo. Tribune 7/7/35); cancelled Govt. contract of Jones & Laughlin Steel Co. because of their alleged opposition to the Amalg. Assn. of Iron, Steel & Tin Workers (Chgo. Tribune 6/17/36), which union joined the radical Com. on Industrial Organization (C.I.O.) and accepted its offer of \$500,000 to organize steel workers in industrial unions, the C.I.O. being backed by the Communist Party 100%; accused of socialistic plans in his support of Disney Oil Production Control Bill (Chgo. Examiner, 6/2/34); 8/3/36, he derided Hearst as a "parvenu" in the Rep. Party while he himself is a parvenu "Democrat"; denounces "coupon clippers", etc.; spkr. Urban Lg., see 231; endorses Socialist-backed Wagner Housing Bill; his "O.G.P.U." spy system of 350 investigators split into ten regional offices employed as "snoopers" written up in News Week, 6/2/34; 12/7/34, he announced a subsistence homesteads project of \$242,000 for the Virgin Islands, bringing the PWA allocation total to Virgin Islands to \$2,217,000, an average of \$500 per family and \$100 per individual; "with the subsistence homesteads project under way the islands will be almost completely socialized with the govt. through the Virgin Islands Company producing and marketing rum, bay rum and sugar"; condemned as wrecker of Indian culture by Mrs. Flora Warren Seymour, Chicago atty. and former Indian commnr.—"they are attempting to saddle a new communism on people" (Chgo. Tribune 5/11/35); sons Raymond and Robt. on Federal payroll; his book "Back To Work" "actually was written by ghost writers it was learned today. The ghost writers were put on the federal pay roll during the time they were engaged in presenting Mr. Ickes to the public in the role of a man of letters. Further, it was revealed at PWA offices that Mr. Ickes who likes the soubriquet of 'Honest Harold' is prepared to pocket any royalties from the work prepared at the expense of taxpayers." (Chgo. Tribune 5/17/36); see also pp. 13, 31, 33, 49, 72, 113, 119, 134.

ISSERMAN, RABBI FERDINAND: Temple Israel St. Louis; advis. bd. Nat. Youth Admin.; NRA Labor

Bd.; Consumers' Council, NRA; Central Conf. of Am. Rabbis and chmn. and co-founder of its radical Social Justice Commn. St. Louis branch (see pp. 268, 386); leader of Emergency Peace Campaign forums and spkr. along with British Red Lansbury, etc., Indianapolis 5/36; at Lg. of Nations meeting Geneva, 1935; born Belgium; spkr. Father Coughlin's rally Detroit 4/24/35.

J

JACKSON, GARDNER: asst. consumers' counsel AAA; v.p. People's Lobby*; vice chmn. A.C.L.U. Wash. Com. 1936; contrib. of 8 separate donations to communist Veterans' Rank and File Com. (Cong. Record 1/28/35); Communist Herndon Com. (Daily Wkr. 6/6/35); chmn. Nat. Com. on Rural Social Planning (communist Nat. Farmers' Weekly 5/29/36); see pp. 228, 242 (S.T.F.U.), 314 (Consumers Union).

JOHNS*, ORRICK: Federal Writers' Project, WPA, 254 employees under him; Communist writer; has been instructor communist Workers' Sch.; see pp. 171, 172.

JOHNSON, CHAS. S.: Negro; research work for TVA; prof. of Sociology, Fisk U.; apptd. 11/34 trustee Rosenwald Fund, with radical Robt. M. Hutchins of U. of Chgo. and Frank L. Sulzberger, pres. of Jewish Charities of Chgo.; scheduled spkr. for socialist-communist L.I.D. conf. on Southern social problems, Chattanooga, 10/26/35, with Howard Kester of the very Red Nat. Religion and Labor Found.* and H. L. Mitchell (see Southern Tenant Farmers' Union), on the subject "The Shadow of the Plantation"; active with Kester in Wash. in behalf of the S.T.F.U.; on faculty of radical Inst. of Intl. Relations of Am. Friends Service Com.*, Evanston, Ill. 1936.

JOHNSON, GEN. HUGH S.: helped found and later administered unconstitutional NRA; for years, right hand man of Barney Baruch; one of the original "brain trust"; as NRA admin., was in constant touch with Justice Brandeis; leader in the "smear Hoover" campaign of 1932; N.Y. local WPA admin. for a time; see pp. 81, 83, 317.

JOHNSON, MORDECAI W.: Negro; as pres. of Govt.-supported How-

ard U., Wash., is an official of the U.S. Dept. of the Interior; advis. com. Nat. Youth Admin., p. 257; see pp. 234, 235, 343 (Studebaker Forum).

JONES, DEWEY: Negro; assoc. advisor on Negro affairs Dept. of the Interior; mgr. and editl. exec. Chgo. Defender (Negro newspaper); sponsor communist Nat. Negro Cong., Chgo. 2/36; mem. Chgo. arrangements com. and finance com. communist Second U.S. Cong. Against War and Fascism, also sponsor of dinner given in honor of Reds attending it (9/27/34); spkr. at Chgo. Friends of New Masses (Communist) mtg. in honor of new Communist Party dist. orgnr. Morris Childs (New Masses 3/26/35); sponsor of Spivak (of communist New Masses, etc.) mtg., Morrison Hotel, Chgo., 2/8/35; sponsor of Harry Ward mtg. at K.A.M. Temple, Chgo., 2/12/35, given jointly by Christian Social Action Movement* and communist Am. Lg. Against War and Fascism*; spkr. on Scottsboro case at communist Nat. Student Lg. mtg., U. of Chgo. (Daily Maroon 12/5/33); communist John Reed Club banquet for Communist Henri Barbusse at Chgo. Woman's Club (Daily Wkr. 10/21/33); sponsor of Chgo. anti-war march of communist Intl. Workers' Order 8/31/35 (Daily Wkr. 8/20/35).

JONES, EUGENE KINKLE: Negro; spec. asst. to Secy. Daniel C. Roper (Dept. of Commerce); exec. secy. radical Nat. Urban Lg. since 1911; mem. bd. N.Y. Adult Edu. Council; p. 230.

K

KARNOT, STEPHEN: dir. N.Y. Federal Municipal Theatre Project; Yiddish Intimate Theatre; see pp. 163, 180.

KARAPETOFF*, VLADIMIR: apptd. Lieut. Commander, U.S. Naval Reserve, 1933, under Roosevelt Admin.; vice pres. socialist-communist L.I.D. 1924-35; lecturer in course on "Technology and Revolution" at red Rand Sch. 1935; born in Russia.

KEEZER, DEXTER M.: exec. dir. Consumers' Advis. Bd. NRA and dir. Consumers' divis. Nat. Emergency Coun.; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; former Wash. corr. pro-Socialist Scripps-Howard newspapers; co-author "The Public Control of Business"; now pres.

Reed Coll., where Am. Friends Service Com. (Mrs. F.D.R.-supported) radical Inst. of Intl. Relations is held (1936) and where, to quote a Portland report, "his hands off policy allows communist organizations to exist and work freely. The largest unit of the Young Communist League of Portland is at Reed. A branch of the American Student Union exists there." (Communist-Socialist student orgn.); see p. 120.

KELLEY*, NICHOLAS: apptd. to Automobile Labor Bd. 3/29/34, supposedly as "employers' representative" (counsel to Chrysler Corp.); radical Leo Wolman was apptd. "neutral chairman" and Richard F. Byrd of the United Automobile Wkrs. Union, "employers' representative"; radical son of Florence Kelley Wischnewsky, apostle of Communist Friedrich Engels; born in Switzerland, presumably the son of Wischnewsky, Kelley being his mother's maiden name; mother also friend and correspondent of Lenin; bd. dir. socialist-communist L.I.D.* 1932; dir. Survey Assoc.*, p. 313; head of Nat. Consumers' Lg.*, of which his mother was gen. secy. (1899-1932) and of which Mrs. F.D.R. is v.p.; mem. Religious Soc. of Friends; see pp. 80, 154.

KELLOCK, KATHERINE: field supervisor of \$1,500,000 Federal Guide Book Project, WPA, over 4,600 relief wkrs.; wife of publicity dir. for Soviet Embassy; see p. 171.

KELLOGG*, PAUL: Roosevelt's Advis. Coun. on Social Security; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; ed. Survey*, p. 313; exec. com. Mrs. Roosevelt's Non-Intervention Citizens' Com., see page 76; etc. See p. 120.

KENNEDY, JOHN C.: to quote the American Citizen 5/15/36 (San Rafael, Calif.): "The name of John C. Kennedy, State Supervisor of Adult Education for the WPA in Washington, appears prominently in a new 'committee of sponsors' of the Seattle branch of the American League Against War and Fascism, recently made public by Margaret Haglund, secretary of the Seattle branch. The same Mr. Kennedy was one of the instructors at the radical Summer School for Workers held at Berkeley last summer, but never before has he had such an opportunity to spread his radical doctrines. Kennedy, who has his headquarters in the Alaska building, Second and Cherry streets,

Seattle, has a staff of more than 20 instructors in King county alone who maintain more than 100 classes and are paid from \$85 to \$94 a month for their work. He has publicly proclaimed that he believes in 'the new social experiment, and his staff will endeavor to teach their students an intelligent understanding of economic and social problems.' Two of the outstanding classes are held in the Lloyd building, one of them, on Monday evenings is conducted by C. Melvin McKenny as a 'Production-for-Use' class; the other, on Wednesday nights, is in charge of H. J. Fry and deals with 'Public Speaking' for agitators. One of the prospectuses of this latter course was reproduced in our issue of April 15. Both classes are so filled that they are being split into smaller classes, and consequently 'extended', according to Kennedy. Under Kennedy's direction the class being held in the University Heights school building on Monday nights is turning into a regular Communist 'Open Forum.' Socialism and Communism are being taught as 'proposed remedies for unemployment.' Mr. Kennedy has also announced that any labor union, community association, fraternal society or other body may have classes established for the asking. So far as is now known, no patriotic individual or organization has taken a step toward halting the seditious spread of subversive indoctrination by this public official, employed by the federal government, and his brazen public sponsoring of an openly seditious Communist-controlled 'Congress Against Preparedness and Patriotism' should be challenged."

KING*, JUDSON: research investigator TVA; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; dir. Nat. Pop. Govt. Lg.* (communist-Garland-Fund-supported), an anti-private-utility propaganda orgn. in Wash., D.C., interlocked with the Pub. Ownership Lg.*; issued Nat. Pop. Govt. Lg. report signed by twelve lawyers (including Felix Frankfurter, Frank P. Walsh, etc.) which succeeded in causing withdrawal of funds for anti-Communist activities of U.S. Dept. of Justice from 1925 on; lauded radical Senate bloc which has supported New Deal 100% and attacked utilities in Nat. Pop. Govt. Lg. release 10/23/34; wife (Bertha Hale White) one of 22 women

aiding W.I.L.P.F.* "peace" lobby under Mrs. Meta Berger (Milw. Leader 3/8/34); see pp. 107, 120.

KNEELAND, HILDEGARD: chief Bur. of Home Economics, U.S. Dept. of Agr.; mem. socialist-communist L.I.D.*; Lg. Women Voters*; one of the radical "plotters" mentioned by Dr. Wirt in his charges before Cong. com.

KOCH*, LUCIEN: dir. of communistic Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark., until given Federal position by F.D.R. in Consumers' Div., NRA, 1935; see pp. 192, 194, 205, 242, 243.

KREYMBORG*, ALFRED: dir. Federal "Poetic Theatre", WPA; see pp. 163, 170, 180.

KRUTCH*, JOSEPH WOOD: Theatrical Code Authority, NRA; see p. 77; mem. Com. Against Theatre Censorship, backed by communist New Theatre Lg. and Communist-aiding A.C.L.U. (Daily Wkr. 4/19/35); see p. 165.

L

LA FOLLETTE*, SENATOR ROBT. M.: Roosevelt advisor and ardent supporter of New Deal; Wis. radical, son of 1924 Presidential cand. on "Progressive" and Socialist tickets; a leader of the 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; supported by F.D.R. for re-election, as against the Dem. cand.; head of Senate sub-com. investigating anti-New-Deal and anti-Communist activities; v.p. Pub. Ownership Lg.; Nat. Citizens' Com. on Relations with Latin Am. 1927; endorser Lane Pamphlet, paid for by communist Garland Fund to oppose patriotic military training in schs. and colleges; petitioner F.D.R. for release of the Communist Party N.Y. dist. orgnr., Chas. Krumbein (Daily Wkr. 9/6/35); John B. Chapple charged that LaFollette had "trained revolutionists and communist propagandists on his payroll as president of the LaFollette publications" and cited admission of Laurence Todd, U.S. representative of Soviet Russia's official news service, that his service served both the Communist "Daily Worker" and the LaFollette weekly at Madison (Milw. Journal 11/1/34); "The New Republic" ("advocate of revolutionary Socialism"), 11/28/34, stated: "... it was not so much Mr. Roosevelt's luncheon invitation to Senator LaFollette that impressed the liberals as the atti-

tude and temper of Senator LaFollette after the luncheon. He spent nearly two hours with the President and came out confident that they see eye to eye on the essentials of administration policy and that the progressives in the Senate will have slight difficulty in supporting the President's program at the coming session. The extreme cheerfulness of Mr. LaFollette after his talk seemed to me excellent evidence that there is no White House intention of turning back or giving up"; wife also attended 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; see pp. 91, 92, 105, 113, 120.

LANDIS, JAMES M.: chmn. Securities and Exchange Commn.; formerly mem. Federal Trade Commn.; Frankfurter "Hot Dog Boy"; helped write 1933 and 1934 Securities Acts; law clerk to radical Justice Brandeis 1925; Law Prof. Harvard U. 1926-34; wrote with Felix Frankfurter "The Business of the Supreme Court" 1927; cited by Rep. Hamilton Fish as mem. A.C.L.U. (Cong. Record 1/28/35 and Chgo. Tribune 3/28/34); named by Rep. Fred Britten as "nightly visitor", together with Ferdinand Pecora, Frederic C. Howe*, etc., to "Little Red House" in Wash. occupied by "Hot Dog Boys" Benjamin V. Cohen and Thomas Corcoran, and Attorney Guthrie (RFC); see p. 266.

LANGDORF, WALTER: asst. dir. Works Div., Emergency Relief Bur., N.Y.; his admissions concerning Red teachings in workers' schools operated with relief funds claimed to have substantiated Federal Grand Jury Assn. charges (N. Y. Times 5/16/35).

LANSDALE, ROBT.: read speech prepared by his chief, Aubrey Williams, at Wash. A.C.L.U. conf.; see p. 140.

LAPP*, JOHN A.: mem. Petroleum Labor Policy Bd.; dir. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Lg.; chmn. Bituminous Coal Labor Bd., Ill.; "has recently been given charge of all labor relations under the PWA" (Daily Northwestern 2/18/36); nat. and Chgo. coms. A.C.L.U.; associate of John A. Ryan and R. A. McGowan in work of radicalizing Catholic Church; 1922 communist Labor Defense Coun.; see pp. 130, 185, 270, 379.

LASHIN, ORRIE: WPA playwright; co-author Red WPA play "Class of '29"; Walter Lippmann's

secy. ("Common Sense" 5/36); see p. 182.

LAUCK*, WM. JETT: mem. legislative drafting com. NRA 1933; expert N.Y. State Power Authority 1933; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; in speech to Govt. employes, declared it "patriotic duty to join union" (Milw. Leader 5/2/34); was treas. People's Lobby; economist for United Mine Wkrs. and other labor orgns.; communist Garland Fund employe; the Fund paid him \$600, 2/27/24, for preparing "for introduction into Congress of an industrial code"; the 1925-6 report of the Fund (p. 29) shows to "Wm. Jett Lauck and Assistants, Washington, D.C.—for investigation of the textile industry, Passaic \$500" (the 1926 Passaic textile strike, led by Communist Albert Weisbord, was called the Communists' "first lesson in revolution"); the 1925-8 Fund report shows \$4,500 paid to Lauck for the same work and a loan, 1/20/26, of \$5,000 (meantime, the Fund also put up \$40,000 bail in Passaic, N.J. strike cases, \$20,000 for strike relief, etc.); People's Legis. Service; author socialist-communist L.I.D. pamphlets; etc.; see pp. 120, 354.

LAWRENCE*, GLENFORD: wkrs. edu. FERA 1934; dir. men's work Chgo. Commons (Graham Taylor's*) since 1917; active executive with Karl Borders* in Chgo. Wkrs. Com. on Unemp.* (now part of communist Workers' Alliance); Emergency Com. for Strikers' Relief*, Chgo.; Conf. for Prog. Political Action; etc.

LAWSON, JOHN HOWARD: WPA playwright; edtl. bd. communist New Theatre Lg.; Red theatre com.; see pp. 163, 165, 169, 173.

LEHMAN, HERBERT H.: Gov. State of N.Y.; "drafted" by F.D.R. to run for re-election 1936; close advisor and supporter of F.D.R.; N.A.A.C.P.*; Survey Assoc.*; trustee of radical Lillian Wald's Henry St. Settlement; trustee Bur. Jewish Social Research; his late brother was a dir. of Mrs. Roosevelt's pro-Communist New Sch. for Social Research; W. Chas. Poletti, his personal Counsel, who gives his address as "Executive Mansion, Albany", mem. nat. bd. dir. of the Communist-aiding A.C.L.U. (since 1933).

LEISERSON*, WM. MORRIS: mem. Nat. Mediation Bd.; apptd. chmn. Petroleum Labor Policy Bd.

under Ickes 1/1/34; formerly secy. Nat. Labor Bd.; mediator Los A. street car strike 12/34; born Russia; grad. U. of Wis. and gives Prof. John R. Commons* credit for his "liberal" views; once deputy industrial commr. Wis.; Prof. of Economics, socialistic Antioch College (headed by radical Roosevelt appointee Arthur E. Morgan) 1925-33, now on leave; Survey Assoc.*, see p. 313; formerly assoc. with Leo Wolman* and Horace M. Kallen* on staff of radical Amalg. Clothing Wkrs. Union*; lectured at pro-Communist New Sch. for Social Research 1923; author of chapter "Socialist Theory and the Class Struggle" in Laidler-Thomas book "The Socialism of Our Times"; defending the New Deal in speech at Babson Pk., Mass., said that liberty was not endangered by regimentation but by a lack of it (U.S. News 9/24/34).

LENROOT, KATHARINE F.: apptd. by F.D.R. chief of Children's Bur., U.S. Dept. of Labor, to succeed radical Grace Abbott, resigned; daughter of late Sen. Irvine L. Lenroot of Wis., who introduced Bills backed by Communist-aiding A.C.L.U.; Survey Assoc.*, see p. 313; "Miss Lenroot wept printed tears about a return of child labor, but said never a word about the facts that under some thirty or more state laws the grand total of children in industry was less than 100,000 before NRA." (Chgo. Journal of Commerce 6/1/35.)

LEVIN, EMANUEL: lecturer WPA Speaker's Bur.; Communist Party's Workers' Sch.

LEVIN, MEYER: Federal Theatre Project, WPA, Chgo.; mem. communist Lg. of Am. Writers; edtl. bd. communist New Theatre Lg.; see p. 163.

LEVIN*, SAMUEL: Chgo. regional NRA bd.; mgr. jt. bd. radical Amalg. Clothing Wkrs. Union, Chgo.

LEWIS, REP. DAVID J.: 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; co-author of Admin. Wagner-Lewis Unemployment Insurance Bill; asked by President Roosevelt to do all in his power "to get action this session" on Bill, which was also endorsed by "Miss" Perkins and Harry Hopkins (Milw. Leader 4/25/34); see pp. 114, 120.

LEWISOHN, SAMUEL ADOLPH: mem. Fed. Advis. Coun. of U. S. Employment Service since 1933; mem. and generous supporter radical Survey As-

soc.*; advis. coun. For. Lang. Information Service formed by A.C.L.U. crowd; attended banquet in honor of Soviet Commissar Litvinoff, Waldorf Hotel, N.Y. City, and stood during playing of Communist "Internationale" (N.Y. World Tel. 11/25/33); pres. radical Am. Assn. Labor Legis.* 1928.

LILIENTHAL, DAVID ELI: dir. and gen. counsel TVA since 1933; Nat. Power Policy Com. 1934; pres. and dir. Electric Home and Farm Authority, Inc. and dir. Tennessee Valley Associated Cooperatives, Inc. (both extralegal, if not illegal, New Deal corps.); "David Eli Lilienthal like a number of other Dealers is young (35), Jewish and a Harvard Law School grad. who was fired with his zest for public wealing by Felix Frankfurter. For years he has been fighting the ogre of private ownership. President Roosevelt picked him. . . . TVA is like a yardstick which may or may not lead to socialization of all power." (Time 7/30/34); formerly assoc. with socialistic Donald R. Richberg, Chgo.; mem. Wis. Public Service Commn. 1931, under radical Gov. Philip LaFollette; see pp. 31, 32.

LORWIN, LEWIS L.: economic advisor Intl. Labor Orgn.; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; born Russia; wife is Rose Strunsky of the anarchists' Lg. for Amnesty of Political Prisoners* (Lusk Report), formed to free anarchists Berkman and Emma Goldman; author of "Economic Nationalism and World Cooperation", "Syndicalism in France", and booklets on Syndicalism in the U.S.A.; staff Brookings Inst. since 1925; presided at symposium luncheon of radical People's Lobby*, Wash., D.C. 1/12/35, the subject being "Socialization of Natural Resources, Transportation and Banking"; signer of petition to President Roosevelt urging immediate recognition of Soviet Russia, 5/14/33; see pp. 121, 216.

LUBIN, ISADOR: Commr. of Labor Statistics, U.S. Dept. of Labor; mem. U.S. Cent. Statistical Bd. since 1933; chmn. labor advis. bd. Fed. Emerg. Admin. Pub. Wks. since 1933; mem. advis. com. to Fed. Coordinator of Railroads since 1933; before U.S. was affiliated with Intl. Labor Orgn., was mem. of its governing body on behalf of U.S.; delegate to its 1/35 session; Brookings Inst. staff 1922-33; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; spkr. at so-

cialist-communist L.I.D. conf., Camp Tamiment, 6/22-25/33; "helped Sen. Robt. F. Wagner draft the public works and employment service measures and aided Sen. Robt. M. LaFollette in the hearings on the national economic planning bill—the forerunner of the present industrial recovery act"—NRA (Milw. Leader 7/18/33); socialistic U.S. booklet on cooperatives, see p. 303; see also pp. 21, 121.

M

MAC CORMACK, DANIEL: Commr. Immigration under "Miss" Perkins and actively carrying out her radical program; in speech before the Immigrants' Protective Lg., outlined some of the reforms instituted under Secy. Perkins and told of the time he reduced the bond of a Communist from \$25,000 to a nominal figure. "I found that beyond any reasonable doubt the man should have been held as a communist, but also came to the conclusion that he was harmless." (Chgo. Tribune 7/21/34); spkr. at Communist-aiding Am. Civil Liberties Union conf., see p. 140.

MAGNUSSON, LEIFUR: dir. Wash. branch Intl. Labor Orgn.; Survey Assoc.*; see p. 313; Am. Assn. Labor Legislation*; Am. Assn. for Social Security* (name in 1934 was Am. Assn. for Old Age Security); spkr. for radical pacifist N. J. Conf. on the Cause and Cure of War, 4/20/33, on subject "Can Unemployment Be Alleviated by International Action?"; born Iceland.

MAGRUDER, PROF. CALVERT: gen. counsel new Labor Relations Bd.; granted one year absence from Harvard Law Sch. to accept F.D.R.'s appointment; served one year as secy. to radical Justice Brandeis; was pupil Felix Frankfurter; "Hot Dog Boy".

MANLY*, BASIL M.: vice chmn. Fed. Power Commn. since 1933; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; his record in "The Red Network" was cited by Rep. Wilson of Pa. in Congress. Manly with the veracity characteristic of radicals denied it completely in a letter to Rep. Wilson (never to me). I therefore prepared a brief proving Manly's record and took this with the substantiating documents to Rep. Wilson in Wash., Jan., 1936, asking that he insert the brief in the Congressional

Record, but Rep. Wilson expressed the wish to avoid further controversy with this radical pet of F.D.R.; was also treas. Wash. branch Communist-aiding A.C.L.U. (see letterhead, p. 131); the old Red revolutionary "Masses" (1/16, p. 8), writing of the report of Manly's "Committee on Industrial Relations", said it "finds its chief hope . . . in the strengthening of the working class organizations which are engaged in fighting the employing class . . . It is the beginning of an indigenous American revolutionary movement . . . we shall have in this Committee a Public Servant of first rate revolutionary importance"; he served on the I.W.W. General Defense Committee's amnesty delegation which collected petitions and presented them to Pres. Harding asking for the liberation of convicted I.W.W. criminals (communist Federated Press 7/7/22); wife mem. Nat. Women's Trade Union Lg., Nat. Consumers' Lg., Lg. of Women Voters*; see under chapters on "Present Progressive Movement"; see pp. 74, 96, 100, 106, 107, 121, 129.

MARGOLD*, NATHAN R.: solicitor Dept. of Interior; Frankfurter "Hot Dog Boy"; was chmn. Am. Civil Liberties Union com. on Indian civil rights; see under "Communizing the Indians", p. 67; see pp. 134, 142.

MARSHALL, ROBT.: dir. forestry, Dept. of Interior; chmn. Wash. branch Am. Civil Liberties Union 1934; donated \$120 to the "Communist Rank and File Committee to promote Communist activities and bring their bonus marchers to Washington" (Rep. Fish, Cong. Record 1/28/35); see p. 67.

MC CLOSKEY, MARK A.: Nat. Youth Admin. N. Y. regional dir.; signer of petition to F.D.R. asking radical program and redistribution of wealth (Nation 5/30/34); see p. 253.

MC CONNELL*, FRANCIS J.: M. E. Bishop; advis. com. Nat. Youth Admin.; mem. A.C.L.U.; on Socialist campaign coms. 1929, 1932 and 1936; pres. Fed. Coun. of Chs. 1932; hon. pres. of the very red Nat. Religion and Labor Found.; v.p. Pub. Ownership Lg.; coun. People's Lobby; etc., etc.; see also pp. 21, 130, 140, 203, 257, 264, 270, 279, 344.

MEHLINGER, LOUIS H.: Miss. Negro; special Asst. U.S. Atty. Gen-

eral, salary \$4,500; his appointment ired conservative Southerners; see p. 229.

MERRIAM*, CHAS. E.: mem. Nat. Resources Bd.; communist Am. Society for Cultural Relations with Russia; bd. dir. Utility Consumers' and Investors' Lg. with Ickes, Socialist Paul Douglas (pres.); signer A.C.L.U. appeal for Anarchists-Communists Sacco and Vanzetti; author of socialist-communist L.I.D. pamphlets; see p. 341.

MILLER, FRIEDA S.: rep. U.S. Govt. to Intl. Labor Orgn. Conf.; Nat. Women's Tr. Union Lg.* (N.Y.); Lg. of Women Voters*.

MILLER, SPENCER, JR.; delg. Intl. Labor Orgn.; Prog. Edu. Assn.* and delg. to their world conf., Denmark; Am. Fed. Tchrs.*; Church Lg. for Industrial Democracy* (see); World Conf. on Adult Edu., Vienna 1931; as secy. Workers' Edu. Bureau (1924) was associated with leading radicals Rose Schneiderman, Felix Frankfurter, Jos. Schlossberg, etc.

MILLIS, HARRY A.: apptd. mem. Nat. Labor Relations Bd. 7/34; recommended by socialistic Edw. A. Filene; Prof. at U. of Chgo.; Non-Partisan Com. for Lillian Herstein*, a Red candidate for Congress, 1932; financial contributor to communistic Commonwealth Coll. (Commonwealth bulletin 5/15/33.)

MILTON, GEORGE FORT: dir. F.D.R.'s Good Neighbor Lg.; pub. and ed. Chattanooga News; chmn. Southern Commn. on Study of Lynching; contrib. New Republic ("advocate of revolutionary socialism"), socialistic "Forum", "Commonweal" (a "liberal" Catholic paper); Commn. on Interracial Cooperation; scheduled chmn. of first Chattanooga Forum meeting to introduce Harry Laidler of the socialist-communist Lg. for Industrial Democracy (Chattanooga Times 2/5/35); spkr. for Lg. for Industrial Democracy on "The Press and Social Conflict" (Chatt. Times 10/28/35); advocates a new social order without violence (Chatt. Free Press 10/31/35).

MITCHELL*, WESLEY C.: mem. Nat. Resources Bd.; bd. dir. Mrs. F.D.R.'s pro-Communist New Sch. for Social Research at time she was on its advis. bd.; communist Am. Society for

Cultural Relations with Russia; Survey Assoc.*; see p. 313; etc.

MOLEY, RAYMOND E.: F.D.R.'s Advis. Coun. on Social Security; was Asst. Secy. of State until he took over editorship of admin. mouthpiece "Today"; according to Rep. Fish has been Rand School lecturer and dir. Foreign Lang. Inf. Serv. (set up by A.C.L.U. crowd); prominent at Am. Civil Liberties Union meeting protesting arrest of N.Y. City Communist agitators and "police brutality"; "Professor Moley is looked upon as the right arm of the Professor Tugwell group composing the 'brain trust'" (from speech by Rep. Fish in Congress, 5/2/33); met Litvinoff in "highly secret session" in London and held out hope for early Russian recognition (N.Y. News 7/11/35); assailed U.S. inertia in admitting exiles (Jewish Sentinel 1/25/34); "witness" for "Liberals" at "trial" of Hitler held at Madison Square Garden, 3/7/34, under joint auspices of Am. Jewish Congress and A. F. of L. (N.Y. Times advertisement 2/26/34); leading advocate for Soviet recog.; while Prof. at Western Reserve required classes to read "The New Republic" ("advocate of revolutionary socialism"); secured job for brother as postmaster at Berea, O. (Fed. Press 8/6/34); demanded freedom for Communist-Anarchist Mooney in letter to Gov. Merriam of Calif. (Chgo. Tribune 11/21/34); urged Constitutional amendment to preserve the "New Deal"; spkr. on socialist-communist Lg. for Industrial Democracy radio program, see p. 21.

MORGAN*, ARTHUR E.: chmn. TVA; nat. coun. Committee on Militarism in Edu.* (given \$12,400 by communist Garland Fund to oppose patriotic military training in schools); bd. dir. radical Progressive Edu. Assn.*; Survey Assoc.*; see p. 313; advs. com. "Open Road", Soviet Intourist affiliate; etc.; before 15th annual convention Natl. Coal Assn., he made the "best communist speech I ever heard", one coal man said. Morgan bewildered his hearers and dragged in reference to the Communist Third International as being entirely independent of the Russian Govt., which he knows is untrue. (Chgo. Tribune 10/27/34); see p. 32.

MORGENTHAU, HENRY: father of the Secy. of the Treasury and advisor of Roosevelt; delg. to Wheat Conf., Geneva, 1933; tech. expert to

Monetary and Economic Conf., London, 1933; was mem. N.Y. Com. of Am. Jewish Cong.; mem. of radical Survey Assoc.*; see p. 313; on com. for celebration of 20th anniversary of communist-Garland-Fund-supported Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom, see p. 214; attended dinner in honor of Soviet Commissar Litvinoff at Waldorf Hotel, N.Y. City, and stood during playing of Communist "Internationale" (N.Y. World Tel. 11/25/33).

MORGENTHAU, HENRY, JR.: Secy. of the Treasury with extra legal powers over nation's gold conferred by F.D.R.; was apptd. gov. Farm Credit Admin. 1933; designated by F.D.R. "to direct and coordinate negotiations of vast scope for disposal of American goods to Russia" (Chgo. Times 9/21/33); has 1400 acre fruit and dairy estate in Roosevelt's Dutchess County; Upton Sinclair said Morgenthau told him if he (Sinclair) were elected Gov. of Calif. to come back and he "could have anything" (Chgo. Examiner 9/10/34); mem. B'nai B'rith; wife intimate friend of Mrs. F.D.R.; both dinner guests of Lillian Wald* with Jane Addams* and Alice Hamilton* (Chgo. Tribune 8/9/33), the latter two very active in the Communist-aiding Am. Civil Liberties Union, which also lists Lillian Wald as a contributor; see also pp. 13, 34.

MORLEY*, FELIX: dir. information and mem. Fed. Advis. Council of U.S. Employment Service, Dept. of Labor; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; was dir. Geneva office of Lg. of Nations Assn. of U.S. 1929-31; ed. Wash. Post since 12/18/33; exec. bd. Nat. Coun. for Prevention of War* with leading radicals; see pp. 122, 342.

MORRISSY, ELIZ.: mem. Roosevelt's Advis. Council on Social Security; Intl. Labor Orgn.; Prof. Pol. Econ. Coll. of Notre Dame, Baltimore; Lg. of Nations Assn. (Baltimore trustee 1934); Am. Assn. Labor Legislation*; Am. Assn. for Old Age Security*; v.p. Nat. Catholic Indust. Conf. 1928-34; Catholic Assn. for Intl. Peace* (dominated by radicals John A. Ryan, R. A. McGowan, Parker T. Moon, John A. Lapp, Carlton J. H. Hayes), exec. com. 1930-34.

MOSHER, WM. E.: chief of Fed. Power Commn. electric rate study, analyzing prices paid by consumers of

electricity as a basis for further New Deal attacks on privately owned utilities; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; Prof. Pol. Econ. Syracuse U. since 1924; Am. Assn. Labor Legislation*; co-author and editor "Electrical Utilities Crisis in Public Control" 1929; co-author "Public Utility Regulation" 1933; petitioner to F.D.R. for a radical program and redistribution of wealth.

MULLENBACH*, JAMES: radical; apptd. Petroleum Labor Policy Bd. 1/34; mem. nat. bd. to arbitrate disputes in steel mfg. 6/34; deceased 4/35.

MURPHY*, FRANK: former Mayor of Detroit; Gov.-Gen. of Philippines and, since grant of independence, U.S. Commr. of the islands at \$18,000 per year salary; "drafted" by F.D.R. to run for Gov. of Mich. 1936 and allowed to retain his lucrative position until Sept. 5th while campaigning, then granted two months additional leave of absence with job awaiting him in case of defeat; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; present powerful Communist Party organization in Detroit was given a splendid start by his "liberal" attitude toward Communism, for which the Communist-aiding Am. Civil Liberties Union reports praised him; "as last act" (as Gov.-Gen.) "frees 60 Philippine political prisoners. . . . Among the 60 freed were communists and Sakdalistas imprisoned for participation in an extremist uprising last May in which 60 persons were killed." (AP 11/16/35); exec. bd. Nat. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People*; v.p. Fellowship of Faiths*; spkr. at Communist Mooney defense conf. (Detroit Leader 2/11/33); see pp. 122, 135.

N

NADIR, MOISHE: Jewish Communist playwright for WPA Theatre Project, see p. 180.

NEBLETT, THOMAS: dir. F.D.R.'s Good Neighbor Lg.; pres. Nat. Student Federation of Am. (N.S.F.A.); on nat. com. Student Mobilization for Peace (Daily Wkr. 11/4/35) supporting the Oxford pledge never to uphold the U.S. Govt. in any war (peace-time treason), etc., the cooperating organizations being the communist Nat. Student Lg. and Socialist Student Lg. for Industrial Democracy (now united), the student divisions of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., communist Am. Youth Con-

gress, the Inter-Seminary Movement and the Nat. Student Fed. of Am. (headed by Neblett); the Young Communist Lg. paper, "Young Worker", gave "the enthusiastic comment" of Neblett sent "in response to the requests of the Young Worker for statements concerning the Declaration of Rights of American Youth adopted at the Second American Youth Congress", which comment included this: "The American Youth Congress has made clear the necessity for a united front if there is to be a real youth movement in this country." (Young Wkr. 8/6/35); says he is supported by action of the N.S.F.A. 10th Annual Congress in pursuing a program for U.S. membership in Lg. of Nations and World Court, "progressive social legislation", "peace program", etc.; cooperated with communist Am. Youth Congress; supported their Am. Youth Act but now feels it cannot pass in its present form; the nat. bd. of advisors of N.S.F.A. includes: Donald J. Cowling* of Open Road* (Soviet Intourist affiliate), World Peaceways*, etc.; Stephen P. Duggan*, v.p. communist Am. Society for Cultural Relations with Russia*, etc.; Henry N. MacCracken* of Open Road, a sponsor of the communist Am. Youth Exhibit and, at Vassar, of Hallie Flanagan and her communistic theatricals; Wesley C. Mitchell* of communist Am. Society for Cultural Relations with Russia and dir. Mrs. F.D.R.'s New Sch. for Social Research; Frank P. Graham of Moscow State U. advisory bd. etc.; socialistic Edward A. Filene*, NRA and Cooperatives "angel"; F.D.R.'s former U.S. Commr. of Education, George F. Zook; etc.; the N.S.F.A. collaborates with Open Road in arranging propaganda tours to Soviet Russia and claims to have been "an important factor in bringing about the establishment of the Nat. Youth Administration."

NILES*, DAVID K.: was asst. admin. WPA Mass., promoted to serve as nat. dir. of WPA information service, 1936; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; secy. Mass. com. of Communist-aiding Am. Civil Liberties Union; mem. Nat. Citizens' Com. on Relations with Latin Am.; see p. 122.

NOCKELS, EDWARD N.: mem. code authority for Radio Broadcasting Industry; secy. Chgo. Fed. Labor and

founder and gen. mgr. of its radio station WCFL; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; nat. coun. Socialist Victor L. Berger Nat. Found.; spkr. communist "Hands Off China" meeting (Daily Wkr. 5/3/27); sponsor radical Wm. H. Holly dinner 4/25/34; sponsor Chgo. Red Theatre (Chgo. Examiner 12/2/34); see p. 122.

NORRIS*, SEN. GEO. W.: Nebraska radical; called 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; see under chapter on Progressive Movement; ardent New Deal supporter; city of Norris, Tenn. and Norris Dam named in his honor by F.D.R.; was chmn. Progressive Lg. for Roosevelt for President, 1932; can get whatever he wishes from F.D.R. according to the press; Nat. Popular Govt. Lg.*; Survey Assoc.*; see page 313; People's Legislative Service*; was hon. pres. Nat. Citizens' Com. On Relations with Latin Am.*; was mem. communist-Garland-Fund-subsidized Com. on Coal and Giant Power* (formed by the red Lg. for Industrial Democracy), along with Donald Richberg, Norman Thomas, Clinton J. Golden (communist Garland Fund dir.), Arthur Garfield Hays and Morris Ernst of the Am. Civil Liberties Union, H. S. Raushenbush ("investigator" for the Nye munitions quiz), etc.; secured enactment of radical Anti-Injunction Act, backed by Am. Civil Liberties Union, and the Muscle Shoals Act; responsible for fact that Nebraska legislative dept. has only one branch, a radical objective; his effort to wipe out patriotic citizens' military training camps defeated (Chgo. Tribune 6/10/32); proposed recognition of Soviet Russia (Daily Wkr. 6/26/33); urged Pres. Roosevelt to launch currency inflation program (Chgo. Am. 10/19/33); urged curb on piling up "fortunes" by "progressive tax to redistribute wealth" (Milw. Leader 11/12/33); urged Federal rule over all corporations, 3/24/33; his speeches in Congress on public ownership, also anti-private utilities propaganda of Nat. Popular Govt. Lg., distributed at Govt. expense under his frank; led fight for confirmation of Tugwell, 6/34; attacked "power trust" and advocated U.S. ownership of power plants (Chgo. Tribune 3/31/34); proponent of rural electrification at Government expense; introduced measure to set up \$100,000,000 Federal marketing agency, to cut out "middle man" in getting farmers produce into the

hands of consumer (Milw. Leader 4/10/34); backer of Sen. LaFollette for reelection 1934; proposed Constitutional amendment to curb power of U.S. Supreme Court (communist Daily Wkr. 6/18/35); wife also attended 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; see pp. 44, 74, 92, 100, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 112, 128.

NUNN*, WM. L.: Federal Writers' Project staff; nat. com. Am. Civil Liberties Union; communist Intl. Labor Defense prisoners' relief fund; sponsor Communist-backed Consumers' Union, 1936, see p. 314; advis. com. Lg. for Mutual Aid*; see p. 172.

NYE*, SENATOR GERALD P.: N.D. radical; 1931 "Progressive" Conf., supporter of New Deal; edtl. bd. pro-Communist "Common Sense" magazine; signer of Nat. Com. for Defense Political Prisoners* (Reds) demand for release of Scottsboro boys (Daily Wkr. 5/24/35); his radical "Peace" talks featured in Communist publications and at Communist book stores; spkr. 4/26/36 on "The Munitions Racket and National Defense" under auspices of the communist Am. Lg. Against War and Fascism; spkr. under auspices communist New Masses Forum (New Masses 2/11/36) with Communist Jos. Freeman and H. C. Engelbrecht (formerly asst. ed. "World Tomorrow"*, "investigator" for Nye's munitions com. and contrib. to communist "Fight" 8/36); 20th Anniversary Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom, see p. 214; praised by Red play, see p. 167; spkr. Father Coughlin rally in Detroit, 4/24/35; his "munitions quiz" (backed by all Reds) has O.K. and cooperation of Pres. Roosevelt (Chgo. Daily News 12/26/34); H. S. Raushenbush*, formerly paid by communist Garland Fund, his chief investigator; favors "nationalization of war plants", a Red objective; his Nye-Kvale Bill to withhold Federal aid from tax-supported and tax-aided schools and colleges until they drop R.O.T.C. training as a required course is backed by Am. Civil Liberties Union, Communist Party, Am. Youth Congress, and other radical organizations; as spkr. at radical "Third Party" conf. in Chicago, "warned against the formation of a third party for the 1936 campaign" for fear of throwing "the government back into the hands of reactionaries" (Chgo. Tribune 7/7/35); see pp. 12, 74, 107, 108, 113, 122, 167, 378.

O

O'DAY, CAROLINE: Rep.-at-Large, N.Y. State; elected through Roosevelt influence; Dem. Nat. Committeewoman for N.Y. State; mem. "Miss" Perkins' Dept. of Labor "Committee of 45" to survey Ellis Island and immigration problems; makes her home in Wash. with "Miss" Perkins; has been Mrs. F.D.R.'s close friend "for years and years"; Mrs. F.D.R. stumped N.Y. State for her, setting another New Deal "precedent", referring to her as "my candidate" and to the Republican candidate as "our opponent"; "'Years and years ago', she said, 'Eleanor Roosevelt and I joined the Women's Trade Union League. Rose Schneiderman has been our friend ever since'." (Christian Science Monitor 12/5/34); "Mrs. O'Day . . . said she almost always saw eye to eye with Mrs. Roosevelt, which perhaps accounted for their close friendship." (Wash. Herald 1/8/35); v.p. Mrs. F.D.R.'s Val Kill furniture cooperative; advis. bd. Women's Peace Society*, 1928, an affiliate of the War Resisters Intl.*, which is "working for the supersession of capitalism and imperialism by the establishment of a new social and international order"; lobbying com. Women's Peace Union*, 1928-9, another affiliate of the War Resisters Intl. (headed by the very Red British I.L.P. leader, Fenner Brockway); nominated for v.p. communist-Garland-Fund-supported Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom by bd. dir. at Milw. W.I.L.P.F. convention (Milw. Leader 5/28/34); "It was Mrs. O'Day who, when she was running for Congress and talking peace as part of her political credo, was asked how far she would go along these lines if called upon. Her answer—in one word—has become a by-word for practical pacifists. The word was 'Leavenworth'." (Chgo. Examiner 6/23/36); one of Reps. asking F.D.R. to free Anarchist-Communist dynamiter Mooney (N.Y. Trib. 5/2/35), who promises to fight for bloody Red revolution if freed; promised to oppose "to the utmost of my power" the Kramer Anti-Sedition Bill (Daily Wkr. 8/19/35); signer of an appeal with Reps. Marcantonio and Maverick and Senators LaFollette and Wheeler to F.D.R. for pardon and full restoration of civil rights on behalf of

the imprisoned Communist Party N.Y. district organizer (of sedition and bloody revolution) Chas. Krumbein (Daily Wkr. 9/6/35), who, on release, was met by a jubilant mob of N.Y. Communists at the station; bd. mem. Lillian Wald's Henry St. Settlement; was dir. pro-Communist New School for Social Research with Mrs. F.D.R. on its advis. bd., in 1931, and still is on bd. trustees, see p. 78; Lg. Women Voters*; supporter Am. Civil Liberties Union since 1921 and testified for Costigan-Wagner Bill they supported; see p. 134; introduced bill to grant citizenship to aliens who refuse to take up arms in defense of the U.S. govt. (as all Reds do), see p. 135 (Awakener 2/1/35); with Isabella Greenway, "sent letters to the House Post Office committee urging that birth control information be exempted from classification as obscene matter." (Pearson and Allen column 5/7/35); introduced A.C.L.U.-sponsored Bill, H.R. 5170; 20th Anniversary W.I.L.P.F., see p. 214; see p. 48.

OGBURN*, WM. F.: one of original "brain trusters"; his "Social Change and the New Deal" and other writings on New Deal recommended for all libraries and teachers of FERA Workers Edu. by Govt. manual; was mem. Am. Civil Liberties Union com. of 100 for defense of Red school teachers in N.Y. City; faculty sponsor U. of Chgo. Red anti-war Congress 2/27-28/35; on advis. com. pro-Communist New School for Social Research, with Mrs. F.D.R., 1931; see pp. 80, 129, 217, 343.

OHL*, HENRY, JR.: F.D.R.'s Advisory Coun. on Social Security and Fed. Bd. for Vocational Edu.; pres. and gen. org. Wis. F. of L. since 1917; mem. Socialist Party since 1901; Conf. Prog. Political Action*; mem. nat. coun. Victor L. Berger Nat. Found.*; said "I have not severed my connection with the Socialist Party" (Milw. Leader 6/26/34); mem. radical Citizens' Com. for Academic Freedom (Milw.) with Meta Berger*, Andrew Biemiller*, etc., organized at meeting which attacked "sinister un-American Mr. Hearst" and "professional super-patriots" and was addressed by Mrs. Philip LaFollette, Robt. Morss Lovett*, etc. (Progressive 3/2/35); spkr. at anti-Nazi meeting of Jewish organizations arranged by Am. Jewish Con-

gress (Milw. Leader 8/2/35); Public Ownership Lg.

OLDS, LELAND: F.D.R.'s Commn. on European Cooperatives; was communist Garland Fund paid employee for communist Federated Press; see details, p. 129; secy. to N.Y. State Power Authority headed by pro-Communist Frank P. Walsh, who was apptd. by F.D.R. as Gov.; see pp. 43, 300.

OXLEY, LAWRENCE: N.C. Negro; special asst. Labor Dept.; his appointment ired conservative Southerners; see p. 229.

P

PARKER, JULIA S. O'CONNOR: advis. Nat. Youth Admin.; A.C.L.U. nat. com.; was on radical Wkrs. Edu. Bureau 1924—; exec. bd. Nat. Women's Tr. Union Lg. 1917—; Intl. Bro. Electrical Wkrs., Telephone Op. Dept., organizer and exec., 1919—; contrib. communist New Masses 7/16/35; see p. 294.

PATTERSON, LA FAYETTE L.: former Rep. in Congress from Ala.; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; appointee as field repres. AAA; see p. 123.

PEABODY, GEORGE FOSTER: vice chmn. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Lg.; trustee of F.D.R.'s Ga. Warm Springs Health Found.; Public Ownership Lg. advis. com.; nat. advis. bd. radical Am. Indian Defense Assn. (see under "Communizing the Indians"); former treas. Church Lg. for Industrial Democracy*; N.Y. State Lusk report lists three of his radical war time affiliations; endorser Lane Pamphlet*, financed by communist Garland Fund to oppose patriotic military training; Am. Church Institute for Negroes; Survey Assoc.*; mem. Non-Intervention Citizens' Com. with Mrs. F.D.R.

PEEK, GEORGE N.: One of Baruch's proteges; apptd. AAA admin.; ousted by the Roosevelt Admin. because of his objections to its radicalism; given buffer appointment as head of the Export-Import Bank, set up by Roosevelt through Executive Order to facilitate loans to Soviet Russia; resigned 12/2/35; supposedly a Republican, but "bolted" for Smith in 1928 and for Roosevelt in 1932; of the Roosevelt Admin., he says: "I eventually found that I was not in a Democratic Administration but in a curious collection of

socialists and internationalists who were neither Republicans nor Democrats. . . . There were two broad general groups—the socialists and the internationalists. The socialists or, more strictly, the collectivists seemed—for nothing was in the open—to be headed by Felix Frankfurter, Rexford G. Tugwell and Jerome Frank. They gained the mind of the Secretary of Agriculture and had a good deal of sway throughout the Department. The internationalists ruled the State Department and were headed by Secretary Hull and Assistant Secretary Sayre." Also: "The Administration has committed itself, by a distortion of the lately deceased Agricultural Adjustment Act, to a policy of socialized farming." And: "They would remake the United States as an incident to remaking the world. For instance, one highly placed official, at a time when crop surpluses were bothering us, came forward with an elaborate scheme for a world corporation which would pool all surpluses everywhere and distribute them to the poor of the world"; speaking of the AAA legal division, composed of Jerome Frank and other Frankfurter proteges, or "Hot Dog Boys", he said: "I only know that in the legal division were formed the plans which eventually turned the AAA from a device to aid the farmers into a device to introduce the collectivist system of agriculture into this country." (Sat. Eve. Post 5/16/36); Mr. Peek's article in the 5/30/36 Sat. Eve. Post contains the following: "Later, one of my associates, a level-headed man of standing and experience, arranged to see me alone at the end of the day. 'Do you know what is going on around here?' he asked at once. 'In a general way I hope I do,' I answered, 'but what have you particularly in mind?' He said it seemed crazy, but that he knew whereof he spoke when he affirmed that some of the bright young men of the departments were holding night meetings and a lot of those present were talking social revolution." (Dr. Wm. A. Wirt of Gary said practically the same thing in the spring of 1934.)

PENNYBACKER, MRS. PERCY: dir. F.D.R.'s Good Neighbor Lg.; nat. com. Nat. World Court Com.; scheduled sknr. radical Fellowship Faiths Chgo. Congress; Lg. Women Voters*;

gives in *Who's Who in Am.* as her hobbies "peace and international relations"; signer of Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom "Mandate to Governments" to end the "economic anarchy which breeds war."

PERKINS, "MISS" FRANCES: Secy. of Labor; wife of Paul Wilson; socialistic Am. Assn. Labor Legis.* unemployment insurance com.; former member Socialist Party (*Daily Wkr.* 10/18/33); Nat. Consumers' Lg.*; Nat. Women's Trade Union Lg.*; she "wears no wedding ring" but says her daughter Suzannah "never gave me any trouble" (*G. F. Herrick*, 4/3/33, *Chgo. Tribune*); *Survey Assoc.**, see p. 313; see chapter on, p. 143; see also pp. 27, 47, 48, 78, 134, 147, 149, 153, 186, 293, 368.

PETTIS*, ASHLEY: WPA Federal Theatre Project; Communist; New Masses staff 1933.

PHILLIPS, LENA MADESIN: com. on women's work, Intl. Labor Orgn.; cons. mem. Consumers' Advis. Bd., NRA; pres. Natl. Coun. of Women, of which radical Estelle M. Sternberger (of Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Lg.) is vice pres.; pres. Intl. Fed. of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; at a biennial convention of the Nat. Coun. of Women, 11/33, Mrs. Sternberger presented "the framework of a proposal to mobilize the women of the United States in the cause of 'social justice', embracing the cultural use of leisure and study of economic questions" and assailed "reactionaries". Also, a resolution was introduced by Laura Puffer Morgan of the Nat. Coun. for Prevention of War and was adopted asking reappointment of radical Mary Woolley* as member of U.S. delegation to Geneva Disarmament Conf. (*N.Y. Times* 11/25/33); Women's Cong. at Chgo. Century of Prog. Expo. held under auspices of Nat. Coun. of Women feted socialist Margaret Bondfield and other radicals who attended. Miss Phillips addressed opening session; for years, nat. official Y.W.C.A.; mem. Consumers' Cooperative Assn.; assoc. ed. *Pictorial Review*; guest of honor at "Birth Control Come of Age" dinner, 2/12/35, with radicals Fannie Hurst, Dorothy Thompson, etc.; signer of telegram greeting Soviet Intourist anniversary celebration in Moscow (*Intourist News* No. 5, 1934).

PICKETT, CLARENCE: Dept. of Interior, head of section on stranded mining and industrial populations; exec. secy. Am. Friends Service Com. (supported by Mrs. F.D.R. with \$72,000 at one time); spkr. for its Institutes; contrib. to Am. Civil Liberties Union; policy forming council of the Emergency Peace Campaign (inaugurated by Mrs. F.D.R., Rep. Marcantonio, etc.); signer of Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom "Mandate to Governments" to end the "economic anarchy which breeds war"; nat. com. radical-pacifist War Resisters Lg.*; council Pa. Com. for Total Disarmament*; mem. nat. coun. socialist Victor L. Berger Nat. Found.*

POLAKOV, WALTER: Russian-born; WPA staff engineer; was consulting engineer TVA, later placed in charge of the national survey of potential production capacity sponsored by the N.Y. Housing authority with CWA funds; "The Roosevelt administration now includes among its higher-ups a former adviser of the supreme council of Russia—the Communist brain trust, it was revealed today. . . . The supreme economic council of the Communists has complete control of all sovietized industry. Dr. Polakov said today WPA might become 'the supreme economic council of the United States.'" (*Chgo. Examiner* 11/14/35); on edtl. bd. pro-Communist "Common Sense" magazine; spkr. Nat. Women's Tr. Union Lg.* conf. (*N.Y. Times* 5/7/36).

PRESSMAN, LEE: gen. counsel, Resettlement Admin. and WPA; formerly in legal division of AAA, under Jerome Frank; grad. of Harvard U. Law Sch. 1929; a Frankfurter "Hot Dog Boy"; mem. exec. com. Nat. Youth Admin.; gen. counsel for the Communist-backed Com. for Industrial Orgn. (C.I.O.); his article for its official organ, "Steel Labor" (8/1/36), a typical "civil liberties" harangue referring to "armed thugs, company spies, and imported strikebreakers" of steel companies; George N. Peek's article in the *Sat. Eve. Post* 5/30/36 contains the following: "On the 17th instant, in a conversation with Mr. Lee Pressman, of the legal division of the AAA, he asked me what I thought of the Government taking over the control of milk. I said that municipal operation of milk plants was not feasible, nor was a

monopoly to one company feasible. Mr. Pressman said he meant the Government of the United States to take over such operation, and when I countered by saying then why not grocery stores and department stores, etc., he said, "Why not?" When I said that is "State Socialism" or "Communism," he said "Call it what you may, this plan is failing and Government operation has to come."''

PRYOR, FRED: Roosevelt's Negro secy. whose appointment ired conservative Southerners; see p. 234.

R

RICE*, ELMER: was N.Y. Regional dir. WPA Theatre Project, see p. 165; Red playwright; bd. dir. Am. Civil Liberties Union; "says he is a revolutionist" (communist New Theatre 12/34); communist Am. Lg. Against War and Fascism; see pp. 142, 165.

RICE, WM. G. (JR.): asst. gen. counsel of old Nat. Labor Bd. and gen. counsel of newer Nat. Labor Relations Bd. 7/34; Frankfurter "Hot Dog Boy"; in 1921-22 was secy. to radical Justice Brandeis; chmn. Am. Civil Liberties Union Wis. U. branch; mem. Brandeis Com. for communistic Commonwealth Coll., see p. 191; Prof. U. of Wis. Law School since 1922, under Dean Lloyd K. Garrison (nat. com. A.C.L.U.); his interest in communist Am. Lg. Against War and Fascism noted in the Daily Cardinal, U. of Wis. paper; mem. com. to welcome Norman Thomas (Socialist Party candidate) to Madison 1932; spent six months abroad 1934 studying intl. law and labor problems particularly the Intl. Labor Orgn. of the Lg. of Nations; mem. of Wis. State Com. Lg. of Nations Assn.; "In order to complete the liaison between Geneva and Washington, the Dept. of Labor established an office in Geneva under a Labor Commissioner, Mr. Wm. G. Rice. Jr. At the same time continuity of policy in behalf of the government is maintained by the continual attendance of Mr. Rice as Labor Commissioner at all meetings." (Intl. Conciliation, 6/36, pub. by Carnegie Endowment.)

RICHBERG*, DONALD R.: gen. counsel NRA; later NRA admin.; chmn. F.D.R.'s Nat. Emergency Com.; while F.D.R. was "chronically" vacationing, was called "assistant President"; Ickes instrumental in bringing

him to Wash.; Chgo. chapter of Lg. for Industrial Democracy and its Com. on Coal and Giant Power (Garland-Fund-subsidized); Am. Civil Liberties Union nat. com. on labor injunctions; chmn. Resolutions Com. of convention that nominated LaFollette and Wheeler, 1924; the platform prepared under his leadership declared in favor of (1) "Public ownership of water power and the creation of a public super-power system"; (2) "Public ownership of railroads"; and (3) The over-riding of a decision of the U.S. Supreme Court; Survey Assoc.*, see p. 313; launched anonymous book flattering Roosevelt Admin. (7/36), called "'Guilty': The Confession of Franklin D. Roosevelt", which ran serially in pro-New-Deal newspapers, writing its introduction; believed to be its author; released the following letter: "Dear Donald: Don't show me that book 'Guilty' before it is published. I believe in a free press. Sincerely yours, Franklin D. Roosevelt. P. S. But I will read it when it comes out. F.D.R."; see also pp. 74, 341.

RIEVE*, EMIL: govt. delg. to Intl. Labor Orgn. 6/36; active Socialist Party mem.; supporting F.D.R.; pres. Am. Fed. of Hosiery Wkrs.; spkr. communist U.S. Congress Against War 1933; see p. 39.

ROBINSON, JOS. T.: Roosevelt's obedient Senate leader; supported recognition of Russia (Soviet Russia Today 6/32); sponsor radical Town Hall forum, Wash., see p. 342.

ROCHE, JOSEPHINE: Asst. Secy. of the Treasury since 11/34; chmn. exec. com. Nat. Youth Admin.; was mem. Colo. advs. bd. Emergency PWA, NRA, 1933-34; nat. bd. dir. Fed. Reemployment Service, NRA, 1933-34; on F.D.R.'s Adv. Coun. on Social Security since 1934; Russell Sage Found. Fellowship, Columbus U., 1909-10; investigator for Florence Kelley's Nat. Consumers' Lg.* 1918; mem. Nat. Consumers' Lg. and bd. dir. N.Y. City branch; dir. edtl. div. U.S. Children's Bureau 1923-25 (under radical Grace Abbott); dir. girls' dept. 1915-18, and referee 1925-27 of Denver Juvenile Ct. (under radical Garland-Fund-aided Judge Ben Lindsey); Am. Assn. Lab. Legis.*; signer of petition to F.D.R. for radical program and redistribution of wealth; "Miss Roche has been de-

scribed as one of the 'extreme left', a radical and a Bolshevik." (Chgo. Examiner 7/23/34); inherited her father's coal mining business; "a New Dealer of pinkish hue, and a close personal friend of both Mrs. Roosevelt and Mrs. Morgenthau. . . . Known as a radical in action and theory, she was roundly beaten when she attempted this year to obtain the Democratic nomination for Governor of Colorado." (Chgo. Tribune 11/16/34); about the withdrawal of one of her opponents, the Denver Post said (8/6/34): "This insures the renomination of Governor Johnson and makes certain the decisive defeat of Miss Josephine Roche, the radical candidate, thru whom Communists are trying to seize control of both the Democratic Party and the Colorado state government"; Survey Assoc.* see p. 313; spkr. for Nat. Women's Tr. Union Lg. Conf. (N.Y. Times 5/7/36); see pp. 214, 234, 345.

RODGERS, WARD: FERA tchr., Ark.: arrested for anarchy; revolutionary Socialist; Southern Tenant Farmers Union: see p. 243, 244.

ROPER, DANIEL C.: Secv. of Commerce; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.: urged wire control before House Interstate Commerce Commn. (Chgo. Am. 4/10/34); "Federal Yacht Used by Roper and His Family Cost to U.S. Taxpayers \$40,000 a year" (Chgo. Tribune 5/22/36); sponsor radical Town Hall Forum, Wash., D.C., see p. 342; as Admin. spokesman at Alexandria, Va. Constitution Day celebration, demanded modernization of the Constitution, saying "the right of amendment is the heart beat of our Constitutional system", echoing F.D.R.'s horse and buggy argument about the Constitution and demanded radical changes and increase in govt. powers (Chgo. Tribune 9/18/35); in speech 2/11/35 before Inst. of Citizenship at Emory U., Atlanta, Ga., defended the New Deal and its "liberalism", closing with the words: "We must travel along the human highway of liberalism and discipline"; see p. 124.

ROSS, J. D.: apptd. mem. Securities and Exchange Commn. to replace Ferdinand Pecora; "the Wheeler-Rayburn Act places the life and death of utility holding companies at the mercy of this commission" (Awakener 9/1/35); v.p. socialistic Public Ownership Lg.*; supt.

of Seattle municipal light and power system; "close friend" of F.D.R. (Carl D. Thompson in "Public Ownership" 6/33.)

RUBINOW*, ISAAC MAX: U.S. Social Insurance Com. of the Intl. Labor Orgn.; born and bred in Russia; bd. communistic Commonwealth Coll., see p. 205; secy. B'nai B'rith since 1929; exec. dir. Zionist Org. Am. 1928-9; contrib. ed. Survey 1911-16; sponsor Consumers' Union 1936 (Communist Party backed), see p. 314; Am. Assn. Labor Legis.*; Survey Assoc.* see p. 313; signer petition to F.D.R. for radical program and redistribution of wealth: as spkr. at socialist Camp Tamiment Ec. and Social Inst. 1935, praised F.D.R.'s Social Security Bill, saying: "It is a distinct and almost epoch making advance."

RUSSELL*, CHAS. EDW.: NRA Review Bd. asst. to Darrow 1934; long time Socialist Party writer and candidate; author of "Why I am a Socialist," books on Russia, etc.; see also p. 21.

RYAN*, MSGR. JOHN A.: Industrial Appeals Bd. NRA; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; one of leading Am. radicals since 1920 including nat. com. Am. Civil Liberties Un., communist Labor Defense Council 1922, etc., etc. (see "The Red Network"); also Survey Assoc.* see p. 313; his books recommended by socialist-communist Lg. for Industrial Democracy; signer of Joint Com. on Unemployment demand for redistribution of wealth (communist Federated Press 4/7/33); signer of Am. Civil Liberties Union petition for change of venue for Reds' Scottsboro case 1933; in speech before Catholic Conf. on Industrial Problems at Cincinnati, urged 30-hour week and spending of five billion dollars a year for public works (St. Louis Post Dispatch 3/26/35); on com. for celebration of 20th anniversary of the communist-Garland-Fund-supported Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom 5/2-3/35 see p. 214; joined in Am. Civil Liberties Union protest of "mob rule" in Calif. 8/34 (when Communists were being repressed); signer of statement issued by James Myers, of the A.C.L.U. and indust. secy. of Fed. Coun. of Churches, urging the U.S. Senate Judiciary Com. to investigate "attempts to restrict freedom of the press, speech and assembly" (N.Y. Times 5/13/35); considers Constitution

bar to progress; his radical use of Pope's encyclicals praised by Socialists, see p. 283; Am. Indian Defense Assn., see p. 69; see pp. 124, 185, 264, 266, 270.

S

SAENZ, MOISES: see under "Communizing the Indians", p. 64; radical Am. Indian Defense Assn. (Collier's), see p. 70.

SAPOSS*, DAVID J.: his appointment as consultant and chief economist of Natl. Labor Rel. Bd., recommended by "Miss" Perkins, said to have been kept quiet because of his known radicalism, later revealed by press (Chgo. Examiner 6/11/36); Russian-born revolutionary Jewish Socialist; was instr. for Intl. Ladies Garment Wkrs. Union*, edu. dir. jt. bd. Amalg. Clothing Wkrs. Union*, instr. socialist Rand Sch.; res. faculty mem. socialist Brookwood Labor College 1932; dir. pro-Communist New Sch. for Social Research 1931, when Mrs. F.D.R. was on its advs. com., see p. 78; etc., etc.; his pamphlet "The Development of the American Empire" is used as a textbook in Communist "Workers' Schools"; in his "Left Wing Unionism", published by Intl. Pubs. (Soviet pub. house in U.S.), which covers "Different Methods of Boring From Within", etc., he well describes Red strategy, including F.D.R.'s and his own, saying: "Thus to bore from within and still retain a standing in the movement, militancy must be tempered and circumscribed."

SAYRE, FRANCIS BOWES: Asst. Secy. of State; also chmn. Exec. Com. on Commercial Policy, U.S. Govt.; taught Harvard U. Law School from 1917 to 1934 with ultra-radical Felix Frankfurter; contrib. to Communist-aiding Am. Civil Liberties Union*; endorser of Lane Pamphlet*, financed by the communist Garland Fund to oppose patriotic military training in schools and colleges; mem. intl. com. Y.M.C.A. since 1932; son-in-law of Pres. Wilson; brother of the outstanding radical John Nevin Sayre*; George N. Peek says, referring to the Roosevelt Admin. as a whole: "There were two broad general groups—the socialists and the internationalists. . . . The internationalists ruled the State Department and were headed by Secretary Hull and Assistant Secretary Sayre." And, referring to Sayre: "He is a doctrinaire who be-

lieves in the brotherhood of man, which is somehow to be brought about through the League of Nations and international free trade. If you do not agree with him he thinks your motives must be bad because his are good." (Sat. Eve. Post 5/16/36); see pp. 75, 313, 387.

SCHNAPPER, M. B.: formerly economic analyst, Nat. Youth Admin.; now mng. ed. communist "Champion of Youth", substitute for "The Young Worker" (official organ Young Communist Lg.).

SCHNEIDERMAN*, ROSE: Roosevelt appointee Nat. Labor Bd. 1933; close friend of Mrs. F.D.R.; long Red record; has objected to the nickname "Red Rose of Anarchy" first given her years ago, it is reported, by members of the N.Y. Red squad; bd. dir. Communist-backed Consumers' Union 1936, see p. 315; Am. Civil Liberties Union*; etc., etc.; see pp. 75, 129, 155, 257.

SEARS*, AMELIA: PWA Housing Division; Am. Civil Liberties Union*, Chgo. com.; Nat. Women's Tr. Union Lg.*; Lg. Women Voters*; v.p. Chicago Urban Lg.; Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom*; Lg. for Industrial Democracy*; see p. 231.

SHERRY, MRS. T.: a dir. Milw. WPA Theatre Project; see p. 181.

SHERSKERSKY, PAULINE: was asst. supervisor D.C. Emer. Relief, then given Govt. position in Md.; named by Rep. Fish as contributor to Communist Harold Hickerson "for the purpose of instigating a bonus march of Communists on Washington" (Cong. Record 1/28/35); Wash. arrangements com. for communist Nat. Cong. for Unemployment and Social Insurance (Wash. Star 12/17/34).

SIEGEL*, WM.: WPA Federal Art Project; Communist writer and cartoonist; former contrib. ed. communist New Masses.

SIFTON, PAUL AND CLAIRE: WPA playwrights; nat. coun. and edtl. bd. communist New Theatre Lg.; see pp. 163, 170, 173.

SIMKHOVITCH, MARY K.: see chapter on Housing Conf., p. 344; vice chmn. N.Y. City Housing Authority, apptd. by Mayor LaGuardia; apptd. by Roosevelt when Gov. to N.Y. State Bd. Social Welfare; Nat. Urban Lg. exec. com. since 1927; Church Lg. for Indust,

Democracy*; dir. Greenwich House, N.Y. City; Survey Assoc.*, see p. 313; see pp. 78, 282, 323.

SINCLAIR*, JOHN F.: apptd. special investigator Farm Credit Admin., completing survey dealing with plans for liquidation of Jt. Stock Land Banks 1933; apptd. mem. NRA Review Bd. 1934; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; author of "Cooperation Among Farmers" and "Cooperative Credit"; nat. com. Am. Civil Liberties Union*; Garland Fund Com. on Am. Imperialism*; etc.; see p. 125.

SKLAR, GEORGE: Red WPA playwright; see pp. 170, 173.

SLATTERY, HARRY: personal asst. to Secy. of the Interior Ickes; Am. Civil Liberties Union Wash. com., see letterhead, p. 131; was secy. to pro-radical Gifford Pinchot 1909-12; was on gen. com. Nat. Popular Govt. Lg.* with radicals Geo. W. Norris, Prof. E. A. Ross, etc.

SLESINGER*, DONALD: dean Social Sciences, U. of Chgo.; "left 2 weeks ago to take over the new training school recently instituted by the Nat. Assn. Housing Officials, a training school of the personnel that will operate the Federal Housing Administration" (Daily Maroon 10/9/35); communist Chgo. Com. for Struggle Against War*; communist Am. Society for Cultural Relations with Russia* com. 1934; exec. bd. Am. Civil Liberties Union, Chgo. Com. 1936.

SLICHTER, SUMNER H.: Prof. Harvard U. (Frankfurter's recruiting ground); mem. Advis. Com. on R.R. Employment to Fed. Coordinator of Transportation (Eastman); 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; Am. Assn. Labor Legis.*; fellow v.p. with Mrs. F.D.R. of Nat. Consumers' Lg.*; was mem. Brookings Inst., Wash., D.C., staff 1925-6, 1927-8, 1929-30; see p. 125.

SMITH, AUGUSTUS: Federal Theatre Project, WPA; staged "Turpentine", Red WPA play; nat. exec. bd. communist New Theatre Lg.; see pp. 170, 179.

SMITH, EDWIN S.: apptd. mem. Nat. Lab. Rel. Bd. 7/34; NRA compliance officer for Mass.; F.D.R. appointee as official observer at Geneva Intl. Labor Conf. 1933; recommended by socialist Edw. A. Filene; grad. Harvard U. 1915; mem. gov. bd. The Summer Institute for Social Progress at Wellesley;

for three years mem. industrial relations staff, Russell Sage Found. (Red Mary Van Kleeck's dept.); was employment mgr. Wm. Filene's Sons Co., Boston, 1924-31, headed by Edw. A. Filene, also secy. to Lincoln Filene, its treas.; advis. com. radical Am. Assn. Labor Legis.*; see p. 10.

SMITH, HILDA: specialist in workers' education, FERA, since 1933; bd. dir. Affiliated Schools for Wkrs., N.Y.; see Chapter, "Harry Hopkins' 'Professor of Communism'"; see pp. 129, 193, 198, 205, 206.

SOKOLOFF, NICOLAI: nat. dir. Federal Music Project, WPA; born in Russia; see p. 170.

STEINDEL, DR.: Bur. of Indian Affairs, Dept. of Interior; radical Am. Indian Defense Assn., see p. 67.

STEINHARDT, LAURENCE A.: Minister to Sweden since 4/28/33; mem. law firm Guggenheimer and Untermyer with radical Samuel Untermyer*, his relative; author of articles on trade unions, economics, etc.; with the headline "Study Russia Envoy Is Told", the communist Daily Worker, 7/6/33, reported: "President Roosevelt has instructed Lawrence Steinhardt, American Minister to Sweden, to study the 'Russian situation' from the closer observation point in his post in Sweden."

STERN, ALFRED K.: apptd. consultant on Housing Admin., PWA, 1934; mem. Advis. Coun. to Govt. of Virgin Islands; son-in-law of Julius Rosenwald and a dir. Rosenwald Fund, which offered millions for colonization of Jews in Soviet Russia, donates to socialized medicine, Negro work, etc., and is managed by radical Edwin R. Embree* (whose Chgo. Com. for Struggle Against War*, formed the Chgo. branch of the communist Am. Lg. Against War and Fascism*); mem. citizens' com. U. of Chgo.; the Rosenwald Family Assn. donated \$10,000 extra to the U. of Chgo. after its radicalism was publicly aired; Survey Assoc.*; mem. advis. com. Socialist Paul Douglas' and Ickes' Utility Consumers' and Investors' Lg.*

STERN, J. DAVID: F.D.R. appointee as mem. Fed. Reserve Bank bd. Phila.; newspaper pub.; apptd. Ernest H. Gruening (see) ed. of his N.Y. Post; the Hudson News of Union City, N. J. (1/36) states that Stern was having financial difficulty in keeping his

Phila. Record going but was able to buy the N.Y. Post "outbidding a group of New York publishers who were ready to pay \$300,000 to put the Post to 'sleep' and thereby 'kill' it as a competitor" and speculates about the source of financial aid that made this possible. "Today", says the Hudson News, "Stern's newspapers are the unofficial organs in the 'sneak communist' field for defense and praise of Soviet Russia"; the N.Y. Post is frequently termed the most radical daily Am. newspaper outside of the frankly Communist organs; the Communist-aiding Am. Civil Liberties Union's annual report (1936) says gratefully: "Our friends and members contributed \$3,663 for the Tom Mooney and Scottsboro cases. Of this amount \$762.00 came from appeals for the Mooney case in the N.Y. Evening Post and Phila. Record through the cooperation of J. David Stern, publisher"; also owns Camden Courier, which has been a subscriber to communist Fed. Press service; "When David Stern, Philadelphia publisher, bought the Post last December, he received a letter from his old friend President Roosevelt, which said in part: 'My Dear Dave: I am delighted to hear of your purchase. There is a place for the right kind of newspaper in New York.' And the 'right kind of newspaper' the Post has turned out to be. In editorial and news column it has flayed Wall street, upbraided the radical Mayor La Guardia for not being radical enough and concentrated on campaigns about police brutality to strikers and picketers." (Chgo. Tribune 8/20/34); "Stinging criticism of the 'conservative press'—his term for newspapers opposing the New Deal—was voiced by J. David Stern . . . after a conference today with President Roosevelt." (Chgo. Tribune 9/19/35); see pp. 167, 211.

STERNBERGER*, MRS. ESTELLE: one of three exec. dirs. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Lg.; exec. secy. Nat. Council Jewish Women; exec. dir. radical World Peaceways*; on radical Conf. for Prog. Political Action* campaign com. 1933; as 1st v.p. Nat. Council of Women, proposed to "mobilize the women of the U.S. in the cause of 'social justice' embracing the cultural use of leisure and study of economic questions."

STONE*, NAHUM ISAAC: Admin.

mem. of several code authorities under NRA; born in Russia; nat. coun. Lg. for Industrial Democracy* N.Y.; Am. Assn. Labor Legis.*, Nat. Child Labor Com. (which rec'd \$2500 from communist Garland Fund).

STUART, CHAS. E.: mem. F.D.R.'s Commn. to study European Cooperatives, see pp. 43, 300.

STUDEBAKER, J. W.: U.S. Commr. of Edu.; head of F.D.R.'s Forum project, see p. 343; exec. com. Des Moines Peace Council, with Secy. Henry Wallace, 1932; see p. 256.

SWEET*, WM. E.: Public Relations Div., NRA; official lecturer NRA; called "an official spokesman for the Administration"; mem. nat. coun. Y.M.C.A.; either associate or supporter of socialist-communist L.I.D.* and Fellowship of Reconciliation*; endorser of Lane Pamphlet*, financed by communist Garland Fund to oppose patriotic military training; Lg. of Nations Assn., Colo. Com.; contrib. to Communist-aiding A.C.L.U.; see "The Red Network", p. 75, for his radical letter; the radical Conf. for Prog. Political Action* claimed credit for his election as Gov. of Colorado; "Colorado voters wrote finis to his career after a single tempestuous term as ultra-radical governor between 1922-24. He has devoted most of his public activities to the urging of propaganda for public ownership and to kindred near-Socialist interests. In a recent address in N.Y. City, he boasted that the New Deal was a revolution—that regimentation had come to stay and was not an emergency measure." (Awakener 5/1/34); father an old-time Socialist and backbone of the Socialist movement in Denver; in an article in the socialist Milw. Leader (12/29/34), entitled "An Ex-Governor Wraps Himself in the Red Flag", Socialist Gertrude W. Klein discusses her debate with Sweet the week before under the auspices of the Young Men's Hebrew Assn. in the auditorium of a N.Y. synagogue, saying: "In his opening remarks as well as in his closing rebuttal Mr. Sweet wrapped himself in the flag—the Socialist flag" and that Sweet stated that "he was really something of a Socialist himself and if it would be impossible for President Roosevelt to compel big business to submit gracefully to the NRA, then a more decided turn toward socialization

would be the next necessary step"; in a personal letter written by Communist Wm. Z. Foster to Communist Party organizer Fred Merrick (11/17/22), Foster said: "I suppose you have heard about the defeat of Griffiths for Governor of Colorado. The fellow who was defending my so-called rights to speak in the state, Sweet, was elected. This means the elimination of the State rangers if he keeps his promise."; presided at a disarmament mass meeting in N.Y. City, 10/1/33, the principal spkrs. being Mary E. Woolley* and Laura Puffer Morgan*, repres. of the Nat. Coun. for the Prev. of War.*

SWOPE, GERARD: "Another figure deserving of mention in considering the NRA brain trust is Gerard Swope, president of the General Electric Company. Swope was one of the President's leading industrial advisers in the formulation of the NRA and served for a time on its industrial advisory council. His General Electric Company, in which both the President and his mother are big stockholders, has received substantial benefits from the New Deal's power projects, and he still advises Mr. Roosevelt on industrial affairs." (Chgo. Tribune 1/5/36); mem. Roosevelt's Advis. Coun. on Social Security; prominent Jewish capitalist; former resident of Hull House (Jane Addams*); pres. bd. dir. Greenwich House, N.Y. City, headed by radical Mary Simkhovitch; Survey Assoc.*, see p. 313; spkr. 20th anniversary celebration of communist-Garland-Fund-supported Women's Intl. Lg. for Peace and Freedom* (affiliate of communist Am. Lg. Against War and Fascism*); attended banquet in honor of Soviet Commissar Litvinoff and stood while the Communist "Internationale" was being played (N.Y. World Tel. 11/25/33); announced as guest of honor (with Soviet Ambassador Troyanovsky, ultra-radical Heywood Broun, etc.) at dinner in N.Y. City for Consul-General and Mrs. Leonid Tolokonsky of Soviet Russia (communist Daily Wkr. 5/27/35); wife vice chmn. (1936) W.I.L.P.F. and mem. advs. com. pro-Communist New School for Social Research with Mrs. F.D.R. 1931.

TAUSSIG*, ALBERT E.: NRA (Chgo. Trib. 3/28/34); chmn. St. Louis Com. Am. Civil Liberties Union; Prof. Econ. Dept. Wash. U.

TAUSSIG, CHAS. W.: lists himself as one of the 6 original members of Roosevelt "braintrust"; chmn. nat. advs. com. Nat. Youth Admin. 1935; mem. Advis. Coun. for Virgin Islands; apptd. technical advs. during Wash. conferences with foreign powers 1933 and technical advs. to World Economic Conf. 1933; mem. Nat. Com. on Latin Am.; Pres. Am. Molasses Co.; denies he had "inside tip" in "dumping" of his 10,000 shares of aviation stock just before cancellation of air mail contracts by Farley (Chgo. Tribune 3/26/34); one of four "brain trusters" to disavow Dr. Wirt's charges of revolutionary plotting (Chgo. Examiner 3/27/34); "Mr. Taussig, wealthy head of the so-called molasses trust, is a business associate of Adolph A. Berle and is one of the original members of Mr. Roosevelt's Brain Trust. Although both Taussig and Berle are said to have feathered their nests as a result of the Administration sugar policies in Cuba, they are both ferocious critics of the profit system in other industries except their own." (Awakener 8/1/35); see p. 257.

—TAYLOR, MARY: Economics Div. of AAA; ed. of a farm admin. publication (Chgo. Am. 4/16/34); one of the radical "plotters" mentioned by Dr. Wirt in his charges before Cong. com.

THOMPCKINS, DR. WM. J.: Negro; D.C. recorder of deeds; Kans. City American, Negro paper; his appointmen red conservative Southerners; see p. 229.

THOMPSON*, CARL D.: responsible for admin. appointments, see letter, p. 340; Socialist; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; guiding spirit of socialist Pub. Ownership Lg.; intimate of Secy. Ickes; see pp. 126, 337, 339.

THOMPSON, WM. O.: mem. NRA Review Bd., with red Clarence Darrow, whose law partner he once was, and John F. Sinclair; active with Karl Borders in Chgo. Workers' Com. on Unemp. (now Workers' Alliance); at spkrs. table at Chgo. dinner for Wilhelm A. Kurtz, pres. of Intourist (Soviet travel agency) and mem. of Cent. Exec. Com. of U.S.S.R.; joined with Darrow in advocating "the planned use of America's resources following socialization" as "the hope for the American people" (Milw. Leader 5/21/34); in resigning from NRA Rev. Bd., said:

"Only a government by the workers and farmers can plan production, produce goods for use and not for profit." Etc.; his entire resignation statement is printed as part of a Communist Party pamphlet, entitled "NRA from Within" (Intl. Pamphlets, No. 41), by Earl Browder, Mary Van Kleeck, and W. O. Thompson; one of the official group attending communist 2nd U.S. Congress Against War and Fascism given dinner by Chgo. Reds 9/27/34.

TUGWELL*, REX. GUY: Under-Secy. of Agriculture; admin. Resettlement Admin.; supporter of LaFollette and Wheeler on "Progressive" and Socialist tickets 1924; A.C.L.U.; see chapter on, p. 350; see also pp. 21, 27, 33, 140, 217, 261, 338.

V

VAN KLEECK*, MARY: com. on Women's Work of Intl. Labor Orgn.; dir. industrial studies Russell Sage Found. since 1909; bd. dir. A.C.L.U.; active Communist-supporter; Nat. and N.Y. Women's Tr. Union Lg.*; Am. Assn. Labor Legis.*; editl. contrib. communist Soviet Russia Today; Nat. and N.Y. Consumers' Lg.*; nat. sponsoring com. communist Nat. Cong. for Unemployment and Social Insurance headed by Communist Herbert Benjamin and including Wm. Z. Foster and leading Communist Party officials which held sessions in the Russell Sage Found. rooms 11/34; "NRA From Within", a Communist Party pamphlet (Intl. Pamphlets, No. 41), is written by Earl Browder (secy. Communist Party), W. O. Thompson, and Mary Van Kleeck; advis. com. pro-Communist New School for Social Research with Mrs. F.D.R. 1931, see p. 79; see also pp. 9, 217, 237, 282, 385.

VANN, ROBT. LEE: special asst. to Atty. Gen. Cummings; Negro; owner Pitts. Courier; see pp. 228, 229.

VORSE*, "MISS" MARY HEATON: publicity dir. Indian Bureau, Dept. of Interior, under "Honest Harold" Ickes; salary \$3,000 per year; Communist writer; was third wife of notorious Communist leader Robt. Minor; former associate of "Big Bill" Haywood, I.W.W. leader, and asst. to Wm. Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party U.S.A.; Lg. for Mutual Aid*; Intl. Union Revolutionary Writers*; etc.; see also pp. 21, 73.

W

WALD*, LILLIAN D.: vice chmn. F.D.R.'s Good Neighbor Lg.; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; was on Dept. of Justice list of leading radicals 1921; intimate friend of Mrs. F.D.R.; head Henry Street Settlement; Nat. Urban Lg.; Nat. Child Labor Com.; signer of petition to Pres. R. for recognition of Russia in the "interest of peace and trade" (Chgo. Tribune 3/25/33); Nat. Women's Tr. Union Lg.*; Am. Assn. Labor Legis.*; sponsor communist Am. Youth Exhibit; dir. Survey Assoc.* with Frankfurter, see pp. 313, 314; active with Jane Addams, see p. 214; supporter Am. Civil Liberties Union; see pp. 75, 103, 126, 253, 257, 385.

WALLACE*, HENRY A.: Secy. of Agriculture; Nat. Citizens' Com. on Relations with Latin Am.*, see p. 74; sponsor Town Hall, see p. 342; views U.S. remade as a cooperative, see p. 299; his company and the profit motive, see p. 16; it seeks to beat seasons, see p. 17; Ia. com. Lg. Nations; exec. com. "Des Moines Peace Council" with John W. Studebaker, 1932; see also pp. 21, 217, 272.

WALSH*, FRANK P.: advisor; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; apptd. chmn. N.Y. State Power Authority and mem. N.Y. Commn. on Revision of Public Utility Laws by F.D.R. as Gov.; outstanding long-time Communist-supporter; see pp. 74, 85, 90, 103, 126, 185.

WALTERS, WALTER W.: leader of Communist-backed 1932 bonus march; given Govt. position by F.D.R. (U.S. 1/22/35).

WARBASSE*, JAMES P.: mem. consumers' bd. NRA; advisor on Dept. Labor socialistic booklet on Cooperatives, see p. 303; pres. Cooperative Lg. of U.S.A.; contrib. Communist-aiding Am. Civil Liberties Union; radical Am. Indian Defense Assn., see p. 69; see also pp. 295, 305, 311, 385.

WARNE*, COLSTON E.: FERA teacher; Am. Civil Liberties Union; head, 1936, of Communist-backed Consumers' Union, see p. 315; see p. 217.

WATSON*, ETHEL: FERA; formerly Chgo. office secy. L.I.D.* and wife of Clarence Senior, nat. secy. of Socialist Party; married Robt. Asher*.

WATSON, MORRIS: vice-pres. Am. Newspaper Guild, of which Heywood Broun, Communist-supporter, is

pres.; ousted as employe of Associated Press; ordered reinstated by F.D.R.'s Nat. Labor Relations Bd. 4/24/36; see p. 331; N.Y. supervisor of the communistic "Living Newspaper" Fed. Theatre Project, headed by Hallie Flanagan; Watson called "Communist" (New Masses 3/24/36); contrib. of article on "Living Newspaper" to Communist "New Theatre" magazine (6/36); mem. delgn. to place Am. Newspaper Guild demands before F.D.R. (Daily Wkr. 11/7/34).

WEAVER, ROBT. H.: special asst. to Secy. Ickes, \$6,000 per year; Negro politician; Am. Civil Liberties Union, see p. 142.

WEINSTOCK, ANNA: Fed. Conciliator; see p. 294.

WEISBERG, MORRIS: atty. and examiner U.S. Civil Service Commn., Wash.; produced communist play "Waiting for Lefty", Wash., D.C., which was sponsored by Reps. Marcantonio, Amalie, Schneider and Lundeen (Nat. Republic 7/35).

WHEELER*, SEN. BURTON K.: Montana radical; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; ardent F.D.R. supporter; A.C.L.U. Bill, see p. 64; called "Socialist, I.W.W., Pacifist", see p. 105; Vice Pres. cand., running mate with LaFollette, 1924, on Socialist and "Progressive" tickets; resignation asked during war because of his refusal to prosecute radical slackers; proposed outright Govt. ownership and operation of the railroads, as chmn. of the Senate Interstate Commerce Com., effective Jan. 1936 (Chgo. Examiner 4/15/35); signer of application for pardon of Communist Party N.Y. district organizer, Chas. Krumbein (Daily Wkr. 9/6/35); wife and daughter also attended 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; see also pp. 74, 90, 91, 99, 106, 107, 113, 126, 156.

WILKIE, WALTER: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Dept. of Interior; radical Am. Indian Defense Assn., see p. 67.

WILLIAMS, AUBREY: chief of Nat. Youth Admin.; in a Chgo. address 5/5/36, likened Eugene V. Debs, revolutionary Socialist jailed for sedition, to Abraham Lincoln and James R. Garfield; Survey Assoc.* see p. 313; speech for Am. Civil Liberties Union conf., see p. 140; Brandeis Com. for Commonwealth Coll., see p. 191; contrib. communistic Commonwealth Coll.; greets communist Am. Youth Congress, see p. 254; see pp. 198, 255, 257.

WINANT, JOHN G.: former Gov. N.H.; was asst. dir. Intl. Labor Orgn., then removed by F.D.R. to be chmn. Social Security Bd.; headed delgn. to Intl. Labor Orgn. Conf. 6/36; pres. (1936) radical Nat. Consumers' Lg.* of which Mrs. F.D.R. is v.p.; trustee Intl. Y.M.C.A. Coll.; sponsor Am. Youth Cong.; see pp. 80, 247.

WIRIN, ABRAHAM L.: left his position as gen. counsel for the Communist-aiding Am. Civil Liberties Union for F.D.R. appt. on Nat. Labor Relations Bd. 10/35; born Brezna, Russia, Apr. 5, 1900; an ardent pupil of the radical Felix Frankfurter; in 1926 as secy. New England section Fellowship of Youth for Peace* (Garland Fund aided), attended an Americanism conf. and Mrs. Mary Macomber of the D.A.R., to quote the press, "called Mr. Wirin a bolshevist and told him he did not belong there and to get out"; when he was busy actively defending Communists who were creating a state of civil war in the Imperial Valley, he was kidnapped and beaten by irate citizens (11/33); demanded Dept. of Justice investigate vigilante attacks on Communists in Calif.; arranged bail for and accompanied arrested Corliss Lamont to police station (N.Y. Times 7/6/34); advised Anarchist paper "Man" to run notice telling their subscribers who are bothered by the police to get in touch with the Am. Civil Liberties Union ("Man" 7/34); signed A.C.L.U. letter to LaGuardia urging abolition of anti-Red Criminal Alien Bureau (6/34); arrested while observing Red picketing before Miller Parlor Furniture Co. (7/34); announced his intention to go to Gallup, N.M. to aid communist David Levinson (Daily Wkr. 5/6/35); was A.C.L.U. representative in Gallup probe (Daily Wkr. 5/16/35); to quote Mr. Edw. Goodman, patriotic Deputy District Atty. of San Diego County, Calif., who was editorially threatened recently with loss of his position, by the Roosevelt and Red-supporting local Scripps-Howard newspaper, because of his anti-Communist activities: "It was a source of great surprise, disappointment and disgust to the people of San Diego and Imperial Valley to learn of the recent appointment of A. L. Wirin to the position of counsel for the National Labor Relations Board. In view of Mr. Wirin's pernicious activities in the pea field strikes in Imperial Val-

ley, in 1933, and the animosity that he stirred up by defending Communistic sympathizers, loyal Americans here consider his 'incorporation' into an Administration agency as nothing less than an insult. Mr. Wirin's efforts in advancing the un-American program of the American Civil Liberties Union came to a climax in San Diego when he attempted to secure a writ of mandate compelling the local school board to allow this subversive organization to use the school buildings. The writ was denied by Judge Arthur L. Mundo in a stinging decision in which the Hamilton Fish report was quoted as revealing this organization's defense of the 'right' to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence." ("The Red Network" used as a basis by the school board for refusal to grant the A.C.L.U. use of school buildings, was also introduced in evidence and accepted by the Judge after leading Reds were unable to refute a single fact in it.) "Mr. Wirin showed his fidelity to this Communistic philosophy when he defended the radicals since convicted for the murder of Sheriff A. R. Carmichael in Gallup, New Mexico, on April 16th, 1935. It is inconceivable that a person of Mr. Wirin's known reputation as a Communist sympathizer should be placed in a position enabling him to 'bite the hand that feeds him', in other words, to advance the subversive ideas of radicals, meanwhile taking pay from the very government he has done so much against. It may be interesting to note that the supervisors of Imperial Valley recently condemned the appointment of Mr. Wirin by a resolution, pointing out that a position as that of attorney for the Labor Relations Board should command the highest degree of patriotic integrity which, obviously, Mr. Wirin has not."

WOHLFORTH, ROBERT: chief investigator and secy. of LaFollette Senate sub-committee now investigating anti-New-Deal and anti-Communist activities under the guise of investigating "interference with labor and civil rights" (see A.C.L.U. demand for such investigation); attended West Point 1923-27; author of article in radical-pacifist "World Tomorrow" (communist-Garland-Fund-supported), which said of him (2/15/33): "Robert Wohlforth, since leaving West Point Mili-

tary Academy, . . . has recently contributed articles to various publications exposing militarist activities in this country"; the article is a typical radical-pacifist harangue against the C.M.T.C. and military training, against enrolling unemployed (or "homeless young men", as he calls them) in camps under army officers, claiming that this would in effect constitute such an increase in our armed forces as to create distrust everywhere and affect our international relations, and against the use of our armed forces in "purely economic" disturbances (Red-led riotous "marches" and strikes); he calls our military forces "essentially a static force, pledged to preserve the status quo and resist change"; his book about West Point, derisively entitled "Tin Soldiers" (pub. 6/12/34), deals with "the corroding influences" of life at the U.S. Military Academy, according to the publisher; Wohlforth refers to "the aging generals in the War Department", "the diehards of the general staff", and calls himself "spokesman for the New Deal in National Defense"; the Chgo. Tribune (8/13/36) reports the LaFollette sub-committee, under his supervision, as "swooping down" simultaneously upon the offices of five corporations in six different cities with subpoenas for records, stationing an agent at each office visited, "presumably to prevent any efforts to remove documents in which the investigators were interested."

WOLMAN*, LEO: chmn. Nat. Labor Advis. Bd. NRA; mem. Nat. Labor Bd. and chmn. Automobile Labor Bd.; 1931 "Progressive" Conf.; LaFollette-Wheeler "Progressive"-Socialist supporter 1924; chief, research dept. left wing Amalg. Clothing Wkrs. Union; dir. pro-Communist New Sch. for Social Research 1936, also in 1931 with Mrs. F.D.R. on its advs. com., see p. 78; was a dir. communist Garland Fund; see pp. 98, 128.

WYZANSKI, CHAS. E.: solicitor Labor Dept. 1933-35; Frankfurter "Hot Dog Boy"; acting Secy. of Labor in absence of "Miss" Perkins; delg. and govt. advisor to Intl. Labor Orgn. Conf. at Geneva.

Y

YOUNG, OWEN D.: advs. com. Nat. Youth Admin.; bd. trustees ultra-

radical Teachers College, Columbia U.; bd. trustees Bryn Mawr College, where the radical Summer Sch. for Workers holds forth; nat. coun. For. Policy Assn.*; Lg. of Nations Assn.; Rockefeller Found.; Twentieth Century Fund (socialistic Edw. A. Filene, pres. and founder); on com. for celebration of 20th anniversary of communist-Garland-Fund-supported W.I.L.P.F.; also

see pp. 214, 257; Survey Assoc.*, see p. 313.

Z

ZEUCH*, WM. E.: chief of planning, Subsistence Homesteads Div., Dept. of Interior (N.Y. Herald Trib. 1/19/35); was dir. communistic Commonwealth Coll.; communist Fed. Press corres.; see pp. 129, 192, 308.

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MEN OF WEALTH.
AS WE GO MARCHING.
MEET YOUR CONGRESS.
EPIC OF FREEDOM.

BY
JOHN T.
FLYNN

THE
ROOSEVELT
MYTH

W. Sohler Bryant
1948



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FOREWORD

THIS BOOK IS IN NO SENSE A BIOGRAPHY OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. It is rather a critical account of that episode in American politics known as the New Deal. As to the President, it is an account of an image projected upon the popular mind which came to be known as Franklin D. Roosevelt. It is the author's conviction that this image did not at all correspond to the man himself and that it is now time to correct the lineaments of this synthetic figure created by highly intelligent propaganda, aided by mass illusion and finally enlarged and elaborated out of all reason by the fierce moral and mental disturbances of the war. The purpose of this book, therefore, is to present the Franklin D. Roosevelt of the years 1932 to 1945 in his normal dimensions, reduced in size to agree with reality.

The war played havoc with history-writing after 1940. Not only did a great curtain of secrecy come down upon performers in the drama of the war, but their portraits and their actions were presented to us through the movies, the radio and the press upon a heroic scale as part of the business of selling the warriors and the statesmen and the war to the people. Their blunders and their quarrels were blotted out of the picture. Only the bright features were left. The casual citizen saw them as exalted beings moving in glory across the vast stage of war, uttering eloquent appeals to the nation, challenging the enemy in flaming words, striding like heroes and talking like gods.

The moment has come when the costumes, the grease paint, the falsely colored scenery, the technicolored spotlights and all the other artifices of make-up should be put aside and, in the interest of truth, the solid facts about the play and the players revealed to the people.

A whole 20-foot shelf of books has appeared glorifying the character and career of Franklin D. Roosevelt. In addition a large number of men and women who were associated with his administrations

have published their own versions of their several parts in those administrations. And while these contain some incidental criticisms, the chief effect of all these books is to feed the legend of the world conqueror and remodeler. Curiously, only two or three critical works have appeared and these touch only special sectors of the whole story. It seemed to me there was room for at least one critical book covering the whole period of Roosevelt's terms as President.

There is much to this story with which I have not attempted to deal either because it is not provable or, if provable, is not yet believable or because it belongs to a domain of writing for which I have neither taste nor experience. I have omitted any account of the bitter struggle which attended our entry into the war or any attempt to determine whether or not we should have gone into the war. That is another story which is reserved for a later day. Similarly no account of the military conduct of the war is included. The facts about that are even more obscure than the political facts and must await the release of a mass of documents still under official lock and key. I have, however, sought to clear up from the recently offered testimony of the chief actors, the diplomatic performances in that shocking and pathetic failure during and after the war. And I have included some account of the incredible mismanagement of our economic scene at home during the war.

I have limited myself severely to facts. A critic may disagree with my interpretation of those facts, but he will not be able successfully to contradict them. I have introduced into the text numbered references to my authorities and these appear at the end of the book. The facts are drawn from official records and reports, the testimony given in congressional investigations, the reports of responsible journalists and a large number of books by men who were actors in these scenes. In the last two years a number of persons who collaborated closely with Roosevelt in his administrations have written their autobiographies. These include five cabinet members—Cordell Hull, James A. Farley, Frances Perkins, Henry L. Stimson and Henry Morgenthau, Jr., the latter of whom published in *Collier's* a number of pages from his diaries. Edward J. Flynn, who managed Roosevelt's third-term campaign; James F. Byrnes, who was known

as "Assistant President"; Raymond Moley, Roosevelt's first intimate adviser; Charles Michaelson, public relations man for the Democratic Committee; Admiral Ross T. McIntire, Roosevelt's personal physician; Michael Reilly, head of his Secret Service guard, and many others who have either written books of their recollections or magazine articles touching special episodes. The official reports of General Marshall and General Eisenhower have been published, while other military men have produced memoirs or diaries, such as Generals George Patton, Joseph Stilwell, Claire Chennault, Captain Harry Butcher, whose voluminous diary of his three years with Eisenhower is an invaluable contribution to history, and Major-General John R. Deane, who headed our Military Mission in Moscow during the war. Still others, such as Arthur Bliss Lane, former American Ambassador to Poland, Jan Ciechanowski, former Polish Ambassador to the United States, former Polish Premier Mikolajczyk and others have written detailed accounts of special sectors of the events with which they were specially familiar. In addition, a large number of inspired biographies of Roosevelt by indiscriminating and worshipful admirers have appeared, some of them containing valuable material flowing directly from Roosevelt himself or his family. And, of course, the family have been both the authors as well as the subjects of a number of books. From a wide variety of sources—in the reports of American newspapers and magazines—a great volume of authentic material has originated. No one before this has undertaken to assemble this wealth of scattered data into a continuous and integrated account. Each of the men or women who have written their own stories or who have reported special small areas of the whole field of action has brought to light some missing portion of the whole story of these times. Like so many pieces in a jig-saw puzzle they help to complete the full picture. Thus the memoirs of Stimson, Hull, Deane, Byrnes, Farley are interesting in themselves but the events they describe are not truly revealed until the testimony of each is sifted and made into an integrated story. I have examined every scrap of this material in all these works, along with the vast records of the newspapers, magazines and official reports of the time. I have tried to fit together the multitude of small

pieces of the truth and thus arrive at a reasonably faithful story of this period.

In addition to all this I may be permitted to observe that during the administrations of Franklin Roosevelt I was an active journalist and as such very close to the events described in this volume. For most of the time I wrote a daily column which appeared in a large number of American newspapers, a weekly column in an American magazine of opinion and I contributed to numerous national magazines literally hundreds of articles dealing with these events. This work brought me close to the stage of affairs and into intimate touch with the leading characters on both sides. No small part of the material which appears in this volume, therefore, is the product of my own researches and observations at the time the events described occurred.

JOHN T. FLYNN

BAYSIDE, L. I.

JULY, 1948

BOOK
ONE } TRIAL—AND ERROR

1 { *The New Dealer Takes the Deck*

SATURDAY MORNING, MARCH 4, 1933, AS THE SUN STRUGGLED lazily into position through gray clouds hurrying before the chill March winds, Washington was like a beleaguered city. All over the place high officials were up early packing their bags, ready to be off as the legions of the Grand Old Party that had occupied the city for so many years prepared to evacuate. All through the night from every region, by automobile, bus, train and plane, the happy hosts of the conquering Democrats poured into the city, hastening to take over after so many hungry years in the wilderness.

In the White House, President Hoover, a weary and worn man, spent with the vigil of long sleepless nights as he struggled to hold back the tide of the onrushing crisis, was at his desk early for the last dreary duties before laying down his intolerable burden and surrendering the capital into the hands of his gay and laughing successor, already astir a mile away in the Mayflower Hotel.

In mid-morning, Franklin D. Roosevelt, with his wife, his mother and numerous other Roosevelts—children, aunts and uncles and cousins to the fourth degree of consanguinity, repaired from their suite in the Mayflower to St. John's Episcopal Church where Dr. Endicott Peabody, Roosevelt's old headmaster at Groton School, would invoke the blessing of the Lord upon "Thy servant Franklin." All of the new cabinet members were there also, to thank the Lord who had answered their own prayers so pleasantly.

The service over, Mr. Roosevelt, his wife and mother and his oldest son, James, in a presidential car, went quickly to the White House. The wet streets were filling with people, marching clubs,

detachments of regulars and national guard troops. The great function of the inauguration—the vast powers of government falling out of one pair of hands into another without turmoil or resistance—was moving into its traditional ritual. At the White House the family got out of the car and entered the mansion for their long tenure. Roosevelt remained in the car and President Hoover got in. The automobile, with its silk-hatted occupants, moved through the gates of the White House and, heavily guarded by Secret Service men and mounted troops, moved on to the Capitol.

The streets were blackening, despite the occasional drizzle, with crowds, some huddled against the cables that lined the sidewalks for a front view of the parade later, others hurrying on to the Capitol grounds to see the inaugural ceremony. Half a million were in the streets, a hundred thousand of them crowded around the reviewing stand in front of the Capitol. This was the biggest throng that had ever assembled for an inauguration.

Throughout the country the masses were in a state of bewilderment and, in some places, despair, as the great economic crisis rolled on to its thunderous climax. The tones and colors of drama were everywhere. There was an authentic hero. There was a villain—a whole drove of villains, the bankers and big business men. The incidents of drama were all about too. Only a week before an assassin's bullet had barely missed Roosevelt. It struck Anton Cermak, the Bohemian mayor and boss of Chicago, who with Al Smith had opposed Roosevelt's nomination. It was the hand of God, said some. Cermak had gone to Miami to meet Roosevelt as he arrived from a sea trip aboard Vincent Astor's yacht the *Nourmahal* a week before the inauguration. Miami was crowded with Democratic office seekers and Cermak was there to make his peace with Roosevelt. Instead he got the bullet intended for Roosevelt and died a few days later. Had he been for Roosevelt in the first place, said the pious Democrats who believe that Providence plays Democratic politics, he would not have had to go to Miami and he would be alive now. Later, as Roosevelt's train sped from New York to Washington carrying himself and his family, word came to him that aboard another train carrying the 65-year-old Senator Thomas J.

Walsh and his bride of two days, the aged groom dropped dead in his Pullman drawing room. He was speeding to the capital to be sworn in as Attorney-General.

Every hour brought news of new bank closings—from Texas, Arizona, Oregon, Washington, Wisconsin—bringing to 24 the number of states which had closed their banks. During the preceding night word had come that the banks of New York and Chicago could not stand the strain another day. Governor Lehman, in the early morning hours, had issued an order closing the New York banks. In cities all over the country crowds stood outside closed banks looking woefully through their grated windows.

Farmers were in revolt. They had been intimidating judges, dumping wheat out of overturned trucks into ditches. The fires were out in many factory furnaces. Millions of men were idle. All over the land millions of people turned their faces toward Washington to see what the handsome, smiling new President would do to stem the tide of the disaster.

Economic paralysis lay all about. The arch-villain in this catastrophe was discernible to most people. There he sat in the automobile beside the man who was hurrying to the Capitol to supplant him. He had been hissed at railroad stations. Scurrilous books had been written about his life. Curses had been heaped upon his head. And now he was on his way out to the accompaniment of the glee of his enemies and detractors. Most of his aides and subalterns were gone or waiting to surrender to their successors. In their place came the procession of the righteous captains of the New Deal—Frankfurter and Hull and Henry Wallace and Henry Morgenthau, Moley and Tugwell and Sam Rosenman and Berle and Harry Hopkins and Eleanor Roosevelt and scores of others whose names would soon fill the ears of the nation.

Salvation was in the air. Repeal, also, was in the air. Two weeks before the lame-duck Congress had turned a somersault and voted the amendment to the Constitution ending Prohibition. The wets were making merry with applejack, bathtub gin and prohibition hooch. "Beer by Easter," they cried. Forty-one legislatures were in session waiting eagerly for the chance to approve the wet amend-

ment and to slap taxes on beer and liquor to save their empty treasuries. The old drys were around looking dour but still full of fight. "No surrender! No retreat! No repeal!" they muttered. But the sands were running against them. The United States was through with Prohibition. It would soon end "God's law." The barrooms would be back soon—and full of women and children. A more powerful appetite was aroused. The country, the states, the towns needed money—something to tax. And liquor was the richest target. "Revenue," said one commentator, "unlocked the gates for Gambrinus and his foaming steed."

Here and there in the vast crowds were solemn men who muttered the word "revolution." But this was no revolution. The multitude of visitors in Washington did not want revolution. What they wanted was in the hands of Jim Farley to give and he was already there wrinkling his bland brow over the problem. The Democratic legions were rushing to Washington to save the nation with that sense of joyous dedication with which the old-fashioned volunteer firemen rushed to a saloon fire. But poor Jim faced the problem of fitting 1,250,000 loyal party men into 125,000 jobs. All had gotten letters from Jim signed with his already famous green ink signature. But it looked as if only one out of ten of the faithful would get jobs and the other nine just letters.

As Roosevelt rode to the Capitol beside President Hoover, his face was wreathed in smiles. One of his friendly biographers says he was the happiest man in all that immense throng. The family, too, was in the gayest spirits. And, as usual, everywhere the interest was keen in the President's relatives. His immediate family seemed to have cuddled up quickly in the affections of the people. Here was something they liked. Here was a fine old aristocratic family founded upon long tradition of patriotic service, reared in the finest standards of American home life—the beaming and heroic father who had overcome one of the most terrible of physical handicaps, the devoted and religious wife and mother and the fine, robust, up-standing brood of boys to bring grace and dignity to the home of the nation's Chief Executive.

At the Capitol, Hoover, who was still President, went immediately

to the President's room off the Republican side of the Senate chamber to sign last-minute bills passed by the Congress that was in session. Roosevelt, still a private citizen, alighted under the archway of the steps of the main entrance to the Capitol, completely out of sight of the crowds. He had to be borne about in a wheel chair, but was never permitted to be seen thus by the public. Two ramps had been built to the entrance along which he was wheeled out of sight to the office of the sergeant-at-arms of the Senate. From there a temporary wooden passageway was built to a short distance from the platform outside the Capitol portico where he would speak. About 35 feet from that point he got out of his chair, his braces were straightened and on the arm of his son James he walked these 35 feet to the spot where he took the oath. He waited, of course, until the ceremony in the Senate, where John N. Garner was being sworn in as Vice-President, was ended. Then with President Hoover, Vice-President Garner, his full cabinet and the members of the Senate he made his way to the appointed spot before the great multitude of a hundred thousand citizens.

He stood before Chief Justice Hughes, who held out to him a Bible which had been brought to this country by a remote Roosevelt ancestor 300 years before. Roosevelt touched it, and as the Chief Justice asked solemnly if he would swear to support the Constitution of the United States, he answered in a clear voice: "I DO." This was his first solemn official pledge. Then facing the great throng, he delivered his inaugural address.

"This," he said, "is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shirk from facing honestly conditions in our country today. This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

It was an extraordinary speech. It put Roosevelt at once in the first rank of American orators. The people wanted courage and hope. His first words gave them that. Then he painted a swift, dramatic picture of the crisis. Values have shrunk. Taxes have risen. "The means of exchange are frozen in the streams of trade."

The withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side. Farmers find no markets for their products. The savings of many years in thousands of families are gone. "Only foolish optimism," he conceded, "can deny the dark realities of the moment."

Then he lightened the picture. "Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts . . . Nature still offers her bounty . . . plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply."

Then he nailed down the blame. "Primarily this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence . . . They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish . . . The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore the temple to the ancient truths."

Then came a succession of promises which everyone wanted to hear. For the workers: "Our greatest primary task is to put people to work." For the farmers: They must "raise the value of agricultural products and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities." For the investors: They "must end speculation with other people's money." For the whole world: There must be a policy of the good neighbor in a world of neighbors.

Then he accepted his high office as one taking over the command of an army—an army organized for attack. He would recommend measures "that a stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world may require." But—ah, but!—if Congress should fail to go along with him—"I—shall—not—evade—the—clear—course—of—duty—that—will—confront—me." There was an ominous accent of the resolute captain on every word. He would ask for the one remaining instrument—a grant from Congress of "broad executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe."

Then he summoned the people to war—war on the depression. He asked them for discipline. He talked of "old moral values," of the "stern performance of duty by old and young alike."

Action! Action! Action! The restoration of the old moral values!

Driving the money changers from the temple! It was war, war, war upon the great blight. War by a disciplined leader, who promised jobs to the jobless, higher prices to the farmers, the restoration of shrunken property values to business, and over all the tone of great moral principles and great commanding issues.

After the address, as the immense parade of the military and marching clubs of the loyal Democrats passed in review under the dark clouds through which the sun peeped only at intervals, one of those rare incidents occurred, surcharged with the spirit of goodwill and unity. As the New York delegation of marchers passed before the victorious Presidential candidate reviewing them from the stands the crowd suddenly saw that it was led by the man who had fought Roosevelt's nomination so bitterly.—Al Smith. The stands rose in a great ovation for the Happy Warrior.

After this, Mr. Hoover, now rid of his great burden, shook hands with the new President and left at once for Philadelphia and later for his home in California. Despite the bitter emotions churned up against him, he left without any Secret Service guard, his secretary's request for that having been graciously refused by the government he had headed but a few minutes before. The new President went to his new home, the White House, where a luncheon was served to 500 guests. The members of his cabinet were sworn in before their relatives and friends in the Oval Room by Justice Cardozo. This was the first time this had been done. Roosevelt told Jim Farley that he was breaking a precedent. "It is my intention to inaugurate precedents like this from time to time," he laughed. The streets outside were given over to the crowds which, whipped up by the marching bands, had become quite merry and milled around until late into the night. The inaugural ball was the gayest, the most crowded in many an inauguration as the guests danced and the crowds outside applauded the coming and going of their favorite heroes, while the newsboys were crying extra editions of the papers telling of the closing of more banks all over the country.

It can be truly said that the nation responded to the ringing utterance of the inaugural address. Congress was prepared to go along

in an extraordinary effort. Partisanship sank to its smallest dimensions. Everywhere the new President was hailed with unprecedented applause. In spots the acclaim rose to almost hysterical strains. Rabbi Rosenblum said we see in him a God-like messenger, the darling of destiny, the Messiah of America's tomorrow. Next morning the *New York Times* carried only a single front-page story that had no connection with the inauguration. It had to do with another of those Messiahs of tomorrow. The headline read:

VICTORY FOR HITLER
EXPECTED TODAY

Repression of Opponents Makes
Election Triumph Inevitable.

2 } *The Hundred Days*

THE FESTIVAL OF THE INAUGURATION WAS BUT THE OPENING SCENE. The inaugural address was merely a prologue uttered before the curtain rose upon the stirring drama of the Hundred Days.

The President summoned the new Congress in extraordinary session. He issued an order closing all the banks. Most of them were already closed by state action or by the forces of nature. Congress convened March 9. Then began that hectic and tumultuous hurricane of laws and projects and orders in council which came to be known as the Hundred Days.

Washington was now full of Great Minds and Deep Thinkers—youthful pundits from Harvard and Yale and Princeton and espe-

cially Columbia, with charts and equations; cornfield philosophers from Kansas and California and, of course, the unconquerable champions of all the money theories, including free silver, paper money and inflation. There were the advocates of the 30-hour week and of every variety of plan for liberating the poor from their poverty and the rich from their riches. A curious arrangement of Fate set the President up in these first hectic moments as the savior of the rich and the protagonists of sound money from their ancient enemies, so that almost the first chants of gratitude went up from the people who least expected these favors. He spiked the 30-hour law and circumnavigated the inflationist printing-press money crowd. Besides, the public beheld the spectacle of a succession of imperious messages from the President to a Congress made dizzy by the swiftness and variety and novelty of the demands. On March 9, the President called on Congress for legislation to control the opening of the banks and confirm all that he had done. The bill was not ready. But the swift-moving processes of legislation could not wait in this new order for a bill to be prepared. A folded newspaper was tossed into the hopper to serve as a bill until the document could be completed.¹ The bill was then sent to Congress by the President. Congress passed it instantly and gave the President full powers over foreign exchange.

Next day he sent a message in curt and imperious words demanding economy. "For three long years," he said, "the federal government has been on the road toward bankruptcy. For the fiscal year 1931 the deficit was \$462,000,000 . . . For the fiscal year 1932 it was \$2,472,000,000 . . . For the fiscal year 1933 it will probably exceed \$1,200,000,000 . . . For the fiscal year 1934 based on appropriation bills passed by the last Congress and estimated revenues, the deficit will probably exceed \$1,000,000,000 unless immediate action is taken." Then he warned: "Too often . . . liberal governments have been wrecked on the rocks of loose fiscal policy. We must avoid this danger."

Here at last was the man to put an end to the deficits. Roosevelt declared these deficits had contributed to the banking collapse, had deepened the stagnation in our economic life, added to the ranks

of the unemployed. He declared "the credit of the national government is imperiled." And then he asserted: "*The first step is to save it. Recovery depends on that.*" The first step was a measure to cut government payroll expenditures 25 per cent. The second step, incredible as it may sound, was to authorize a bill providing in effect for the biggest deficit of all—\$3,300,000,000.

March 13, he called on Congress to repeal the Volstead Act. And before the month was out Congress authorized 3.2 per cent beer. Soon the old bars would be open again, slightly disguised under a variety of names and awaiting the arrival of the great day when the Eighteenth Amendment would be repealed.

Then came a parade of tremendous measures. On March 16, the President sent a message calling for the passage of the Agricultural Adjustment Act embodying that amazing farm program which put the name of Henry Wallace in lights and sent so many little pigs to their doom. In a week, Roosevelt summoned the Congress to set up his pet project, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) which in his acceptance speech he had declared was his method of ending the depression—to put a million boys in the forests at a dollar a day. Next came the plan for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration which in the fullness of time would become the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and would introduce to the American people Harry Hopkins, who would become Roosevelt's alter ego and, next to Henry Wallace, the most controversial figure of the regime. Then began a consolidation of agencies in the interest of the Goddess Economy; next the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) which was the beginning of a great government power program and brought George Norris and Bob LaFollette and all the old Progressives with their plaudits and offerings to the foot of the throne.

Still the reforms, the projects, the adventures in social reconstruction followed "treading on each other's heels, so fast they came"—bills to supervise the traffic in investment securities, to prevent the foreclosure of farm mortgages, with one to save the owners of city homes from the mortgage incubus, bills to regulate the railroads, bills for federal action in the oil industry.

Meantime committees were in session investigating the crimes of the past—the sins of big business, of the bankers, the railroads, of Wall Street and of the power of barons. Washington became a headline-writer's paradise.

Then came the great *chef d'oeuvre* out of the mills of the gods. That was the National Recovery Act—the NRA. It was rushed through Congress with something more of opposition than had yet appeared. Few had even the foggiest idea what it was, save that it was the Great Charter of Free Business and also the Great Charter of Labor. It was the first of many Great Charters that would come piping hot out of Washington. The summer was at hand—the Washington summer plus the New Deal heat. The country was nearly saved. Only a few more touches remained. There was the bill to buy silver to please the silver people, to repeal the gold clause to please the radicals, to issue federal reserve notes to please the inflationists and a safety clause that left all this in suspended animation at the will of the President to please the conservatives.

By June 16, the program was complete. The banks were open. Business was moving back into activity. The President was kept busy signing bills and presenting the pens used to the proud Congressional sponsors—often using half a dozen pens on a single bill to satisfy all its champions. The President announced the appointment of General Hugh Johnson—a new name to most people—as head of the NRA. He allotted \$238,000,000 for building war vessels and another \$400,000,000 for state roads. He sent a letter to Congress, now exhausted from its great labors, thanking it for its co-operation and wishing it a happy holiday. Congress adjourned, Roosevelt took a train for Boston where he went aboard a small sailing craft, the *Amberjack II*, in which, with two of his sons, he sailed as skipper to his old boyhood summer home at Campobello on June 28.

The country was breathless. The prevailing mood of the nation was one of good humor. The Stock Exchange had been reopened on March 15 and now the market was moving up. A new batch of optimists was talking about the coming Roosevelt boom. Roosevelt

was calling everybody by their first names. People were saying: "Whata man!" The country began to have some good-natured fun with the Brain Trust. Some said the Century of the Professors had arrived. Debutantes were going to lectures on the quantitative theory of money. The book stores were displaying books on the business cycle. The White House reporters were grouped several times a week in simple ignorance around the President's desk, his walls covered with charts and tables, while he gave them lectures on economic theory. The whole nation sat several evenings around their radios to hear the golden voice of the Leader explain to them in simple terms the meaning of all the great measures he was driving through Congress. Jim Farley sat in the Post Office Department where the faithful beat a path to his desk and where he juggled the problem of deciding which Democrat would get a job and which nine Democrats would not. But Congress and the President were solving that problem for him by creating bureaus by the dozen and jobs by the scores of thousands. The hotels, the cocktail lounges and the halls of all the public buildings were crowded with exuberant people.

Praise for the President came from every quarter as the country settled down to the happiest summer it had had in some years. There were, of course, a few discordant voices and a few captious critics. Roosevelt had been compared to Moses. But, murmured the critics, "Will it take him 40 years to lead us out of the wilderness?" They said he was sending his young CCC boys "into the forests to get us out of the woods." Others called his new order "government by ballyhoo." William Green denounced the CCC as a plan to put men to work at a dollar a day. The Anti-Saloon League was bitter. It carped that liquor was being brought back merely to tax and that before we were done we would revive narcotics, lotteries and the fast houses to solve the deficits.

But generally the sounds that rose up out of the country were paens of praise, and from nowhere so ardent as from business. At the United States Chamber of Commerce dinner on May 13, H. I. Harriman, its president, said:

"Never in the history of this nation has any government more courageously and fully attempted to deal with so many and such far-reaching problems." ²

The diners rose and cheered this statement to the echo. The Republican Philadelphia *Inquirer* said: "The President—yes the President—has indeed assumed the leadership of the world." A leading manufacturers' journal said: "One morning we will wake up and find the depression gone." Several meetings were held to celebrate its departure. The *Literary Digest* said on June 10 that the industrial revival was being hailed. The *Wall Street Journal* said: "No congressional session in history has performed works which so completely defy all efforts to estimate their effects in advance." On June 18, 1933, the *New York Times* said editorially:

"The President seized upon a wonderful opportunity in a way that was at once sagacious and dynamic. With insistent determination and great boldness he sought to render the very emergency of the nation, the wreck of business and the fears for the future, the means of establishing his authority and leading both Congress and the country into a more hopeful and resolute temper. In a true sense the public disaster was transmuted into an official triumph for him. But that was because he appeared to the American people to be riding the whirlwind and directing the storm. The country was ready and even anxious to accept new leadership. From President Roosevelt it got a rapid succession of courageous speeches and effort and achievement which inclined multitudes of his fellow citizens to acclaim him as the Heaven-sent man of the hour."

With the President and Congress gone out of Washington the country settled down to acquaint itself with and accommodate itself to the new order of things. As for the President, he was at the pastime he loved best—sailing around our northern coast in a small one-sail vessel as its skipper. Congress had gone home and was out of his way. It had put vast powers into his hands and had put a fabulous sum of money—\$3,300,000,000—in addition to all the other specific appropriations for government, into his hands to be spent

at his sweet will in any way he desired. The great purse—which is the greatest of all the weapons in the hands of a free parliament to oppose the extravagances of a headstrong executive—had been handed over to him. The “spendthrift” Hoover was in California at his Palo Alto home putting his own affairs in order, while the great Economizer who had denounced Hoover’s deficits had now produced in 100 days a deficit larger than Hoover had produced in two years.

Presently all the many forces he had set in motion would be at work. We have seen the new President and his program as it appeared to the people of the country at that time. We must now have a nearer view of this New Deal in action.

3 } *The Banking Crisis*

WE MUST RETURN NOW FOR A BRIEF SPACE TO THE TWO MONTHS preceding Mr. Roosevelt’s inauguration and to the rising crisis hurried along by the events in the banking world. All through January, as the inauguration came into view, the newspapers chronicled daily the banking failures. Depositors were taking their money out of their own banks. Foreign depositors were withdrawing their balances here, which set in motion an increased flow of gold out of the country. Many large investors were turning their security holdings into cash and this into gold to ship abroad. The fears accumulated; the tension mounted. Then came the crash of the two great banking systems of Detroit and Governor Comstock’s declaration of a bank holiday closing all the banks in the state. This sent a tremor through the country.

The next day—February 15, 1933—Mr. Roosevelt, who had been enjoying a vacation aboard Vincent Astor's yacht *Nourmahal* arrived at Miami. As he appeared before the crowd in his automobile, the shot was fired at him that struck Mayor Cermak. This miraculous deliverance came like a benediction upon Roosevelt's unscathed head and illuminated his rising fame with a new brilliance. The next day he was in New York. On the night of February 18, the Inner Circle—an organization of New York City political reporters—was staging its annual banquet and show in the grand ballroom of the Astor Hotel. Every prominent politician in New York State attends this famous spectacle at which the political writers stage burlesque skits about New York politicians. After midnight, i.e. the morning of February 19, and while the stage show was still in progress, Roosevelt, then still governor of New York, arrived at the dinner with a large party. He took his seat of honor at the center of the head table. Raymond Moley, then his closest adviser, sat opposite him. The newspaper actors on the stage were going through some particularly hilarious farce and the audience was in uproarious good humor. At this moment Roosevelt signaled to Moley and passed a slip of paper to him under the table. Moley read it. To his amazement it was from the President of the United States, Herbert Hoover, and in his own handwriting.³ Amidst the rising merriment Moley read with dismay:

"A most critical situation has arisen in the country of which I feel it my duty to advise you confidentially."

Moley looked toward Roosevelt. His head was thrown back in a roar of laughter at the show. Then Moley read on. Hoover pointed out with complete realism the threat to the whole national banking structure, the flight of gold from the country, the rush of cash from the banks into hiding. Fear, he said, had taken possession of the public mind. Hoover believed, rightly, that a new element had entered the situation—the appearance of terror. The air was full of rumors of inflation and of going off the gold standard. This was leading to the withdrawal of gold from the banks. Hoover enumerated the forces that were causing the trouble:

"The breakdown in balancing the budget by the House; the proposals for inflation of the currency and the widespread discussion of it; the publication of the RFC loans (to banks) and the bank runs, hoarding and bank failures from this cause and various other events and rumors."

These, he said "had now culminated in a state of alarm which is rapidly reaching the proportions of a crisis."

Hoover believed that Roosevelt should now enter the situation. He proposed that Roosevelt issue some sort of statement to "clarify the public mind." After all, though Hoover was still President, his power to do anything effective was gone. He would be out of the White House in two weeks. A hostile House was in session in Washington. A majority of the people had repudiated his leadership. He could do nothing, and nothing he could say would have any effect now. He appealed to Roosevelt: "It is obvious that as you will shortly be in a position to make whatever policies you wish effective, you are the only one who can give these assurances." Mr. Roosevelt was in a position—the only one who was—to calm the public mind, to make some move or gesture that would encourage confidence and check the rising currents of terror.

When he finished reading, Moley realized that "the breaking point had come." He looked again at Roosevelt, who was in full laughter, bantering with those beside him and autographing programs. When the dinner ended, Roosevelt with his entourage went back to his 65th Street town home. There he seemed completely unmoved by the grave picture Hoover had painted for him—"of," as Moley describes it, "the bony hand of death stretched out over every bank in the country."

Roosevelt's answer to this solemn challenge is as singular an incident as appears in his career. One cannot understand it without at least a look at his whole attitude toward the banking problem. It was then and I am sure still is, a widely held view that Mr. Roosevelt had a plan for dealing with this problem, that he arrived for his inauguration with that plan fully matured. He promptly closed the banks and in a few days opened them and gave to the country a soundly reorganized banking system. It is not easy to rid the pop-

ular mind of so deeply rooted an assumption. But let us at least have a look behind the scenes at what was happening which the public eye never beheld. The situation on that fateful February 19, when Moley read Hoover's letter amidst the shouts and laughter of the Inner Circle banquet, certainly called for action. Yet, whatever a generous public may think, it is a fact that the men around Mr. Roosevelt believed that he did not take the banking crisis seriously.

It must be remembered that Mr. Roosevelt had been governor of New York for four years, and was still governor; that the banking crisis was developing in that state during that time; that many of the worst banking scandals blossomed in the state banks under the jurisdiction of the governor. Senator Hastings of New York State wrote him early in his administration urging him to take some action to check stock market speculation and got no answer. After failure of the City Trust Company, Lieutenant-Governor Herbert Lehman, in Roosevelt's absence, appointed Robert Moses to investigate the banking situation. Moses made his inquiry and denounced the practices of some of the banks. In his report he mentioned the practices of the Bank of the United States. About the same time I wrote in my column an appeal to the governor to do something about these shaky banks. Governor Roosevelt named a commission to do this and, to my horror, appointed a director and counsel of the Bank of the United States on the commission. Norman Thomas denounced him, charging "that he had completely disregarded the Moses report and solemnly concluded everything would be all right if everybody put his money in a sound bank." His action made it quite clear that the governor had not the slightest understanding of the banking situation. It was a good deal like appointing one of Al Capone's mob to make a study of the gangster problem. Very soon thereafter the Bank of the United States failed. But the governor still remained uninterested. Various appeals were made for some sort of action directly to the governor but he did nothing.

What was the explanation of this peculiar lack of alarm in the face of this serious threat? Later, as it grew more menacing, he remained silent. The Democratic platform made only an oblique reference to it. In his speech of acceptance of the nomination he talked about all

sorts of problems, including the woes of Puerto Rico, but never mentioned the banks. In his discussion of the Democratic platform in his first radio address he ignored the banking question. He delivered a group of addresses on various specific problems—agriculture, labor, foreign policy—but none on the growing banking issue. He mentioned the subject only casually in one of these addresses.

After his election when the fatalities among the banks became critical, he remained quite unmoved by it. There can be no doubt about this. Ray Moley, who was at his side through these days, has written that between February 18, when he got Hoover's ominous warning, and March 1, *he could not discover how seriously Roosevelt was impressed with the seriousness of the crisis.*

With this in mind, let us return to the alarming letter which Hoover sent to Roosevelt. Hoover wrote that letter on February 17. He sent it by a Secret Service messenger who put it directly in Roosevelt's hands on February 18. It was the morning of February 19 that Roosevelt went over to the Inner Circle dinner. And all that day he never showed it to anyone. He did not hand it to Moley until hours after he got it. *Twelve days later Hoover had not yet received even an acknowledgment of the letter.* Then, on March 1, he got Roosevelt's reply with this curious explanation. Roosevelt said he had written an answer over a week before but through some oversight of his secretary it had not been sent. When he did reply, twelve days later, he indicated there was nothing he could do.

On March 2, Roosevelt arrived in Washington, as Moley described him, in the gayest possible humor, as fresh as a daisy, while Hoover, still President, his aides and Roosevelt's aides, Woodin, Moley and others were in a state of almost complete exhaustion over their long day and night conferences to meet the crisis.

There must be some explanation of this. And the explanation is simple, as we shall see. Hoover was struggling to save as many banks as possible. Every day the crisis was allowed to run meant the closing of more banks, the flight of more gold, the loss of more tens of millions and hundreds of millions in savings, in values, in business losses. But Hoover was powerless to do anything effective without the concurrence of the new President because he lacked powers to

act alone and he would have to get the powers from Congress, or at least an assurance that Congress would validate his assumption of powers. Roosevelt had no wish to stem the panic. The onrushing tide of disaster was sweeping the slate clean for him—at the cost of billions to investors and depositors. The greater the catastrophe in which Hoover went out of power the greater would be the acclaim when Roosevelt assumed power. When, therefore, he read Hoover's letter on February 18, he did nothing because the crisis which Hoover described was what he wanted. When he passed the letter under the table to Moley and when Moley, terrified by the import of the letter, was amazed to see Roosevelt in high glee, he explained it as a bit of showmanship by Roosevelt to conceal from the diners any alarm he might feel. But the real reason was that Roosevelt felt no terror at the news. The letter indicated to him that everything was going as he wished it. And from that day forward, as those around him at the time have testified, he showed not the least concern about doing anything to arrest the onset of the panic. What he wanted was a complete crash. He wished for the panic to sweep on to a total banking disaster. He wished for the public to see his predecessor go out in a scene of utter ruin, thus setting the stage for him to step upon it as the savior who would rebuild from the very bottom.

For this drastic decision there could be, of course, but one excuse, namely that Mr. Roosevelt had a definite plan and that such a plan could be better carried out with a full disaster. What, then, was his plan? We shall see presently.⁴

President Hoover was prepared to act. He had a definite plan. But we must remember that the Congress was Democratic and any plan would require the use of extraordinary powers which would call for Congressional approval. He saw that there was before the country the general problem of the depression, which called for a number of techniques and for time. But within this problem was the banking crisis, which was desperate and had to be dealt with instantly. Roosevelt and Hoover might differ on the means of ending the depression, but it ought to be a simpler matter to agree on a means of stemming the banking crisis which was carrying down good banks as well as bad.

At the beginning of February, Hoover proposed to the Federal Reserve Board that every bank in the country should be closed for just one day. Each bank would then submit a statement of its assets and liabilities. It would list its live assets and its dying or dead assets separately. The Federal Reserve would accept the banks' own statement. The next day all solvent banks would be opened and the government would declare them to be solvent and would guarantee that solvency during the crisis. That would stop the runs. As to the banks with large amounts of inactive assets, the live assets would be separated from the inactive ones. The banks would be reopened, each depositor getting a deposit account in proportion to his share of the active assets. The inactive assets would then be taken over to be liquidated in the interest of the depositors. This was an obviously sound and fair solution. Had it been done countless millions in deposits would have been saved and the banking crisis at least would have been removed from the picture. However, the Attorney-General ruled that the President did not possess the power to issue such an order unless he could have the assurance of Congress that it would confirm his action by an appropriate resolution, and that this, as a matter of political necessity, would have to be approved by the new President who would take office in a month. It was some such plan as this which Hoover had in mind when he wrote Roosevelt on February 17. It had one defect from Roosevelt's point of view. It would not do to allow Hoover to be the instrument of stemming the banking crisis before Roosevelt could do it.

However, Hoover took the view that, as the ultimate responsibility would fall upon Roosevelt, although Roosevelt was without power to act being still a private citizen, he, Hoover, would issue any orders Roosevelt would approve, provided he could do so in conscience and Roosevelt could assure approval by Congress.

But Roosevelt did not answer that letter of February 17 and meantime the crisis had assumed a terrifying aspect. To this was added the fear of inflation and of irresponsible and even radical measures by the new President. One of these, of course, was the agitation which went on behind the scenes for the nationalization of the whole banking system. Men close to the President-elect were known

to be for this. The printing-press champions of various kinds of fiat currency had been ardent supporters of Roosevelt. Carter Glass had been weighing Roosevelt's offer of the Treasury portfolio and it was understood that he was trying to get some assurance of a sound money policy. On January 21, he refused the appointment because, it was understood, he feared Roosevelt's inflationary tendencies. On January 31, Henry Wallace said: "The smart thing to do would be to go off the gold standard a little farther than England has done." Conservative newspapers attacked this in varying degrees of disapproval. Bernard Baruch three weeks before the inauguration said: "I regard the condition of the country the most serious in its history. The mere talk of inflation retards business. If you start talking about that you would not have a nickel's worth of gold in the Reserve System the day after tomorrow." By February 19, gold withdrawals from banks increased from five to fifteen million dollars a day. In two weeks \$114,000,000 of gold was taken from banks for export and another \$150,000,000 was withdrawn to go into hiding. The infection of fear was everywhere. Factories were closing. Unemployment was rising rapidly. Bank closings multiplied daily.

At this point Mr. Roosevelt announced the selection of William Woodin to be his Secretary of the Treasury. Ogden Mills, Hoover's Secretary of the Treasury, got in touch with Woodin at once. And then began that succession of conferences in which Hoover tried to arrest the march toward catastrophe and Roosevelt sought to checkmate him.

The public knew little or nothing of what was going on behind the Treasury and White House doors. The whole story has not before been fully told. Hoover sent for Atlee Pomerene, a distinguished Democrat who was then head of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. He begged Pomerene to urge Roosevelt to join him in some action. Pomerene felt he had no influence with the President-elect. Next day Ogden Mills appealed to Woodin to issue a statement that would set at rest the fears of inflation and stop the rush of gold from the banks. Woodin refused. Mills reminded him that in a similar though less grave emergency, Grover Cleveland, eight days before he was inaugurated, had issued a reassuring statement.

It was now dawning on Hoover that he and Roosevelt were talking about two different things. Hoover was talking about saving the banks and the people's savings in them. Roosevelt was thinking of the political advantage in a complete banking disaster under Hoover. Actually, on February 25, Hoover received a message from James Rand that Rexford Tugwell had said that the *banks would collapse in a couple of days and that is what they wanted*.

On February 26, Mills was informed that Woodin would be in Washington next day but was instructed to take no part in dealing with the banking crisis, as the new administration intended "to take over at the lowest point possible," to see the tidal wave rush over the body of Hoover and the Republican party no matter what it cost the unfortunate millions whose bank accounts were melting away in the process. It is now easy to see why up to this point—February 28—Hoover had received not even an acknowledgment of the letter he had written Roosevelt. He therefore wrote Roosevelt again, saying that Congress should be called at once and that he and his colleagues stood ready to cooperate in any way to save the situation until Roosevelt should himself be in power. It was then he received from Roosevelt his incredible explanation that he had answered Hoover and that his answer had inadvertently not been sent. That same day Ogden Mills reported to Hoover that he had just learned that the men around Roosevelt believed that the worse the situation got the more evident to the country would be the failure of the Republican party. "In other words," Mills said, "they do not wish to check the panic."

It was now March 2. Roosevelt arrived this day in Washington accompanied by his family and the Brain Trust. He took up quarters at the Mayflower Hotel. Hoover now believed that the banks which had not gone under were sufficiently strong to survive *if the withdrawal of currency and the flight of gold could be stopped*. He instructed Mills to draw a proclamation stopping both. Mills took the proclamation to Woodin in the morning. But Roosevelt refused to issue a statement approving it and without that Hoover correctly felt he could not act. A repudiation of his action by the new Democratic Congress would have produced endless chaos. Mills told Hoo-

ver that Woodin seemed very much broken up. Woodin was in no sense a radical, and his position at that moment must have been extremely trying. Mills told him American history afforded no such instance of a refusal to cooperate in the presence of a great national emergency. Twenty-one states had now closed their banks. Over two hundred million dollars of gold had been taken out of the banks.

The night of March 2, Hoover urged Roosevelt to approve his plan for stopping gold and currency withdrawals. Roosevelt summoned the Democratic congressional leaders. And while Washington hotels were filling with the gay Democratic hosts, the rival conferences in the Mayflower and the White House were in session. After long hours of discussion the Congressional leaders agreed with Roosevelt to do nothing. There is a little disagreement on history here. Moley says they sent word to the White House that Hoover was free to act as he thought best. Hoover says the message was that Roosevelt refused to issue a statement approving his act.

The following day the situation grew worse. New York and Chicago banks were forced to pay out \$110,000,000 in gold to foreigners and \$20,000,000 to others, while another \$20,000,000 was drained away from the interior banks. At this point the panic spread to the Federal Reserve Board officials. Bankers in New York and Chicago had been in practically continuous session. Fatigue had done its work. Panic spread amongst them. Reserve officials demanded a proclamation closing the banks, but Hoover refused unless Roosevelt agreed to back him up. Washington streets were now gay with the arrival of the marching clubs behind their bands. The decorations were going into place. At Farley's hotel the politicians were crowding with little thought of the banking crisis. They were after the jobs. Rumors of all sorts flew around. None knew, of course, what was going on among the sleepless men in the White House, the Treasury, the Reserve Board and the Mayflower—Hoover and his aides getting reports from all over the country as they sought for means to hold back the crisis; Roosevelt and his aides equally bent on promoting it by evading action while the black tide rolled over the nation's banks.

Then in the afternoon these two men—Hoover and Roosevelt—

were to meet face to face. On the eve of an inauguration, the President-elect, according to tradition, makes a courtesy call on the President. In the afternoon of March 3, Mr. Roosevelt went to the White House. Hoover decided to use the opportunity to make one last appeal to Roosevelt. He renewed his pleas for approval of a proclamation stopping gold and currency withdrawals. Roosevelt replied that the late Thomas Walsh, his Attorney-General designate, had advised it could be done. But Walsh was dead and Homer Cummings, who would be Attorney-General, had not yet reported on it. Roosevelt thought Hoover could act legally, but *he was not sure* and this was as far as he could go. Roosevelt left Hoover at 5 P.M., saying: "I shall be waiting at my hotel, Mr. President, to learn what you decide."

That night Roosevelt's quarters in the Mayflower were filled with callers. At 11:30 the telephone rang. It was Hoover. He told Roosevelt he was still willing, with his consent, to issue the proclamation against hoardings and withdrawals. He asked Roosevelt if he agreed with him there should be no closings. Roosevelt answered: Senator Glass is here. He does not think it is necessary to close the banks—my own opinion is that the governors of the states can take care of closings wherever necessary. I prefer that you issue no proclamation of this nature. There the conversation ended. Roosevelt then told Glass that the Federal Reserve Board had urged Hoover to close the banks, that Hoover had refused saying most of the banks still open were solvent, and that he told Hoover Senator Glass agreed with him. Then Glass asked Roosevelt what he was going to do. To Glass' amazement, he answered: "I am planning to close them, of course." Glass asked him what his authority was and he replied: "The Enemy Trading Act"—the very act Hoover had referred to and on which Roosevelt had said he had no advice from Cummings as to its validity. Glass protested such an act would be unconstitutional and told him so in heated terms. "Nevertheless," replied Roosevelt, "I'm going to issue a proclamation to close the banks."

After this Moley and Woodin went to the Treasury where they found Mills, Ballantine, Awalt and Eugene Meyer hanging over banking figures. They had been calling up governors urging them

to declare holidays. They were agreed that when morning came all over the country there would be crowds of frightened depositors in front of their banks. And so it turned out. Thus the negotiations ended. By noon next day the responsibility would be out of Hoover's hands and in Roosevelt's. And he would have what he had been striving for—a total blackout of banking in the United States.

After delivering his inaugural address, Roosevelt issued a proclamation closing all banks. *The next problem was to open them.* It was assumed by everybody who watched these proceedings that Roosevelt had a plan of his own which he was keeping secret. The strangest feature of this whole comedy-drama is now to come. Having closed the banks, *Roosevelt had not the faintest notion how they were to be reopened. He had not the slightest plan of any kind in his mind. He had not even given the matter a thought.* This, I know, is difficult to believe. Yet it is true, as we shall now see.

By March 4, Roosevelt had decided on three things: (1) He would summon Congress in extra session. (2) He would declare an emergency under the Trading with the Enemy Act, having what Hoover did not have—a friendly Congress that would confirm his act. (3) He would summon the leading bankers to Washington. Congress was called to meet on the 9th. And Will Woodin assured Roosevelt he would have legislation dealing with the banking situation in time.

On Sunday, Moley and the new Attorney-General, Homer Cummings, worked on an emergency proclamation. This invoked the powers granted the President under the Trading with the Enemy Act passed in the First World War. It declared the four days from March 6 to March 9 a bank holiday, forbidding all banks to pay out either gold or currency but providing that the President might in that time permit any or all banks to carry on such transactions as they deemed proper. *In preparing this document, the draft already prepared by Mills and Ballantine for President Hoover was used.* It was issued on Monday, March 6. It was a clearly unconstitutional act but justified by the emergency provided Congressional confirmation could be quickly received and for this confirmation Roosevelt asked, though he had refused to tell Hoover he would do so.

Congress was summoned to meet on Thursday, March 9, and meantime a group of bankers was called in to confer on a plan for reopening the closed banks. While Roosevelt, Moley and Cummings worked in the White House over the proclamation, the bankers met with Woodin and later Moley in the Treasury. There were Melvin Traylor of Chicago, Henry P. Davison and Roy Harrison of New York, Eugene Meyer, Miller of Richmond, Berle, Glass, Congressman Steagall, Adolph Miller, and Ogden Mills and Arthur Ballantine, Secretary and Under-Secretary of the Treasury under Hoover who remained over to help.

The problem before them was how to reopen the banks. They argued all day Sunday. But no program was presented either by the bankers or the administration. Moley reported to Roosevelt at night that the talk had been "absolutely desultory." A sub-committee was named to work at night on plans. Both Moley, representing Roosevelt, and Ogden Mills, representing Hoover, agree that there was no plan, so that the statement I have made that Roosevelt when he closed the banks had no idea how to open them is confirmed.

On Monday, the 6th, various plans were brought forward. The problem could be stated simply. Many banks were absolutely sound. Many others—most others, in fact—were sound but they had been subjected to such excited runs that they were without ready currency to do business and might well be subjected to further runs. There were a number of banks which were unsound, did not have assets to cover 100 per cent of their liabilities and could not be safely opened.

Next, as almost all banks had suffered heavy withdrawals of currency, what would they use for money when they reopened? The problem was to get the currency and gold hoarders to return their hoarded dollars. But in the meantime, how would the banks be provided with fresh supplies of currency? Various suggestions were offered. Some urged the issuance of scrip, as had been used in former bank emergencies. Others were for issuing currency against the live assets of banks. There were proposals to convert Federal Reserve banks into banks of deposit, to guarantee the deposits in banks and to nationalize the banks. Ogden Mills reported in great distress to

Hoover that the administration had actually come forward with a proposal to *print 20 billion dollars in currency and redeem the outstanding national debt*. But Mills said that no two men at the conference agreed. Moley says that frayed tempers produced angry exchanges between the New Dealers themselves and that Berle hotly declared that no man at the conference made any sense but Ogden Mills.

Meantime Moley and Woodin met alone and agreed on certain fundamental ideas. They decided that the action must be swift and staccato for its dramatic effect; that the plan, whatever it might be, *must be a conservative one, stressing conventional banking methods and that all left-wing Presidential advisers must be blacked out during the crisis*; and finally that the President must make almost at the same time a *tremendous gesture in the direction of economy*. They felt that Hoover had been looked upon as an expensive President and that people must feel they now had a President who was neither radical nor extravagant.

The following day, March 7, the group agreed on a plan. Ogden Mills said he didn't particularly like it but that it was so much better than the things they escaped from that he would go along. Actually in drafting the bill the group had to depend on Hoover's Secretary and Under-Secretary of the Treasury "whose superb technical assistance," says Moley, made the task possible.

The chief point of disagreement had been on the method of creating fresh supplies of currency. On the night of the 6th, the consensus of opinion had been they must use scrip, which would have served well enough. However, the plan finally adopted came from William Woodin—namely to get authority from Congress to issue fresh supplies of Federal Reserve notes instead of scrip. They would look like money. They would actually be money. They would create less suspicion and resistance. The manner in which he came by this idea must not be overlooked.

Woodin told Moley he sat in his room, played on his guitar a little while, then read a little while, then slept a little while, then played on his guitar a little while again, read some more and slept some more and then thought about the scrip thing and then, by

gum! he hit on the idea of Federal Reserve notes and wondered why he hadn't thought of it before. Moley and Woodin rushed over to Roosevelt with the plan, told him about it in twenty minutes; Roosevelt was enthusiastic and so it was adopted.

Actually it was not so simple as that. Ogden Mills, who was one of the two or three men at the conference who knew what it was all about, said that as the discussions proceeded the big bankers came more and more into the ascendancy and that in the end Henry P. Davison, Roy Harrison, and Leffingwell and Gilbert of J. P. Morgan and Company, were chiefly responsible and that it was a bankers' plan.

The new Congress met at noon Thursday. Roosevelt's message was read and the bill introduced. This was the bill that was represented by a newspaper, as there had yet been no time to make copies. No one but the Congressional leaders had seen it and it was passed in an hour. A few hours later the Senate passed it. Briefly, it validated the things Roosevelt had done under the Trading with the Enemy Act, amended that act to give the President new powers over foreign exchange and banking institutions and the foreign and domestic movements of gold and silver, provided for issuance of Federal Reserve notes to banks up to 100 per cent of their holdings of bonds and 90 per cent of their holdings of rediscountable assets, provided for the progressive reopening of the banks by the Treasury and gave power to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to subscribe to preferred stock of banking associations and make loans secured by preferred stocks.

The next day Roosevelt sent his now famous message to Congress deploring the disastrous extravagance of the Hoover administration, uttering many of those sentences about balancing the budget, the fatalities of government spending, etc., which were to be quoted against him so many times, and calling for powers to reduce salaries and government expenses. As one reads that message now it is difficult to believe that it could ever have been uttered by a man who before he ended his regime would spend not merely more money than President Hoover, but more than all the other 31 Presidents put together—*three times more, in fact, than all the Presidents from*

George Washington to Herbert Hoover. This speech was part of the plan Moley and Woodin had devised to sell the banking plan in a single package with the great economy program.

Then on Sunday, March 12, Roosevelt delivered his first fireside chat. He announced he would begin reopening the banks the next day and he made a simple explanation of the steps he had taken. It was a masterpiece of clear, simple, effective exposition. Like the inaugural address, it produced an electric effect upon the people. One feature about that address remains unknown to most people to this day and that is that it was written, not by Roosevelt or any member of his Brain Trust, but by Arthur Ballantine, Under-Secretary of the Treasury under Hoover, who with Ogden Mills, his chief, had remained at the Treasury to help pilot the country through its famous banking crisis.

To the great audience that listened to the fireside chat, the hero of the drama—the man whose genius had led the country safely through the crisis of the banks—was not any of the men who had wrestled with the problem, but the man who went on the radio and told of the plan he did not construct, in a speech he did not write. Thus Fate plays at her age-old game of creating heroes.

The whole episode reveals a side of Mr. Roosevelt's character not fully understood until later. This was the free and easy manner in which he could confront problems about which he knew very little. It would be very unfair to criticize Mr. Roosevelt because he knew so little about banking practice and literally nothing about banking economics. After all, there are many able men of whom this can be said. His experience had not been in this field and it was a subject to which he had given very little attention. This explains his almost total lack of serious interest in the banking situation as it unfolded in New York State while he was governor. But while in fairness we must recognize that his ignorance of banking problems was not a point to be held against him, it is equally clear that he cannot be held up as a great master-mind in finance who took the banking problem into the convolutions of his massive brain and ground out a solution in a few days. His one contribution to the banking negotiations was a purely political one—the decision that it would be

better for him politically to let the whole banking situation go to smash than to permit Hoover to check the crisis before he, Roosevelt, could get into the White House. But that was a costly thing for the nation.

When Roosevelt took office there were 19,000 banks in the country, mostly closed, all closed when he issued his decree. By March 16, about 9,883 were reopened fully and 2,678 on a restricted basis. But over 6,000 remained closed, many of which might have been saved in whole or in part if Roosevelt had been willing to open the way for the government to act after the crisis became acute in February.

That vast mercurial animal known as "The People" is indeed unpredictable. But this much we know of them. Once their imagination is captured by a leader he leads a charmed life as long as the spell lasts. In this case Roosevelt was hailed as a magician as he put into effect a plan worked out for him by bankers and announced it over the air in a speech written for him by one of Hoover's own Treasury officials.

In obedience to the program worked out by Woodin and Moley that the banking solution must be followed by a bold assertion of the policy of economy, his first message to Congress called for the passage of the economy act cutting salaries of government employees 25 per cent. Thus at a stroke he put at rest the apprehensions of conservative critics who suspected he might be in the hands of his radical brain-trusters.

4 } *The New New Deal*

IN THE BEGINNING, OF COURSE, WAS ROOSEVELT. AND THEN CAME the Brain Trust. After that we had the Great Man and the Brain Trust. The casual reader may suppose this is just a catchy collection of syllables. But it is impossible to estimate the power these few words exercised upon the minds of the American people. After all, a crowd of big business boobies, a lot of butter-fingered politicians, two big halls full of shallow and stupid congressmen and senators had made a mess of America. That was the bill of goods sold to the American people. Now amidst the ruins appeared not a mere politician, not a crowd of tradesmen and bankers and congressmen, but a Great Man attended by a Brain Trust to bring understanding first and then order out of chaos.

Actually there are no big men in the sense in which Big Men are sold to the people. There are men who are bigger than others and a few who are wiser and more courageous and farseeing than these. But it is possible with the necessary pageantry and stage tricks to sell a fairly bright fellow to a nation as an authentic BIG Man. Actually this is developing into an art, if not a science. It takes a lot of radio, movie, newspaper and magazine work to do it, but it can be done.

As Roosevelt began to lay out his plans for nomination by the Democratic Convention in 1932, one of his most pliant and faithful henchmen, Sam Rosenman, suggested that he ought to draw upon the universities for his advice rather than upon business men and politicians. Rosenman suggested Raymond Moley, professor of political science at Columbia and Roosevelt thought it an excellent

idea. Moley had already served him well while governor and had only recently advised him in the trial of Sheriff Farley, the Tammany chieftain whom Roosevelt removed from office. It was Moley who wrote Roosevelt's opinion in that case with its stirring declaration of a moral standard for public officials. That finely phrased statement of a high, yet perfectly feasible, ethical code caught the fancy of the public and shed upon Roosevelt its reflected glory.

Moley was asked to form a group of experts in various fields of policy. He invited Rexford Tugwell, Lindsay Rogers, Joseph D. McGoldrick, James W. Angell, Adolf Berle and some others. All were Columbia faculty men save Berle. After Roosevelt's nomination some of these had faded away and others were added—General Hugh Johnson, Charles Taussig, who really added himself, and George Peek.

Because at first there were a number of professors in the group that fact was widely exploited. It was supposed to be something quite new, an idea Roosevelt had invented, going to the fountain-heads of learning for advice. Of course there was nothing new in it. Every man who runs for President surrounds himself with men who are supposed to be experts in their various fields and often as not they have been professors. Roosevelt did precisely what every candidate does. But newspapermen began to refer to this aggregation of Roosevelt research advisers as the "Brain Trust." The words had in them the clear implication that the group was made up of beings possessing Big Brains. There was in it the suggestion of ponderous cerebral horsepower. Here was a thinking machine into which Roosevelt could throw any problem and watch it pass mercilessly through the cogitative gears to emerge beautifully broken down into all its ultimate components. Here was the Great Brain itself surrounded by all these bulging foreheads handling easily the tough problems that had baffled the feeble intellects of bankers, magnates and politicians. Now in a new sense the real age of reason had come. It was the Age of the Professors.

The term began with an ingredient of sneer in it. Even Louis Howe, Roosevelt's perennial secretary and factotum, would speak to Roosevelt himself contemptuously of "that brain trust of yours."

But beyond doubt the term exercised a powerful influence in convincing Americans that men of the highest intellectual caliber were now dealing with the mystery of the farm, of the depression, of labor, of the banks and of the world.

It was this group of men, subjected of course to those inevitable pressures that come from interested elements such as labor, farmers, business and regions, who put together what was called with great effect the New Deal.

Of course the central subject of it all was the great depression. Mr. Roosevelt's own explanation of that was simplicity itself. The depression was due to the Republicans and to Hoover. More specifically they had fostered economic isolation, they had encouraged monopolies, they had throttled competition, they had permitted the manipulation of credit for speculation in securities and commodities and for the swelling of profits at the expense of the common good.

To meet the country's ills, the New Deal made certain pledges, which described how Roosevelt would save the country.

It would relieve the needy—but no doles. The government would prepare a program of useful public works, such as flood control, soil and forest protection and necessary public buildings. But it would immediately put a million men to work in the forests. This alone would provide the necessary employment. Where public works were self-liquidating—that is where they would pay for themselves—they could be financed by bond issues. But where they were not they must be paid for by taxes. Beyond that, the New Deal would seek to shorten the work week and reduce hours of labor to spread employment.

For the farmer the New Deal would encourage cooperatives and enlarge government lending agencies. But the greatest enemy of the farmer was his habit of producing too much. His surplus ruined his prices. The New Deal would contrive means of controlling the surplus and ensuring a profitable price. But it denounced any proposals to have the federal government go into the market to purchase and speculate in farm products in a futile attempt to increase prices or reduce farm surpluses.

As for business the New Deal proposed strict enforcement of the anti-trust laws, full publicity about security offerings, regulation of holding companies which sell securities in interstate commerce, regulation of rates of utility companies operating across state lines and the regulation of the stock and commodity exchanges.

But greatest of all—the New Deal promised economy. The extravagance of the Hoover administration, its yearly deficits—these were at the bottom of all our ills. The New Deal would abolish useless bureaus, reduce salaries, cut federal expenditures 25 per cent. The New Deal would put an end to government borrowing—it would end the deficits. The New Deal would assure a sound currency at all hazards and finally a competitive tariff with a tariff commission free from presidential interference.

There was nothing revolutionary in all this. It was a platform that Woodrow Wilson might have endorsed. It was actually an old-time Democratic platform based upon fairly well-accepted principles of the traditional Democratic party. That party had always denounced the tendency to strong central government, the creation of new bureaus. It had always denounced deficit financing. Its central principle of action was a minimum of government in business. The government might intervene, as in the anti-trust laws, not to manage business or tell business what it should do, but to prevent business from engaging in practices which interfered with the free action of others. It made war upon those who attempted to impose restraints upon commerce. It was always for a competitive tariff, save for the products of the Southern states which needed protection. And it always proclaimed loudly its solicitude for labor and for the "common man." It always attacked Wall Street, the Stock Exchange, the big bankers.

Mr. Roosevelt in his preelection speeches had stressed all these points—observing the rights of the states so far as to urge that relief, old-age pensions and unemployment insurance should be administered by them, that the federal government would merely aid the states with relief funds and serve as collection agent for social insurance. And above all he rang the changes upon the shocking spendings of the Republicans and the mounting public debt. He

called Herbert Hoover "the greatest spender in history." He cried out against the Republican party: "It has piled bureau on bureau, commission on commission . . . at the expense of the taxpayer." He told the people: "For three long years I have been going up and down this country preaching that government—federal, state and local—costs too much. I shall not stop that preaching." The statement is a curious one, since I can find among his published addresses while he was governor up until the time of his nomination, not one reference to government deficits. And for a good reason, of course, since as governor he took New York State from the hands of Al Smith with a surplus of \$15,000,000 and left it with a deficit of \$90,000,000. He was against Big Government. "We must eliminate the functions of government . . . we must merge, we must consolidate subdivisions of government and, like private citizens, give up luxuries which we can no longer afford."

He repeated this over and over: "I propose to you that government, big and little, be made solvent and that the example be set by the President of the United States and his cabinet." Toward the end of the campaign he cried: "Stop the deficits! Stop the deficits!" Then to impress his listeners with his inflexible purpose to deal with this prodigal monster, he said: "Before any man enters my cabinet he must give me a twofold pledge: Absolute loyalty to the Democratic platform and especially to its economy plank. And complete cooperation with me in looking to economy and reorganization in his department."

This was the New Deal as it was described to the people in the fall of 1932. Practically any Democrat could subscribe to it. The only slightly radical feature was his declaration about government development of water power. But he was merely following the lead of Al Smith and he assured the people that he believed in private ownership and development of water power with the exception of Muscle Shoals and perhaps three others merely to be yardsticks as a means of checking the rates of private companies.

This New Deal was a program for action strictly within the framework of the traditional American system of government, with emphasis on states' rights, opposition to too powerful central gov-

ernment, opposition to BIG government which should be cut down to its proper size, opposition to high taxes, unbalanced budgets, government debts. Where the name New Deal came from I do not know. Stuart Chase had written a book called "A New Deal" some time before in which he outlined a completely different program. Perhaps the name was swiped from this book. But in any case the Roosevelt New Deal was as I have described it. This was what the people voted for in 1932. Now Mr. Roosevelt, in March, 1933, was in the White House. And there he proceeded to set up what he continued to call the New Deal. How much did it resemble the one voted on in November, 1932?

In the first hundred days of his administration, Mr. Roosevelt put into effect a program of very large dimensions. But it was a program built on a wholly different principle from that which was described as the New Deal.

First of all, his central principle—his party's traditional principle of war upon BIG government—was reversed. And he set out to build a government that in size dwarfed the government of Hoover which he denounced.

The idea of a government that was geared to assist the economic system to function freely by policing and preventive interference in its freedom was abandoned for a government which upon an amazing scale undertook to organize every profession, every trade, every craft under its supervision and to deal directly with such details as the volume of production, the prices, the means and methods of distribution of every conceivable product. This was the NRA. It may be that this was a wise experiment but it was certainly the very reverse of the kind of government which Mr. Roosevelt proposed in his New Deal.

Enforcement of the anti-trust act was a long-time pet of his party and it was considered as an essential instrument to prevent cartels and trusts and combinations in restraint of trade which were supposed to be deadly to the system of free enterprise. The New Deal had called loudly for its strict enforcement. Yet almost at once it was suspended—actually put aside during the experiment—in order to cartelize every industry in America on the Italian corporative model.

That deadly thing, the deficit, which, as he had said was at the bottom of all our woes and which stemmed from big government and extravagant government, was not slain as Roosevelt had proposed. Instead it was adopted and fed and fattened until it grew to such proportions that Hoover began to look like a niggard. The theory that relief should be carried on by the states was abandoned. The idea of self-liquidating public works was abandoned and all forms of relief were carried on by public loans, adding to the national debt. The idea of useful public works was abandoned in favor of hurriedly devised "make-work" which was nothing more than a disguised dole.

The "spendthrift" Hoover had increased his expenditures by 50 per cent in four years over the 1927 level. In four years Mr. Roosevelt increased his 300 per cent over the 1927 level and to 100 per cent over Hoover's. Stop the deficits! Stop the deficits! he had cried. Instead of stopping them he ended his first term with a deficit of 15 billion dollars.⁵

I am not here criticizing what Mr. Roosevelt did. I merely want to fix clearly the fact that what he did was the reverse of what he had described as a New Deal.

When the President had declared for a "sound currency at all hazards" he was using a phrase well-known to describe a currency based on gold. Yet one of his earliest acts was to go off the gold standard and to declare later for a managed currency based on the commodity dollar.

Had a candidate opposing Mr. Roosevelt in the campaign declared that he favored that series of policies and projects which Roosevelt launched when he came to power, there is not the slightest doubt that Roosevelt would have covered him with damnation and ridicule. Actually he did denounce Mr. Hoover who, Roosevelt charged, had asked the farmers to plow under every third row of wheat, cotton and corn and he did denounce and ridicule what he described as attempts by the government to go into the market and speculate in commodities in order to raise prices. Yet he not only asked farmers to plow under the crops but he paid them to do so and ended by compelling them to do so in effect, and his agents were in every market place to purchase crops in order to fix prices—not

merely in the grain exchanges and cotton exchanges, but in every kind of exchange and market covering every conceivable crop from eggs and poultry to sweet potatoes, peanuts, apples and applesauce.

Why did the President completely reverse his policy after his inauguration? It must be because he felt the things he was urging before election were not adapted to the realities of the case when he came to power. When he was outlining his policies before election he was completely cocksure of his rectitude and wisdom. Yet all those policies and techniques of which he was so absolutely certain he brushed aside as unusable. What became of his announced intention to demand from every cabinet member two pledges: (1) to abide absolutely by the Democratic platform and (2) to cooperate with him in cutting down the expenses of the departments? He began by cutting expenses 25 per cent. But before the ink was dry on that act he had thrown it into the ashcan with a \$3,300,000,000 deficit in the NRA act. And no cabinet member expanded the costs of his department more than the President himself expanded the costs of the Presidential budget.

When was Mr. Roosevelt right? When he was making speeches before the election or when he was acting after the election? We need not accuse him of dishonesty either time. We may say in tolerance that he laid down in perfect honesty a policy when he was a candidate and that when he found himself in Hoover's place he found his first New Deal unsuited to the needs of the time. But we cannot say that the thing called the New Deal in 1932 was the same as the thing which he called the New Deal from 1933 to 1936. He pronounced a definite judgment upon the New Deal he presented so gaudily before the election by completely repudiating it when he became President. It was one thing to challenge Hoover and to abuse him. Faced with the demands of power, he had to confess by his course that the policy he had outlined before the election was a mistake. I do not say it was a mistake. Which policy was nearest right is a question yet to be answered.

At the end of the One Hundred Days Mr. Roosevelt was embarked upon a new New Deal. There were happy young men in Washington bureaus who were calling it the Roosevelt Revolution,

and soon we would hear that term in wide use. Others began to call it the Second New Deal. And that is precisely what it was—essentially and in detail, save for a few minor matters, a wholly different thing.

Now let us see what became of this Second New Deal of which Mr. Roosevelt was as completely cocksure as he was of the first New Deal which he had now discarded.

5 { *The Rabbits Go Back in the Hat*

ALL THAT HAPPENED IN THOSE FOUR YEARS FROM 1933 TO 1936 IS now lost behind the fiery curtain of the war. It seems so long ago. Few remember much about it. Out of the blur remains the impression that this Second New Deal must have been quite a success because in 1936 the people turned out en masse to approve it in the greatest electoral victory in our history. Roosevelt carried every state but two—Maine and Vermont—and many commentators said it meant the end of the Republican party.

What actually happened may come as a surprise as it is reviewed. After all, the problem before Mr. Roosevelt was clear. First he had to open the banks and provide some form of relief for the millions who had been so sorely hit by the panic. Next, and of course more important, he had to take measures to set our economic system to work again. This meant setting business in motion, for it is business that provides the jobs. As part of this, there were flaws in our economic system that had to be corrected in the interest first of more efficient production and second in the interest of social justice.

We have seen what happened in reopening the banks and the plans to put men into the forests to relieve unemployment, and to set up a program of public works. But what was done to revive business—for business is merely a name for that vast complexity of farms and mines and factories and stores and power and transportation systems which provide us with our necessities and luxuries while at the same time providing jobs for our people. This economic program included generally the National Recovery Administration and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration—the NRA and the AAA—plus a program of fiscal measures designed to straighten out our enfeebled and disturbed financial mechanisms.

It is, I am sure, difficult to make Americans of the growing generation, to say nothing of their elders, believe the story of that vast hippodrome, that hectic, whirling, dizzy three-ring circus with the NRA in one ring, the AAA in another, the Relief Act in another, with General Johnson, Henry Wallace and Harry Hopkins popping the whips, while all around under the vast tent a whole drove of clowns and dervishes—the Henry Morgenthau and Huey Longs and Dr. Townsends and Upton Sinclairs and a host of crackpots of every variety—leaped and danced and tumbled about and shouted in a great harlequinade of government, until the tent came tumbling down upon the heads of the cheering audience and the prancing buffoons. I do not exaggerate, I assure you. Let us have a peep at each of the rings and the performers in them.

First, and most important, was the NRA and its dynamic ringmaster, General Hugh Johnson. As I write, of course, Mussolini is an evil memory. But in 1933 he was a towering figure who was supposed to have discovered something worth study and imitation by all world artificers everywhere. Such eminent persons as Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler⁶ and Mr. Sol Bloom,⁷ head of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, assured us he was a great man and had something we might well look into for imitation. What they liked particularly was his corporative system. He organized each trade or industrial group or professional group into a state-supervised trade association. He called it a corporative. These corporatives operated under state supervision and could plan production, quality, prices,

distribution, labor standards, etc. The NRA provided that in America each industry should be organized into a federally supervised trade association. It was not called a corporative. It was called a Code Authority. But it was essentially the same thing. These code authorities could regulate production, quantities, qualities, prices, distribution methods, etc., under the supervision of the NRA. This was fascism. The anti-trust laws forbade such organizations. Roosevelt had denounced Hoover for not enforcing these laws sufficiently. Now he suspended them and compelled men to combine.

At its head Roosevelt appointed General Hugh Johnson, a retired Army officer. Johnson, a product of the southwest, was a brilliant, kindly, but explosive and dynamic genius, with a love for writing and a flair for epigram and invective. He was a rough and tumble fighter with an amazing arsenal of profane expletives. He was a lawyer as well as a soldier and had had some business experience with Bernard Baruch. And he was prepared to produce a plan to recreate the farms or the factories or the country or the whole world at the drop of a hat. He went to work with superhuman energy and an almost maniacal zeal to set this new machine going. He summoned the representatives of all the trades to the capital. They came in droves, filling hotels and public buildings and speakeasies. Johnson stalked up and down the corridors of the Commerce Building like a commander-in-chief in the midst of a war.

He began with a blanket code which every business man was summoned to sign—to pay minimum wages and observe the maximum hours of work, to abolish child labor, abjure price increases and put people to work. Every instrument of human exhortation opened fire on business to comply—the press, pulpit, radio, movies. Bands played, men paraded, trucks toured the streets blaring the message through megaphones. Johnson hatched out an amazing bird called the Blue Eagle. Every business concern that signed up got a Blue Eagle, which was the badge of compliance. The President went on the air: "In war in the gloom of night attack," he crooned, "soldiers wear a bright badge to be sure that comrades do not fire on comrades. Those who cooperate in this program must know each other at a glance. That bright badge is the Blue Eagle." "May Almighty

God have mercy," cried Johnson, "on anyone who attempts to trifle with that bird." Donald Richberg thanked God that the people understood that the long-awaited revolution was here. The New Dealers sang: "Out of the woods by Christmas!" By August, 35,000 Clevelanders paraded to celebrate the end of the depression. In September a tremendous host paraded in New York City past General Johnson, Mayor O'Brien and Grover Whelan—250,000 in a line which did not end until midnight.

The second phase was to sign up separate industries into the corporate code authorities. Over 700 codes were created. Business men were told to come to Washington and "write their own tickets," as Roosevelt said. They could scarcely believe their ears. Again the conservatives applauded. The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* said: "The blamed thing works." *Dun & Bradstreet* said: "Critical opposition of certain industrialists to NRA procedure is gradually being turned to wholehearted support."

But little by little the spell began to fade. In spite of all the fine words about industrial democracy, people began to see it was a scheme to permit business men to combine to put up prices and keep them up by direct decree or through other devious devices. The consumer began to perceive that he was getting it in the neck. Professor William F. Ogburn of Chicago University, resigned as Consumers' Counsel because he said the job was futile. Bitter slurs were flung at the Blue Eagle as a fascist symbol. A senator called it the "Soviet duck." Silk workers on strike stoned the Blue Eagle in the shop windows. Labor suddenly discovered it was getting mostly fine phrases. A wave of strikes swept the country. A battle for control of NRA between labor and capital broke out. Roosevelt went on the air and pleaded for peace. Farmers were indignant at the rising prices.

But the NRA continued to exhibit its folly in a succession of crazy antics which could proceed only from people who had lost their bearings and their heads. A tailor named Jack Magid in New Jersey was arrested, convicted, fined and sent to jail. The crime was that he had pressed a suit of clothes for 35 cents when the Tailors' Code fixed the price at 40 cents. The price was fixed not by a legis-

lature or Congress but by the tailors. A storm of indignation swept through the country. The name of Jack Magid became for a week as well known as Hugh Johnson's. The judge hastily summoned the tailor from his cell, remitted his sentence and fine and offered to give the offender his own pants to press. The purged tailor proclaimed the NRA a beautiful thing. Each town had its own horrible examples.

The NRA was discovering it could not enforce its rules. Black markets grew up. Only the most violent police methods could procure enforcement. In Sidney Hillman's garment industry the code authority employed enforcement police.⁸ They roamed through the garment district like storm troopers. They could enter a man's factory, send him out, line up his employees, subject them to minute interrogation, take over his books on the instant. Night work was forbidden. Flying squadrons of these private coat-and-suit police went through the district at night, battering down doors with axes looking for men who were committing the crime of sewing together a pair of pants at night. But without these harsh methods many code authorities said there could be no compliance because the public was not back of it.

The American people were not yet conditioned to regimentation on such a scale. It could not have been operated successfully on Americans by angels. But few angels were employed. Dr. Charles F. Roos, who was NRA's research director, has written about its staff: ". . . the political patronage system in vogue in all previous administrations (was raised) to new levels of impudence." He says he once asked Leon Henderson, economic adviser of NRA, for a research economist. Henderson sent him a man through the White House. "The qualifications for economic-statistical analysis," wrote Dr. Roos, "possessed by this applicant were that he had once engaged in detective work." The staff grew at the rate of 100 a day. It started with 60 and soon numbered 6,000, not including the thousands who served the local code authorities. A green doctor of philosophy fresh out of school, appointed at \$1800, was getting \$4500 in six months. The abler economists knew the whole thing was drifting from error to error. Dr. Roos says: "Some quit. Some stayed

and criticized. Some tried to improve it." He adds that a vast amount of mail received indicated that "Mob rule and racketeering had to a considerable degree displaced orderly government."⁹

Feuds broke out everywhere. Johnson and Richberg quarreled. Richberg broke into tears.¹⁰ Senator Borah and Senator Nye denounced the whole institution. Johnson suggested that a committee be named by the President to investigate. The senators agreed. Clarence Darrow was named chairman of the committee by Roosevelt. It held hearings and issued a report¹¹ in May, 1934, blasting the NRA with a merciless damnation. Some of the words used in the report to castigate it were "harmful, monopolistic, oppressive, grotesque, invasive, fictitious, ghastly, anomalous, preposterous, irresponsible, savage, wolfish and others." Johnson denounced the report but the judgment had come from a board named by the President with a chairman suggested by Johnson. After that the life began to run out of NRA. Miss Frances Perkins began to fear Johnson wanted to be a dictator. She says she began to wonder what he was about, "whether he understood the democratic process . . . and whether he might not be moving by emotion and indirection toward a dangerous pattern."¹²

By this time Johnson was a sick man. He lived at times without sleep. Senator Robert Wagner decided labor was being victimized. Johnson broke with Richberg. Johnson had to go to a hospital. NRA was blowing up, as Miss Perkins said, "from internal combustion." Papers began to say business was just about where it was when the New Deal started. The Chamber of Commerce decided that price control and production control were a mistake.

Johnson tried twice to resign. The President refused. Department heads were at war with each other. Roosevelt forced Johnson to take a vacation and while he was away, set up a board to manage the thing. When Johnson got back Roosevelt told him the board would remain. Johnson quit. Finally the Supreme Court got around to hearing and deciding the Schechter case—the famous "sick chicken" case—which involved the constitutionality of the whole thing. On May 27, 1935, the Supreme Court, to everybody's relief, declared the NRA unconstitutional. It held that Congress at Roosevelt's de-

mand had delegated powers to the President and the NRA which it had no right to delegate—namely the power to make laws. It called the NRA a Congressional abdication. *And the decision was unanimous*, Brandeis, Cardozo and Holmes joining in it.

This brought down on the heads of the justices a bitter denunciation by all the bureaucrats thus suddenly bereft of their unconstitutional jobs. But the verdict can no longer be questioned. Ernest Lindley, who has written three books in defense of the New Deal, wrote in 1936:

"The NRA Act was the Roosevelt administration's greatest error . . . From whatever point of view the NRA is approached it would be generally agreed that it attempted to do too much in too short a time. NRA was an administrative failure and it evoked a wide range of unfavorable public reactions."¹³

And Lindley admitted besides that when the Supreme Court decided the Schechter case, *the NRA was already dead*. This is the mildest comment that can be made on it.

Some cabinet advisers thought that with some changes the NRA could be saved. Secretary of Labor Perkins urged Roosevelt to consider this advice. But the President refused and rendered his own decision on the NRA which ought to stand as final. Miss Perkins writes that Roosevelt said to her:

"You know the whole thing has been a mess. It has been an awful headache. Some of the things they have done are pretty wrong."

He felt business had started up, that it would not go back to its old wage levels and would stick to the 40-hour week:

"I think perhaps NRA has done all it can. I don't want to impose a system on the country that will set aside the anti-trust laws. I have been talking to other lawyers besides Cummings and *they are pretty certain that the whole process is unconstitutional* and that we have to restudy and revise our whole program. Perhaps we had better do it now. So let's give the NRA a certain amount of time to liquidate. Have a history of it written and then it will be over." (Italics supplied)¹⁴

But of course he had imposed it not as a temporary expedient but *as a new order* and he boasted of it. He had done his best to impose the dissolution of the anti-trust laws on the country. And everything Johnson had done *he had done with Roosevelt's full knowledge*.

It would have been impossible to invent a device more cunningly calculated to obstruct the revival of business than this half-baked contrivance which is utterly impossible of administration save in a country like Italy or Germany where obedience can be enforced by a dictator under an absolute government.

2.

There is a kind of little man who will tell you that he can't hit a nail straight with a hammer, but who loves to spread a big country like the United States out before him on top of a table, pull up a chair and sit down to rearrange the whole thing to suit his heart's desire. Through the providence of God this kind of fellow, in a country of practical politicians, does not ordinarily get into a spot where he can play this game. But occasionally one slips through and when Roosevelt was picking his cabinet in 1933 a prize specimen of this species was eased into the Department of Agriculture.

During the campaign, Roosevelt had told the voters they would see no cruel jokes like plowing up cotton or not planting wheat or buying up crops to raise prices, all of which had been urged on farmers. He had a plan, he said, which *would not cost the government a dollar*. Whatever became of that plan we shall never know. Instead Henry Wallace, as mild-mannered a man and mystic as ever knelt on a prayer rug or slit a pig's throat or burned a field of corn, became Secretary of Agriculture and came up with a plan that was supposed to be more effective and more orderly than cinch bugs, boll weevils or dust storms in providing our people with the scarcity that everybody needed.

Curiously enough, while Wallace was paying out hundreds of millions to kill millions of hogs, burn oats, plow under cotton, the Department of Agriculture issued a bulletin telling the nation that the great problem of our time was *our failure to produce enough food to provide the people with a mere subsistence diet*. The Depart-

ment made up four sample diets. There was a liberal diet, a moderate diet, a minimum diet and finally an emergency diet—below the minimum. And the figures showed that we did not produce enough food for our population for a minimum diet, a mere subsistence.

How to better this may be a problem, but the last course a government run by sane men would adopt to get it solved would be to destroy a good part of what we do produce.

The AAA produced all sorts of dislocations in our economic system. For instance, we had men burning oats when we were importing oats from abroad on a huge scale, killing pigs while increasing our imports of lard, cutting corn production and importing 30 million bushels of corn from abroad.

Wallace himself said: "It is a shocking commentary on our civilization." That was not so. That kind of thing was no part of our civilization. It was, rather, a shocking commentary on the man who engineered it. It was a crime against our civilization to pay farmers in two years \$700,000,000 to destroy crops and limit production. It was a shocking thing to see the government pay one big sugar corporation over \$1,000,000 not to produce sugar.

Meanwhile, the plight of the sharecroppers, who got nothing out of this, became deplorable and led to a violent schism in the AAA which resulted in the liquidation of their champions.

At all events, the Supreme Court declared the AAA unconstitutional as it did the NRA. However, the administration managed to fix up a fake soil conservation scheme under which it continued to pay farmers for not planting crops upon the fiction that they were saving the soil. The real purpose, of course, was to pay money to the farmers. The war in Europe put an end to the reason for all that by opening up a world-wide market for what we raise and at the same time opening up Uncle Sam's pocketbook to pay the farmers for everything they could raise at however fantastic a price.

3.

Whatever else might be said of the latest New Deal, it was a great show. As each problem presented itself the President stepped up with a "must" bill, a message and, perhaps, a radio talk. Then

the reporters would say "he pulled another rabbit out of his hat." A rapidly extemporized legend sprang up that we need worry about no difficulty—the President could always pull a rabbit out of his hat. The reporters played along with this maker of news. They had to have a continuous parade of rabbits. The President enjoyed it all hugely and was always more than anxious to oblige.

As the performance proceeded the President began to exhibit one of those amiable weaknesses which his immediate entourage looked upon as one of the delightful aspects of his character. In the first days of the administration the inflationists in Congress were riding high. Before the inauguration the Democratic House passed the Goldsborough bill to inflate the currency until prices returned to the 1921-29 level. After the inauguration the Senate came within a few votes of passing a free silver bill. However, when the AAA act reached the Senate, an amendment was offered to it by Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma. This authorized the President (1) to issue \$3,000,000,000 of greenbacks to retire government debts, (2) to accept silver in payment of war debts up to \$100,000,000, (3) to permit free coinage of silver at a ratio to gold to be fixed by the President, and (4) to devalue the gold dollar up to 50 per cent. Here was a four-barreled inflationary bill which packed all the explosive power the most ardent inflationist could ask. That night a party gathered at the White House, including Hull, Lewis Douglas, Will Woodin, William Bullitt and Raymond Moley. Quite casually and smilingly the President dropped the remark that he had agreed to the amendment. Moley says Douglas and Bullitt were horrified. Hull looked as if he had been stabbed in the back. Woodin had just heard of it before the party, but he had not been consulted before the President made the agreement. Moley says "Hell broke loose" in the White House and it took all the President's tact and patience to mollify his guests. He assured them the powers granted him were discretionary. He laughed—he would not have to use them.¹⁵ But of course he did.

This was the weakness which his admirers spoke of as a sort of impish or elfin quality that gave color to his personality. He loved to flabbergast his associates by announcing some startling new policy

without consulting any of them. He usually had a good laugh over it. The day after the incident just recorded, the President issued an order prohibiting the export of gold and transactions in foreign exchange save as authorized by the Secretary of the Treasury. Later that innocent functionary arrived smiling as usual. Roosevelt said to him: "Mr. Secretary, I have some bad news to announce to you—that the United States has just gone off the gold standard!" Poor Woodin's eyes popped: "What? Again!" Later the President told this story to his first biographer, Emil Ludwig, with unaffected delight.¹⁶

The next target of this merry habit was Mr. Cordell Hull. He was a sober, solemn person, yet he was now cast for a lugubrious role in a veritable comedy of errors. An International Economic Conference had been called before Roosevelt became President. It was due to meet just as the famous Hundred Days drew to an end. Mr. Hull, as Secretary of State, was naturally named as chairman of the American delegation. He was a man of one idea. He believed in free trade as devoutly as a Tennessee plantation darky believes in ghosts. Pending the unity of the world in a state of perfect free trade, he hoped to break down tariffs as much as possible by means of reciprocal tariff agreements between the United States and other nations.

This dream was within his grasp. As a foundation for his debut on the world stage, he prepared a bill by which Congress would delegate to the President the power to negotiate reciprocal agreements without requiring Senate confirmation. The bill was on the President's desk. The President had agreed to send it to Congress and urge its passage. As Mr. Hull sailed he had a copy tucked away in his pocket to exhibit in London as evidence of his authority to make a binding arrangement there.

He had got one jolt already. The five members of the delegation going with him had been named by the President *without consulting Hull*. They were actually agreed on nothing and no sooner had they sailed than they fell to quarreling among themselves.

While at sea, Mr. Hull began to get dispatches that the President had decided not to send his reciprocity bill to Congress. As this was the basis of Hull's whole program he was shocked. Reaching

London, he wired the President and got a reply saying there would be no tariff legislation at this session. Thus the President pulled the rug from under his Secretary of State. At a session of the delegates in the Claridge Hotel the members had it out hot and heavy. Hull stormed. He declared he had been humiliated by the President, that the delegation did not support him and that he would resign. Someone wired the President to appease Hull and Roosevelt sent his Secretary a message saying in effect: Do not worry, I am squarely behind you. Hull wrote later that the President was behind him in words but not in actions.

But trouble dogged poor Hull's footsteps. He prepared a speech to be delivered at the opening of the conference. In it he denounced "economic nationalism" and all the numerous "bootstrap" methods of lifting a nation out of economic trouble. He sent a copy to Roosevelt for approval. At the moment the President was up to his eyes in a program of economic nationalism. Morgenthau, Johnson, Wallace and Hopkins were piling on the controls and yanking at the bootstraps. It is not difficult to picture the President's countenance when he read Hull's blistering paragraphs. He blue-penciled, erased, interlined and changed freely. And when Hull got the President's editorial elisions he was bowled over completely. When the conference opened he was unable to appear for his speech, which had to be postponed a day.

But the conference bogged down at every point. Hull was limited in his power to the tariff and trade agreements. Stabilization of currencies and other matters were to be handled by others. The section dealing with currencies and exchange was in favor of stabilizing currencies on a gold basis. However, rows broke out in the delegation and the whole conference seemed on the point of falling apart. At this point Raymond Moley, Assistant Secretary of State, arrived in London. He was sent by the President.

Moley did not go to London to interfere in Hull's tariff plans. The President had already squelched them. He went in connection with the currency negotiations being carried on by O. M. W. Sprague and James Warburg of the Treasury. The French wanted to stabilize. American advisers did too, but at a higher ratio to the pound

than the British were demanding. Roosevelt sent Moley over with full power to negotiate on that subject and he was authorized as well by the Treasury. But Moley's arrival upset Hull almost to the point of illness. Coming as an emissary from the President to a conference hopelessly at sea he was naturally received as one bearing the latest orders from Roosevelt on the only subject that remained partially alive—currency stabilization. The highest state officials went to meet him. They made a fuss over him. Hull felt himself ignored and eclipsed. He went into a pout. He ostentatiously kept himself in the background and his mouth shut, thus accentuating his futility.

Moley was authorized to agree to a dollar-pound stabilization agreement around \$4.25. The President was not anxious for stabilization but was willing to take that. His technical advisers were for that too. However, they were able to get from the conferees a very much better agreement according to Roosevelt's own standard. The proposed agreement committed Roosevelt to nothing save to authorize his Treasury to cooperate in *limiting fluctuations*. Prime Minister MacDonald asked Moley "for God's sake" to plead with the President to accept the proposal which would cost the President only a meaningless gesture. It would save the conference from wreck and "repel the panic that held Europe in its grip."

Moley talked over the telephone with Baruch, Acheson and Woodin at Woodin's home where he lay mortally ill. They approved. The agreement was sent to the President. Congress had adjourned at the end of the dramatic Hundred Days. The President was on his holiday in the *Amberjack* stuck somewhere in a heavy fog off Campobello. There a destroyer got to him with the message. With him were Morgenthau and Louis Howe. It would have been perhaps impossible to find three men whose total knowledge of international exchange and currency problems and monetary theory was so thin. In London everybody awaited Roosevelt's approval. Moley was with Hull who was pouring out to him the long catalogue of the humiliations he had sustained. Later, from out of the fog over the sea came the President's reply into the fog over the London conference. The proposed agreement was rejected. It hit the conference like a bombshell and it ended the conference for all

practical purposes. The delegates, including Hull and Key Pittman, as well as Moley, had to admit they didn't know what the message meant. The conference drifted along aimlessly, paper-chasing, as Hull put it, and then died.

Hull says on his return he went to Roosevelt and complained bitterly about Moley's mission. He believed the President ought to call Moley down. The President, he says, told him he was surprised at Moley's conduct and that he would transfer him to another department. Of course, Moley went to the conference with specific instructions from Roosevelt and obeyed them. And if Roosevelt told Hull he would transfer Moley—and Hull must be believed—then Roosevelt was pulling the Secretary's leg. Roosevelt knew Moley had already signed a contract to quit the State Department and to edit a new magazine because Moley had notified him to that effect before he left for London.

As for Hull, he seemed to have a genius for getting superseded and ignored. For he made the same complaint in order about Sumner Welles, Bill Donovan and Pat Hurley at a later day. Indeed he was hardly back home when he ran into another incident of supersession. George Peek had been let out of the AAA and to mollify him Roosevelt appointed him Foreign Trade Administrator with authority to negotiate barter trade agreements with foreign countries. Hull was not consulted about this and inevitably a collision occurred. Peek made an agreement with Germany. Hull protested vehemently. Roosevelt told him to talk it over with Peek. Hull did and then wrote Roosevelt that he and every other government department were agreed against the Peek proposal. Then Hull went to Tennessee to make a speech. No sooner had he turned his back than Roosevelt sent for Peek and approved his plan. Hull was angry when he returned. He went to the White House and protested vigorously. Roosevelt reversed his approval and turned thumbs down on Peek's plan and two months later abolished Peek's office.¹⁷

Hull did get a clear track later for his reciprocity agreements—a policy good in principle but of little relative importance against the background of world problems. How much interest Roosevelt felt in these is problematical. Hull was important to him. The Secretary

was in no sense a student of international affairs. He was favored by nature with a countenance that gave him the imposing aspect of a mid-Victorian Liberal statesman. The mind behind the countenance was that of a crusty, old-fashioned Southern politician. The President throughout his tenure had a problem on his hands in the Southern senators who disliked the New Deal intensely. They went along because they had to do it or go without their share of the vast spoils for their states which the President had at his disposal. However, the intransigence of many was deep and at times turbulent and Hull was a valuable instrument to keep his old Southern colleagues in line.

This disconcerting technique of the President in bypassing his top leaders infected some of the men under him. Secretary Woodring complained, for instance, that Morgenthau went over his head on military matters. When Morgenthau was told this he said gleefully: "I went over and under and all around him." But Morgenthau himself was a frequent target of his master's impish pleasure in these secret intrusions into his own preserves. Morgenthau was perhaps the strangest of Roosevelt's cabinet appointments, unless we except Wallace and Hopkins as Secretaries of Commerce. Morgenthau was doubtless a good man, loyal, honest, industrious, if permitted to remain on some lower level of mediocrity. As a cabinet officer he was a kind of historic specimen. Other cabinet officers looked on him with scorn. Garner said that "Wallace has crazy ideas and Morgenthau none." He said "He is servile. I do not mean loyal. I mean servile to Roosevelt."¹⁸ He was a slow, dull youth with no capacity for study. Up to the time he was given an important post by Roosevelt he had had no success in any kind of business. His father had set him up as a gentleman farmer on an estate next to Roosevelt's home at Hyde Park and endowed him with plenty of money. That is how he met Roosevelt and he remained for life the latter's humble and compliant servitor.

In the Fall of 1933, prices were not going so well for the farmers and Henry, whom Roosevelt had made head of the Farm Board, decided to do something about it. He fell under the influence of two men—Professor George F. Warren, a farm economist from Cor-

nell and Professor James Rogers of Yale. Another was Irving Fisher, an evangelist of the theory of a managed currency. They sold him on the idea that the country could use a little dose of inflation. Warren was the most persuasive. Like all farm economists he was an inflationist. They believe the way to hoist farm prices is to grow less farm produce and manufacture more dollars. Warren had a pet theory that the great enemy of mankind was gold, which was the worst rather than the best commodity to use as a measure of money value. He and a colleague had written a book to prove that gold is one of the most variable of all commodities in value. Fisher held that the unit of value should be a composite of commodity values and the value of the dollar moved up and down around that base.

Between them they hooked Morgenthau and he took them to Roosevelt. Dr. Warren lectured the President, explaining how the government could regulate prices very simply by regulating the price paid for gold—move the price of gold in dollars up and down to suit the government's price policy at any given time. In time a commodity index could be adopted and the government could then have a completely managed currency. Whether this is sound or not it is a thoroughly revolutionary plan. But it was inevitable that its unorthodox features would captivate the mind of Roosevelt. Warren proposed that the price of gold, which was then fixed by law at \$20.67, should be raised to around \$35 an ounce. It didn't take them long to sell this gaudy bill of goods to Roosevelt. He asked the Attorney-General for an opinion on his authority to act. Dean Acheson, Assistant Attorney-General, held it could not be done under the law. Roosevelt was furious. He called on Stanley Reed, then counsel for the RFC, and Morgenthau brought in Herman Oliphant, legal adviser of the Treasury. Oliphant was a lawyer whose reformist addictions overflowed into every branch of public affairs. A devout believer in rubber laws, it was easy for him to find one which could be stretched to include rubber dollars. Stanley Reed obliged with a favorable opinion. That, of course, is why he was asked for one. The opinion of the Attorney-General was disregarded and Roosevelt went on the air on October 22, 1933 and announced that hereafter the Treasury alone would

buy all gold mined in the United States and all gold offered from abroad if necessary. The price would be raised and fixed from day to day by the President and the Secretary of the Treasury. The RFC would furnish the money to buy the gold. The initial price was fixed at \$31.26 an ounce—giving us 66 cents of gold in a dollar. The President said: "I would not know and no one else could tell just what the permanent valuation of the dollar would be. When we have restored the price level then we shall seek to establish and maintain a dollar which will not change its purchasing power during the succeeding generation."

He declared: "If we cannot get prices up one way we will get them up another," and, most important, he told the radio audience: "This is a policy, not an expedient. *We are thus continuing to move toward a managed currency.*" Later Congress passed an act to validate what he had done, which was clearly illegal when he did it.

Thereafter each day Morgenthau and Roosevelt met, with Jesse Jones, head of the RFC, present, to fix the price of gold. They gathered around Roosevelt's bed in the morning as he ate his eggs. Then "Henny-Penny" and Roosevelt decided the price of gold for that day. One day they wished to raise the price. Roosevelt settled the point. Make it 21 cents, he ruled. That is a lucky number—three times seven. And so it was done. That night Morgenthau wrote in his diary: "If people knew how we fixed the price of gold they would be frightened."¹⁹

The theory of the plan was to boost foreign purchases, particularly of farm products. But it didn't work. And it didn't raise prices as expected. Had the President called in Dr. O. M. W. Sprague, his distinguished economic adviser, Dr. Sprague could have told him this had been tried in Britain, Sweden, Japan, Italy and France; that in England, Sweden and Japan prices had actually declined, while in Italy and France they had increased only slightly, but due to other causes. But the President knew he had a naughty economic trick in prospect and he didn't dare let Dr. Sprague know or the doctor might explain it to him and ruin the whole show. So he said nothing. Shortly after, Dr. Sprague resigned and on the door of a room in the Executive Department was painted the legend: "Dr.

George F. Warren, Economic Adviser to the President." Of course, as the fairy-like dream evaporated, the good doctor, who was an honest man and a good farm specialist also evaporated out of the government.

Some time later, Senator Borah and a number of senators from the silver states went to the White House to urge Roosevelt to do something about silver. After a good deal of amusing badinage, Key Pittman finally nailed the President down to an answer. "All right," said the President laughing, "I experimented with gold and that was a flop. Why shouldn't I experiment a little with silver?"²⁰ Al Smith had his say about it all in characteristic language. He called this new trick "baloney dollars"—a name that stuck—and asked why the "Democratic party is always fated to be the party of greenbackers, paper money printers, free silverites, currency managers, rubber dollar manufacturers and crackpots."

Poor Henry, however, who enjoyed circumnavigating Woodring and bypassing Woodin on Treasury policy, got plenty of the same medicine from Roosevelt himself. After Roosevelt named him Secretary of the Treasury to succeed Woodin, Morgenthau prepared a tax bill with the aid of Treasury experts. Twenty-four hours before it was to go to Congress, Roosevelt had sent for one of Henry's Treasury underlings and kept him at the White House all night working up some fad just sold to the President into a tax bill which Henry learned about only when it was ready to go to Congress. Later Henry engaged an eminent tax authority to overhaul our tax laws and plan a more rational tax system. While this was being readied, he took a rest trip to Sea Island, Georgia. During his absence, Oliphant took a bright young man to the White House and in a brief talk convinced Roosevelt to scrap the whole system of corporate taxes, to end all existing taxes on corporations and tax instead their undistributed profits. A more crack-brained scheme never got a welcome in a sober executive office. It was all settled on when Morgenthau got back and prepared to submit his own plan to the President.²¹ Congress was shocked and the Democratic leaders had to make a hurried rehash of the bill, restoring the

corporate taxes and using enough of the undistributed profits scheme to save the President's face.

4.

There were other plans—the Social Security Act and the Securities Exchange Act. There was no real objection to social security—everybody was for it. The Republicans had denounced the President for his tardiness in presenting a plan. In due time a bill was passed. But here we saw a characteristic of the President's mind which was to bring countless troubled hours to his Congressional leaders. One might pour a perfectly good idea into his mind at one end and it would come out the other with some fantastic twist. There is only one way to provide old-age pensions for retired workers. Those who still work and their employers must make up by contributions each year a sum sufficient to pay the pensions. The commission finally named by Roosevelt to prepare a plan brought forward just such a proposal with a "pay-as-you-go" tax—a small tax on payrolls to meet the requirements each year plus a moderate contingency fund of two or three billions. The bill, after hearings before a Congressional committee, was ready to be reported when Morgenthau was sent post haste to the committee with a scheme just sold to the President in a short talk. The plan was to make the payroll tax big enough to pay the benefits, plus enough more to create a so-called reserve of \$47,000,000,000 in 40 years. It was given the fraudulent name of Old-Age Reserve Fund. The Security Board would collect the taxes each year, use a small part to pay the pensions and put the rest in the "Fund." That is, it would "lend" it to the Treasury and the Treasury would then spend it for any purpose it had in mind. At the end of 40 years Roosevelt was told this money could be used to pay off the national debt.²²

Fortunately, Congress in 1938 had the courage to put a stop to this and to reduce the rates to a moderate sum. As it is the payroll taxes amount to two per cent—one per cent for the worker and one per cent for the employer—and even so the fund has amounted to many billions in excess of pensions paid the workers. But had

Congress not corrected this, the tax would now be six per cent instead of two.

The Securities Exchange Act when finally passed was on the standard New Deal model—the creation of a commission, another bureau, which has been given vast powers to make laws for the security markets. It is a good idea badly twisted. What harm it has done is difficult to appraise as yet. Before any real revival in the investment markets could appear the war intervened. But at least one thing is certain and that is that the Commission has in its hands powers it ought not to have, powers which could be used and might well be used to literally destroy the investment market in this country.

There was one thing more—the banks. When the banks had been closed and then reopened following the crisis, the next thing in order was to adopt a rational banking law that would make the abuses of the past impossible. For some reason which I have never been able to fathom the President never displayed the slightest interest in this subject. Two measures emerged. One was the Glass-Steagall Act to eliminate some of the bad features permitted under the old laws. The other was the present system of insured bank deposits. The President and his promoters took a great share of credit for these bills. Without discussing whether they were sound or not, the fact remains that the President refused to support the Glass-Steagall bill, and that the guarantee of deposits, first proposed to him by John Garner, he resolutely opposed. Both were passed without the movement of a finger by him to assist them.²³

This is what happened to the new New Deal—the Second New Deal. The big controversial, sensational experiments which were its heart were all killed or died of their own inherent weaknesses. The NRA, the AAA, the Gold Purchase and Managed Money plan vanished. Roosevelt was glad after they were gone to see them go, but he hated those who had opposed them and who had been proved right. He never forgave them. He had literally nothing to do with what banking reform was adopted. His spurious surplus tax plan had to be smothered by his own leaders. The taxes he promised to reduce were now higher than ever. The debt he was

going to check and pay off was now nearing the point of being doubled. And the spending plan—spending by Hopkins through the WPA—had come into such bad odor that Hopkins publicly admitted it was a mistake and the President echoed this opinion by saying that spending on doles must stop—it must in the future be on useful public works.

What was left of this Second New Deal? There was one thing left, one rabbit—the Spending Rabbit—however the money might be put out. This it was which had accounted for whatever lift there was in business and for the tremendous power the President had acquired over the machinery of his party, over numerous groups in the nation and over every town, county and state government which wanted a part of that money. But the New Deal in its second edition was not in any sense a system of government polity. It was a collection of measures based on contradictory principles, the most important of which had been wiped out.

6 } *The Dance of the Crackpots*

THE TIMES WERE INDEED OUT OF JOINT AS THE NEW DEAL MOVED along. Nature took a hand in the festival of disaster. The plains, long parched by drought, were swept by cruel dust storms that made life impossible. Cattle died in the fields and the despairing farmers piled their wretched belongings on their old jalopies and began that dramatic migration of the Okies to the west coast in search of food and life. Floods inundated the great river valleys, bringing death and starvation in their wake. All this was added to the dislocations produced by man in his ignorance and folly.

An old Oklahoma farmer, watching the jalopies go by across the dried fields, said: "Things are just about right now for the skies to open and for the prophets to come down off the mountain and run for office." In times of stress they never disappoint us. And sure enough, up out of the muck and misery, rather than the skies, rose the messiahs with strange voices crying in the wilderness and proclaiming gospels of many brands. Roosevelt had been having a more or less easy time with his Republican opposition. It had been working the wrong side of the street for votes. The votes were over on the other side now, where great masses of people were out of work, or busted, or land poor or old or sick or weary or brought down with despair. Mr. Roosevelt had been singing the sweet song of plenty in their ears. But now a new batch of prophets began to crowd in and to work the same side of the street as Roosevelt.

Politically this was a greater challenge to him than the Republicans. These bold champions threatened to split the ranks of the dispossessed. To those to whom the great and good President had offered a crust, some of these great promissory spirits offered a whole loaf, while some even offered cake with icing. Serious-minded men knew that we had gotten into a sorry mess through a long series of economic and social sins and that the cure lay in dealing with certain definite dislocations in the social organism and that we had to endure with patience the slow process of recovery. But such men in such circumstances can never compete with the quacks who can cure everything out of the same bottle of pills. Roosevelt, once he got into power, began, in complete violation of his Number One pledge, to spend money like a drunken sailor and then to promise the earth and the fullness thereof. He asked nothing of the people but that they vote for him.

In the Agricultural Department a vast bureau was set up with a wilderness of check-writing machines and amidst thundering mechanical noises, was pouring out a flood of checks to farmers in return for killing their stock, plowing back crops and burning grain in their fields. The hotels and boarding houses of Washington were crowded with the delegations from the farms, from villages and cities, from counties and chambers of commerce and boards

of trade and colleges and trade organizations, all standing in long lines with their hats in their hands for the easy money that gushed from the Federal Treasury at the touch of the President. Suddenly all the old-fashioned laws about gravity and the arithmetic tables seemed to have been repealed by decree of the President. The impact of all this, coming not from prairie seers with long whiskers, but from the President of the United States and many seemingly sober-minded cabinet ministers and some business men, seemed to knock loose some nut or bolt somewhere inside the social structure which keeps men on an even keel and moving in accordance with the laws of sanity.

Hence along came a great troop of prophets to compete with the President as a promiser. If his Republican realists were helpless in a contest against his new collection of sloganized promises, he now found himself in a contest with men who could out-promise him. And one effect of these weird evangelists was to give to the reckless President an aspect of conservative restraint.

Perhaps the most dangerous of these was Huey Long, that mighty madcap Kingfish from Louisiana, "the Bonaparte of the Bayous," whose brief but fiery career was to give Roosevelt no end of headaches. After a tempestuous career as governor of Louisiana, he was elected to the Senate and, before he took his seat, played a decisive role at a critical moment in the nomination of Roosevelt. Fearing neither God nor man nor the devil, he was not intimidated by the White House or the Senate. At his first meeting with Roosevelt in the White House, he stood over the President with his hat on and emphasized his points with an occasional finger poked into the executive chest. He found very quickly that he could move as brusquely around the Senate floor as he had the lobbies of the state legislature. He strode about the Capitol followed by his bodyguards. He ranted on the Senate floor. He made a 15½-hour one-man filibustering speech. He made up his mind very soon that the New Deal was a lot of claptrap and proceeded to preach his own gospel of the abundant life.

He cried out: "Distribute our wealth—it's all there in God's book. Follow the Lord." This was the prelude to his Share-the-

Wealth crusade. Huey proclaimed "Every man a King" with Huey as the Kingfish. He made it plain he was no Communist despoiler. He assured Rockefeller he was not going to take *all* his millions. He would not take a single luxury from the economic royalists. They would retain their "fish ponds, their estates and their horses for riding to the hounds."

When he began, he had no plan at all. He just had a slogan and worked up from there. But by 1934 he was ready to launch the movement with Gerald L. K. Smith, a former Shreveport preacher, at its head. The program was simple. No income would exceed a million dollars. Everybody would have a minimum income of \$2500. The money would be provided by a capital levy which would remove the surplus millions from the rich—which revealed that Huey really did not know any more about economics than the President did. There would, of course, be old-age pensions for all, free education right through college for all, an electric refrigerator and an automobile for every family. The government would buy up all the agricultural surpluses against the day of shortages. As a matter of course there would be short working hours for everyone, and bonuses for veterans. All surplus property would be turned over to the government so that a fellow who needed a bed would get one from the fellow who owned more than one.

Some editors who supported Roosevelt said Huey's plan was "like the weird dream of a plantation ducky." It is not clear why Huey broke with Roosevelt. It is probably because it was impossible for him to endure the role of second fiddle to any man and he had come to see wider horizons for his own strange talents. Visitors to the Capitol were more eager to have the guides point out Huey Long than any other exhibit in the building. He was aware of the immense notoriety he had achieved and he believed he saw a condition approaching in which he could repeat upon the national scene the amazing performance he had given in Louisiana.

Certainly he set out to ruin Roosevelt. He declared war on Joe Robinson, Roosevelt's leader in the Senate and on Pat Harrison of Mississippi, for he had set out in a sense to annex the neighboring states of Arkansas and Mississippi to his Southern earldom. He de-

clared war on Roosevelt and he denounced him in terms Roosevelt's beloved "Common Man" could understand. In the Senate he cried out:

"Hoover is a hoot owl. Roosevelt is a scrootch owl. A hoot owl bangs into the nest and knocks the hen clean out and catches her while she's falling. But a scrootch owl slips into the roost and scrootches up to the hen and talks softly to her. And the hen just falls in love with him. And the first thing you know—there ain't no hen."

He denounced Roosevelt on a tender point. He called him "Prince Franklin, Knight of the *Nourmahal*, enjoying himself on that \$5,000,000 yacht with Vincent Astor and Royalty while the farmers starve." Farley says Roosevelt told him to give no patronage to Huey. Roosevelt's billions, adroitly used, had broken down every political machine in America. The patronage they once lived on and the local money they once had to disburse to help the poor was trivial compared to the vast floods of money Roosevelt controlled. And no political boss could compete with him in any county in America in the distribution of money and jobs.

Roosevelt went to work in Louisiana on the rebel Kingfish. He poured money into the hands of Huey's enemies to disburse to Huey's loyal Cajans. And there came a moment when Huey seemed to be on his way to the doghouse. But he was an incorrigible figure of unconquerable energy. When Roosevelt sought to buy with federal funds the Louisiana electorate and ring, Huey struck back with a series of breathtaking blows that brought the state under his thumb almost as completely as Hitler's Reich under the heel of the Fuehrer. First of all, he stopped federal funds from entering Louisiana. He forced the legislature to pass a law forbidding any state or local board or official from incurring any debt or receiving any federal funds without consent of a central state board. And this board Huey set up and dominated. He cut short an estimated flood of \$30,000,000 in PWA projects. Then he provided, through state operations and borrowing, a succession of public works, roads, bridges, schools, hospitals, farm projects and relief measures. The money was spent to boost Huey instead of Roosevelt. The people

were taught to thank and extol Huey rather than Roosevelt for all these goods.

He gave the people tax exemptions, ended the poll tax, cut automobile taxes, put heavier taxes on utilities and corporations. He took over the police department of New Orleans from the City Ring, threw out their police commissioners. He was followed around by troops. He gathered into his hands through his personally owned governor absolute control over every state and parish office. He got control of education and the teachers. He took over the State University and added its football team and its hundred-piece band to the noisy and glittering hippodrome in which he exploited himself. He possessed the entire apparatus of government in Louisiana—the schools, the treasury, the public buildings and the men and women in the buildings. He owned most of the courts, and had a secret police of his own. He ran the elections, counted the votes and held in his hands the power of life and death over most of the enterprise in the state.

Roosevelt was profoundly alarmed. The Democratic National Committee was astonished when a secret poll revealed that Long on a third-party ticket could poll between three and four million votes and that his Share-the-Wealth plan had eaten deeply into the Democratic strength in the industrial and farm states. Farley says there was a possibility "that his third-party movement might constitute a balance of power in the 1936 election." The poll indicated that Long could corral 100,000 votes in New York State, which could, in a close election, cost Roosevelt the electoral vote there. Long became a frequent subject of conversation at the White House.

But Fate had gone Democratic in 1932 and remained so. On Sunday, September 8, 1935, Long was in Baton Rouge issuing orders in one of his frequent political tantrums. Louisiana had been in something approaching a state of terror. Long was crossing a corridor of the state Capitol. Dr. Carl Austin Weiss, a young physician, eluded the vigilance of Long's guards and shot him. The guards filled Weiss' body with bullets—61 of them. Huey died September 10, and was buried in the presence of 120,000 weeping worshippers

from all over the state. The oration was pronounced by Gerald L. K. Smith who said: "His body shall never rest as long as hungry bodies cry for food." A monument stands to the memory of this arch demagogue in the Hall of Fame of the Capitol building in Washington and his body rests in a crypt on the state Capitol grounds—a shrine to which crowds flock every day to venerate the memory of the man who trampled on their laws, spat upon their traditions, loaded them with debt and degraded their society to a level resembling the plight of a European fascist dictatorship.

The assassination of Long removed the threat of Huey from Roosevelt's side of the street, but the machine he had created still remained. It could exist only by using his techniques and trading on the immortality of the murdered leader. But of that later.

There was another who was infringing on Roosevelt's territory. An aged physician in Long Beach, California, was looking out his window one day when he saw three old women rooting in a garbage can for food. The vision set the doctor's soul on fire. Physical torture shook his body. He burst into a violent spasm of invective against a system in which this was possible. Thus inspired, he sat down to invent a plan to end it and came up quickly with the famous Townsend Old Age Revolving Pension Plan. This old gentleman was Dr. Francis E. Townsend. He was an honest man of generous impulses. But his anger led him into the mazes of modern economics which he understood as little as the poor old women whose plight had detonated his wrath.

The plan was simplicity itself. Every person reaching the age of 60 would receive \$200 a month. There were four conditions: (1) that he or she retire; (2) have no criminal record; (3) have no income over the \$2400 a year; and (4) spend the entire \$200 each month. A man and wife over 60 would get \$400 a month. There were 10,384,000 persons over 60. But the doctor estimated that only about 8,000,000 would qualify. This would cost the country \$1,600,000,000 a month or about \$19,000,000,000 a year. The money would be provided by a transactions tax of 2 per cent on every commercial transaction. A crazier idea never entered the brain of man. But this was a day of crackpot philosophers. It was not

much crazier than Henry Wallace's hog-killing and crop-burning schemes or Roosevelt's NRA. But the minds of the people had gotten off the tracks of reality. And this alluring promise lighted up the imaginations and appetites of the aged. It spread like a prairie fire among the oldsters until millions were marching behind the good doctor as in a holy crusade. In the three months at the end of 1935 the organization collected \$350,000 and it grew from there.

The commentators laughed at this pathetic host of old people trooping behind their challenging Quixote. One said it was bad enough to tell Junior there is a Santa Claus, but to lead Grandpa to believe in him was unpardonable. And another commented that the Longs and Townsends and Sinclairs and Roosevelts had set up professionally as my brother's keeper, but it was time for someone to set up as my brother's bookkeeper. It was not possible, however, to laugh off the vast horde of registered voters who took the old doctor seriously. Like Huey, he was very much on Roosevelt's mind and in his talks. For the doctor was hog-calling millions of natural New Dealers off into his Revolving Old Age Plan. The old folks were crowding the railroad stations getting estimates on voyages hither and yon. The passion for travel seized upon their imaginations as they beheld an old age of leisure and more money than the vast majority of them had ever made by work in their life times.

Nor was this all. While Huey and the doctor clamored to make every man a king or a tourist, the inflationists never relaxed their pressure for their various money plans. It began to look as if the printing presses would have to go to work. And this very well-founded apprehension exercised a profound influence upon the minds of business men who were being exhorted to expand and expose themselves to the dangerous gamble of inflation.

Meantime, out in California an almost incredible movement got under way. Upton Sinclair, an old Socialist who had stirred America thirty years before with his famous novel "The Jungle," had been living in California for years. He was an intelligent and industrious critic of the capitalist system and a writer of amazing fecundity. Novels, brochures, pamphlets, critical volumes poured from his

pen, were published by himself and translated into every language in the world. He was a gentle, scholarly, deeply sincere man. Suddenly this Socialist amazed the voters of California by announcing himself a candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor against George Creel, a brilliant and courageous liberal journalist who was supported by the Democratic leaders for the place. Creel, an old Wilsonian reformer, still harboring a chimerical faith in the laws of arithmetic and gravity, was soon to learn that he, a lifelong Democrat, was no match in a Democratic primary for a lifelong Socialist with a platform for turning California gradually into a socialist heaven.

Sinclair had a tremendous weapon. We were still in a depression. Nobody seemed quite sure what to do about it. Sinclair capitalized on this. He told the voters he had a plan and he was dead certain about it. He said:

"We can end poverty in California. *I know what I am talking about.* I am an expert in depressions. I have spent thirty years of my life studying them. I know what causes them and how to cure them. And I tell you the only way to do this is by my plan to **END POVERTY IN CALIFORNIA.**"

From the first letters in this plan—EPIC—the movement took its name. Creel says that overnight the people stopped talking about the climate and began to talk about EPIC.

Like all the plans it, too, was simplicity itself. There were in California a million persons unemployed by industry or starving on the farms. Also, said Sinclair, there were a great number of idle factories and idle farms. The state would put up the money to start up all the idle factories and the abandoned farms. The unemployed would be put to work in these factories making essential goods for themselves and all unemployed persons. Others would be set to work on the idle farms growing food and raw materials for the factories. These unemployed are now, he said, no longer profitable customers for those in private business. In fact they are a burden since private business must now provide the taxes for relief.

EPIC would take all the unemployed off relief, hence off the backs of the self-supporting element in the community. The state would finance it all with a bond issue.

It would be operated by a California Authority for Land (CAL) which would buy up the idle farms and the California Authority for Production (CAP) which would take over the idle factories, all serviced by a great fleet of trucks and a chain of stores in which would be sold to those employed by these Authorities the clothes and food produced by the CAL and CAP. Of course there would be a California Authority for Money (CAM) which would float the bond issues to finance all this. The sales tax would be repealed. There would be income taxes on incomes of \$5000 and over, and tax exemptions for homes and farms valued at less than \$3500. There was more to it, including of course a great Central Valley Water Project for power.

All these plans were called crackpot. But Sinclair's was not a crackpot plan. He knew what he was doing. Had he succeeded he would have created in the body of the capitalist system of California a more or less complete socialist organization operating strictly on the principle of production for use. At a blow, 10 or 15 per cent of California's population would be transferred to a socialist economy. He undoubtedly believed, and he was right, that the success of his plan would gradually enervate and enfeeble the capitalist system which contained and supported it and that EPIC would gradually swallow the whole.

There were other groups—Major Douglas' Social Credit and Howard Scott's Technocrats, neither of which made much progress though they did supply to Mr. Roosevelt's great economic staff some of its top dog "economists" and statisticians. The Social Credit advocates laid out as a principle that the capitalist system does not produce enough money income to enable all producers to buy the national product of consumable goods at a profit. Stated differently, the customers of the nation do not receive enough money income to purchase at a profit what the employers produce. A powerful argument can be made for this thesis. However, the Social Credit advocates proposed that to correct this deficit in purchasing power the govern-

ment would at intervals issue to all the people what they called social dividends, government-issued cash, to enable them to buy what they needed. It amounted to this: that the government would give to everybody a cash handout at certain periods in the year.

The Technocrats were the most radical of the new reformers. They insisted that we must have a continental economy—that is we must unite to the United States, Canada, Mexico and the Central American countries in order to have a self-sustaining continent. We must then liquidate the democratic system and turn the management of the system over to the only people capable of understanding it, namely the engineers, to whom they later added the economists and other technicians. This was called the Soviet of the Engineers. Next we would abolish the existing money system and base all money on the unit of value—the erg. There is more to it, but this is enough. One of the most eminent supporters of Technocracy, and chief sponsor of the crackpot Howard Scott, was Mr. Leon Henderson, who was made statistician of the NRA and later economic adviser and research director of the Democratic party, and finally head of the Office of Price Administration—the OPA of sad memory during the war.

This dance of the crackpots all over Roosevelt's side of the street was playing havoc with his own medicine show. The election year 1936 loomed menacingly ahead. They must be liquidated or composed or appeased or devoured. And someone, aided by Fate, did an excellent job of getting all these dervishes to quit their merry hoopla and march along in the ranks of the great New Deal.

While Hoover was President, the Treasury and the Department of Justice had been pursuing the Huey Long forces on their income taxes. But when Roosevelt came into power, Justice turned her eyes away. However, when Huey went out on the warpath, Justice once again went to work on Huey and his pals. It has been said the decision to indict him on income tax frauds was made the very day before he died. But he left behind a batch of heirs who knew how to trade on the powers of the departed Saint Huey. Huey's organization showed no loss of strength. The Treasury and the Department of Justice went into action and before long there were

income tax indictments against at least 25 of the Long leaders and henchmen.

Richard W. Leche was governor. In January, 1936, he was re-elected by an immense landslide, thus demonstrating the survival of the Long power. But in some mysterious way the raucous chorus of denunciation of Washington by the Long machine stopped cold. According to Drew Pearson in the Washington *Merry-go-Round* column, a Washington reporter saw Marvin McIntyre, Roosevelt's secretary and said: "Mac, did it ever occur to you that the administration might arrange a rapprochement with the gang in Louisiana? . . . I think I could be of some service to you." McIntyre said: "I think that's already been taken care of." "Then nobody has to worry?" "Nobody," answered Mac.

Not long after the United States Attorney asked the United States Court to dismiss most of the indictments against the Long crowd. Westbrook Pegler dubbed this the Second Louisiana Purchase. Harnett Kane,²⁴ who has written a brilliant account of this episode, says "A judicial bargain basement was set up, and men by paying \$1000 fines were freed of charges which might have brought them years in prison." The civil suits were pressed and succeeded in collecting \$2,000,000 in unpaid taxes. In June, just before the Democratic convention met, Roosevelt made a trip to Texas. The Louisiana Legislature was ordered by Governor Leche to adjourn, and "convene" in Texas at the Centennial Grounds where Roosevelt was camped. There they passed a resolution praising divine Providence for providing "a great leader, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who saved the nation from ruin and chaos," and they called on the Republican party to withdraw Alfred Landon and make Roosevelt's reelection unanimous. The State University band, Huey's pride and joy, played Huey's theme song—"Every Man a King."

As for Upton Sinclair and his EPIC plan, he got his trial by fire in an election. He beat Creel in the Democratic primaries and this life-time Socialist, on a strictly socialist proposal, became the candidate of the Democratic party. Sinclair went to the White House and emerged in a happy mood. EPIC and the New Deal, he said, were perfectly consistent. Hopkins said he hoped Sinclair would be

elected. "He's on our side, isn't he?" he asked. And when Sinclair got back to California he published a letter from Farley urging all to vote for the full ticket. Later Farley said the letter was a stenographer's mistake.

Roosevelt was ready to play with any one of these curious heresies. Ray Moley pleaded with him in September to dissociate his administration from Sinclair. Roosevelt said that Merriam, the Republican candidate for governor, was taking the support of the Townsend people and that the Townsend heresy was no worse than the EPIC heresy. Then he added "Besides, they tell me Sinclair is sure to be elected."²⁵ Creel at first agreed to support Sinclair on the promise that he would not push the EPIC plan in the general election, which seemed incredible as that was his whole stock-in-trade. At all events, Creel reported this to Roosevelt and Farley, who praised the bargain. But of course Sinclair had to push the EPIC plan and he did so with the same vigor he had pushed it in the primary, after which, on October 26, Creel wrote him a letter repudiating him.²⁶

Frances Perkins tells that sober liberals in California were horrified at EPIC and pleaded with her to get the President to stem the tide for Sinclair while he was running against Creel. But it didn't bother Roosevelt at all. He said: "Well, they might be elected in California and get EPIC there but what difference will that make to Dutchess County, New York, or Lincoln County, Maine?"²⁷

In the end the Republican candidate defeated Sinclair. And within a short time every vestige of the EPIC movement disappeared from California.

Soon the remnants of that movement were traipsing off into the new evangelism known as "Ham and Eggs"—a plan to provide everyone with \$30 every Thursday, a plan, by the way, which elected Senator Sheridan Downey to the United States Senate.

Meantime Roosevelt observed to his intimates that it was necessary to steal a little from good old Doctor Townsend. For some strange reason, Roosevelt had lagged in his interest in old-age pensions. Wagner and others had been working on an unemployment insurance bill but not on old-age pensions. In the 1934 Congress

sional elections the Republicans denounced Roosevelt for doing nothing about this subject. He therefore appointed a commission to study the subject. But after the election was safely over he told its members the time was not yet ripe for it. It was the sweep of the Townsendites, the Share-the-Wealthers and EPIC planners that spurred his interest and resulted in the passage of the Social Security Act with old-age pensions and unemployment insurance. While Townsend agitated, Roosevelt acted. The oldsters were to learn very much later that there was not very much social security in Roosevelt's act. But feuds began to divide the Townsendites. Dr. Townsend got into a row with the House of Representatives which cited him for contempt. His leaders split. Then in June, on the eve of the Democratic convention, Farley had a conference with Gomer Smith, one of the Townsend directors. Smith told Farley that he and several others controlled seven votes in the directorate and they and not Townsend would control the organization. The meeting was kept secret so as not to compromise Smith.

Thus by the time the election came around the Townsendites, the Ham and Eggers, the EPIC planners and the Long crowd were all on the bandwagon that rolled down Roosevelt's side of the street, safely under the guidance of himself and his skillful coachman, Jim Farley.

This curious epidemic of grotesque notions sponsored by shallow and in some cases dangerous men is, of course, not an unknown phenomenon. When little men think about large problems the boundary between the sound and the unsound is very thin and vague. And when some idea is thrown out which corresponds with the deeply rooted yearnings of great numbers of spiritually and economically troubled people it spreads like a physical infection and rises in virulence with the extent of the contagion. The spiritual and mental soil of the masses near the bottom of the economic heap was perfect ground for all these promisers of security and abundance. Roosevelt prospered on that. And he was in a grave political dilemma when he found himself surpassed in the size and beauty of the promises made by his competitors.

One of the mistakes committed by the critics of the President at

this time was the charge that he was drifting toward Communism. And as each new cure for the woes of the people was advertised it was called Socialism or Communism. The infusion of Communism would come into Mr. Roosevelt's New Deal in good time; but it certainly was not there yet. Some of the more radical agitators who surrounded the President and got access occasionally to his mind believed that the capitalist system and our traditional representative system were done for. But they were not Communists. Most of them were confused dilettante revolutionists, revolutionists of the chamber and not of the field or the barricades—daring enough in discussion in hospitable living rooms or cocktail lounges but having no boldness in action. What is more, few of them had the hardihood to admit themselves to be even philosophical Communists. They had cooked up for themselves that easy, comfortable potpourri of socialism and capitalism called the Planned Economy which provided its devotees with a wide area in which they might rattle around without being called Red.

That was the revolution—the Planned Economy—they were preparing for and hoping for. There was a moment, during the NRA and the AAA, when things looked good for that bold dream. But their purposes were never clearly understood by those who criticized most mercilessly the Roosevelt regime. They were never really in control though they may have seemed to be. But the time would come when they would approach much closer to their dream of a planned people. We shall see that later.

The haunting fear of these vocal and conniving dreamers broke out in full flame in 1934. Dr. William A. Wirt,²⁸ famous as the originator of the Gary System of public education and superintendent of schools of Gary, Indiana, since 1907, was in Washington. He attended a cocktail party at the home of his former secretary, Miss Alice Barrows. After this he wrote a letter to a number of friends, one of them James H. Rand, who read it before a House hearing. Rand said a brain-truster had told Wirt:

"We believe we have Roosevelt in the middle of a swift stream and that the current is so strong that he cannot turn back or escape from it.

We believe that we can keep Mr. Roosevelt there until we are ready to supplant him with a Stalin. We all think that Mr. Roosevelt is only the Kerensky of this revolution. We are on the inside. We can control the avenues of influence. We can make the President believe that he is making decisions for himself."

This produced a storm of wrath in Congress both among those who believed and those who didn't believe Wirt. There is little doubt that the statement was made to Wirt. The man who made it said later they were all just pulling Wirt's leg. But the fact is that this belief was widely held by a large number of these so-called pink and scarlet intellectuals. They believed the great capitalist catastrophe had come. They believed Roosevelt's half-way measures would fail—as they ultimately did. And then would come revolution. But, as it turned out, it was not to the Reds Roosevelt was yielding at this time, but to the special interests, to farmers who wanted high prices and labor leaders who wanted more power, to bankers who wanted one thing or another, to city and county and state chambers and councils who wanted government money, to political bosses who wanted patronage and graft, to the poor and unemployed who wanted government money, to the crackpots who wanted various things and, generally, to any strong group that had votes enough to count.

7 { An Enemy Is Welcomed

AT WHAT POINT DID THE COMMUNISTS FIND THE CRACK IN THE wall of the New Deal and climb in?

The critics and enemies of President Roosevelt have made, from the beginning, the fundamental mistake of always misunderstanding him and his objectives. Throughout the first administration, his political enemies denounced him as the willing or unconscious agent of Communist philosophers bent on socializing America. This was not true. There was not in Roosevelt a grain of conviction on the side of the Communist philosophy. One of the facts about him least understood is that fundamentally he was without any definite political or economic philosophy. He was not a man to deal in fundamentals. Miss Perkins, who knew him well, was sure that Roosevelt was not a political or economic radical. "He took the *status quo* in our economic system," she said, "as much for granted as his family." He had come into political life under the influence of Wilson's theories of liberal political reform. That is to say, he had voted for the Democratic candidates without any strong opinions about the subject. Roosevelt went as naturally into the Democratic party as he did into the Episcopal church. But while he was no radical, it is equally true to say of him that he was not a conservative. He was a man literally without any fundamental philosophy. The positions he took on political and economic questions were not taken in accordance with deeply rooted political beliefs but under the influence of political necessity.

Miss Perkins says he had "no theoretical or ideological objections to public ownership when that was necessary." It was a proposal

upon which he could take either side without doing any violence to any basic political or economic philosophy, since he had none. Miss Perkins says that once a young reporter, in her presence, had the following conversation with Roosevelt. The reporter asked:

"Mr. President, are you a Communist?"

"No," said Roosevelt.

"Are you a capitalist?"

"No."

"Are you a Socialist?"

"No."

Then the young man asked what his philosophy was.

"Philosophy?" the President was puzzled. "Philosophy? I am a Christian and a Democrat—that's all." ²⁹

By a Christian he meant he was a member of the Christian church. By a Democrat he meant he was a member of the Democratic party. He was not concerned with the theories of the church or the party. These change. He could change with them. The test was the value of the theories as vote-getters. To put the matter in a word, he was in every sense purely an opportunist, and it was certainly not in accord with the opportunist philosophy to be a Communist or a Socialist or even a mild pink during Roosevelt's first administration.

Actually the one thing he did that was based on a very definite philosophy was the program that consisted of the NRA and the AAA. This was a plan to take the whole industrial and agricultural life of the country under the wing of the government, organize it into vast farm and industrial cartels, as they were called in Germany, corporatives as they were called in Italy, and operate business and the farms under plans made and carried out under the supervision of the government. This is the complete negation of liberalism. It is, in fact, the essence of fascism. Fascism goes only one step further and insists, logically, that this cannot be done by a democratic government; that it can be done successfully only under a totalitarian regime. Of course Roosevelt did not know that he was indulging in a fascist experiment because he did not know what fascism was. In those days fascism was not defined as anti-Semitism.

It was a word used to describe the political system of Mussolini. Roosevelt merely did something which at the moment seemed politically expedient because it satisfied a vast mass of farmers and business men. He never examined the fundamentals of it because that was not the way his mind worked. The NRA did not fully satisfy the technocratic groups represented by the Tugwells and their disciples in spite of the many points of resemblance. The NRA left too much control in the hands of business whereas they would have preferred to see that control in the hands of the technicians—preferably the professors. As for the Reds, they did not move in heavily until the second term and not *en masse* until the third term, although the entering wedge was made in the first. And then the point of entry was the labor movement.

In 1935, Roosevelt had a labor problem on his hands. When the NRA was launched it contained a clause called Section 7a. This was called labor's Magna Carta. It gave to labor the right to collective bargaining through representatives of their own choosing. Labor leaders did seize upon it as a great instrument for the rehabilitation of organized labor. Membership in labor unions had sunk to a low figure as a result of the depression. Some of the unions were on the verge of disintegration. As the NRA codes were launched, they represented literally compulsory unions of employers, and the labor leaders went to work to expand their own membership. They soon found that the NRA was, so far as labor was concerned, a complete fraud. Employers were *required* to form into a *single* code authority in each industry. Labor was merely given the *right to organize* and it could organize into one, two, three or a dozen different unions. For instance, the steel industry was united in the Steel Institute, but the steel workers were in no unions at all or separated into as many unions as there were plants. Aside from affording the unions protection, the operation of the act did not give them much cause for satisfaction. Codes guaranteed minimum wages but generally the wage guaranteed was \$14 a week. In many instances, workmen were earning less money under the codes. For instance, in Detroit factory workers had their pay raised from 35 cents to 40 cents an hour. At 35 cents an hour they worked 60 hours and made from

\$42 to \$45 in two weeks. At 40 cents an hour they worked 40 hours under the hour limitation, and made \$32 in two weeks.

The whole thing got so bad that the Wagner Labor Relations Act was passed, presumably to force some kind of solidarity in labor and to give them effective bargaining rights. Actually a good many employers favored this law. The employer who wanted to pay labor decent wages and give them decent working hours and conditions could be undercut by anti-social employers who were willing to beat labor down as far as possible. There might have been a chance for this act but for the outrageous manner in which it was administered after Mr. Roosevelt's reelection in 1936.

At all events, several ideas were set in motion at this time in the White House. First, labor had to be appeased and something had to be done to quiet the mutterings which were coming up from the masses of labor.

The second was a far more serious idea. There were men around the President at this time who saw the tremendous possibilities of organizing labor as a political force. They knew the history of the labor movement in England, which had grown so great that it had completely wiped out the old Liberal party as a political force. They believed that something like that could be done in America and they wanted the President to use his vast powers and great funds to encourage the formation of labor into a great political force. To do this it was necessary to enlarge the field of labor organization.

In America, the American Federation of Labor, which included most of organized labor, specialized in organizing only craft unions. That is, carpenters, plumbers, masons, painters, machinists, etc., were organized in unions representing these separate crafts. They constituted only a small part of the labor force. The vast majority of workers were unskilled and were employed in factories or single industries and were unorganized. There were three large industrial unions—the United Mine Workers of John L. Lewis, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union of David Dubinsky and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Sidney Hillman. An industrial union is one in which all the people engaged in a single industry

are included without regard to the type of skills at which they work. Lewis had for a long time talked about the importance of organizing all labor into industrial unions. The Federation of Labor bitterly opposed the idea.

But the industrial union was the one great instrument by which all labor could be organized and it has been said that the President was urged to promote this idea as the starting point in building up a powerful political labor movement.

At the time there were about four million men in American unions and inasmuch as the unions finally achieved a membership of over fifteen million, it can be seen what the political possibilities were. Roosevelt sent for John L. Lewis and William Green and urged them to form industrial unions. Green, head of the A. F. of L., naturally refused, but Lewis did not need much urging. Under the leadership of Lewis, Hillman and Dubinsky the fight for industrial unions was begun. Lewis proposed that the Federation of Labor admit industrial unions to its membership. This precipitated a bitter fight between Lewis, Hillman, Dubinsky on one side and what was called the Old Guard on the other—Green, Hutchinson and Frey. It reached a crisis at Atlantic City in 1935 at the Federation convention when the Federation committee brought in a report against industrial unions. Following this, in a furious exchange of epithets, Hutchinson of the Carpenters' Union, called Lewis a bastard and Lewis hit him on the jaw. Benjamin Stolberg, in his "Story of the CIO" says "that blow resounded across the American labor movement and split it in two."³⁰

Under the leadership of Lewis, a new group of unions was formed called the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) which opened for business on November 9, 1935. The backbone of it was the United Mine Workers, the Ladies Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Its total membership was a million. These unions did not withdraw from the A. F. of L. However, on August 4, 1936 the executive council of the A. F. of L. voted to suspend the CIO unions unless they disbanded within a month. And this threat was carried out. The important work of the

new CIO was accomplished after 1936, but the year 1936 was a period of furious organizing work by it among the unskilled workers of the country.

A labor union is not something that can be brought hurriedly into existence by unskilled hands. Half a century of labor organization has built up a body of expert knowledge about organizing and operating a union. As John L. Lewis and Dubinsky and Hillman set about organizing millions of workers they were immediately up against the problem of finding skilled organizers to promote and manage the new unions. *It was at this point that the Red appeared on the scene.*

There had been in the United States a Communist labor organization known as the Trade Union Unity League which took its instructions directly from Moscow. It is estimated that ten or fifteen thousand Communists were in these unions. There were a large number of members who were not Communists, of course, and the Communist connection was carefully concealed. Joseph Zack represented the Communist party in the United States in charge of its labor activities from 1919 to 1934. He had gone to Russia where he was instructed in the techniques of Communist labor control.

Then in 1934, Moscow directed the Communist party in the United States to dissolve the Trade Union Unity League unions and to march the members of those unions into the American Federation of Labor. This was the beginning of their plan to bore into the American labor union movement from within. The purpose of this was not to advance the cause of labor unions or to get better working conditions for the members, but to use the apparatus of the labor union as an instrument of revolution. This is not surmise, but is proven by the testimony of Joseph Zack himself, as well as that of Benjamin Gitlow who was secretary of the Communist party of the United States and by the official minutes of the Party covering this period. The Communist party in the United States in January, 1935, passed the following resolution:

"The influx of hundreds of thousands of new workers from basic industries and mass production plants into the American Federation of

Labor unions . . . make the American Federation of Labor unions more militant and mass unions in character, opening up new and greater possibilities of revolutionary mass work within them.

"In view of this, the main task of the party in the sphere of trade-union work should be the work in the American Federation of Labor unions so as to energetically and tirelessly mobilize the masses of their members and the trade unions as a whole for the defense of the everyday interests of the workers, the leadership of strikes, carrying out the policy of the class struggle in the trade unions . . ." ³¹

Shortly after came the split between the A. F. of L. and the CIO and John L. Lewis found himself in need of experienced organizers. The Communist leaders saw in the rise of the CIO a better opportunity for their own revolutionary objectives than in the A. F. of L. and instructed their members to withdraw from the A. F. of L. and go into the CIO. The CIO leaders on their part saw ready to hand several thousand trained union organizers and eagerly sought and used their talents. Some of these men were known to be Communists, but the CIO leaders imagined that they could utilize their special aptitudes for organization while at the same time suppressing their revolutionary energies. They were to learn the hard way, as we shall see.

Lewis was interested in bringing into existence industrial unions like his own, in which he had always believed. Roosevelt was interested in bringing into American labor unions as many voters as possible and in capturing their leadership to be used to build up a powerful labor faction which could control the Democratic party and which he and his allies could control through the vast power of the government and the vast powers of the labor leaders, along with the immense financial resources that so great a labor movement would have. The Communists were interested in getting into the unions, into key positions as union officers, statisticians, economists, etc., in order to utilize the apparatus of the unions to promote the cause of revolution.

I think we have to be fair in saying at this point that neither Roosevelt nor Lewis realized the peril to which they were exposing both the unions and the country. This thing called revolutionary

propaganda and activity is something of an art in itself. It has been developed to a high degree in Europe where revolutionary groups have been active for half a century and where Communist revolutionary groups have achieved such success during the past 25 years. It was, at this time of which I write, practically unknown to political and labor leaders in this country and is still unknown to the vast majority of political leaders. The time came when Lewis saw the gravity of the situation and faced it frankly and dealt with it immediately. But as we shall see, Roosevelt, through a combination of events and influences, fell deeper and deeper into the toils of various revolutionary operators, not because he was interested in revolution but because he was interested in votes.

For the time being, however, he capitalized heavily on the activities of the CIO. The CIO put up half a million dollars for Roosevelt's 1936 campaign and provided him with an immense group of active labor workers who played a large part in the sweeping victory he won at the polls. But among them now were a large number of Communists in positions of great power within the new union movement, some of them actually moving close to the center of power. This was the crack in the wall through which they entered. Their power was to grow and prosper.

8 } *The Ride of the Wild Rabbit*

IT WAS 1936 AND THE VERDICT ON MR. ROOSEVELT WAS NOW UP to the people. As the year rolled along, an uninformed observer might well suppose that the Roosevelt New Deal was in a state of considerable disarray. One after another of Mr. Roosevelt's great adventures in social architecture had been outlawed by the Su-

preme Court or had fallen apart of their own weakness or both. The NRA had vanished and everyone was glad to be rid of it. The AAA had been held unconstitutional and was subject to bitter criticisms. The Warren gold plan had more or less evaporated as an effective policy. The Guffey Coal Act was declared unconstitutional. The President was being pilloried because of his enormous expenditures, his unbalanced budgets, his tremendous deficits after all his merciless attacks on Hoover in 1932. By 1935 the expenditures of the Hoover administration had been more than doubled by Roosevelt and the debt had increased by 16 billion dollars. Mr. Roosevelt's strident, staccato attacks upon Hoover as the world's greatest spendthrift were being shot back at him.

The grotesque spectacle of Harry Hopkins' shovel army, Wallace's pig killing and crop destruction and the merry dance of the crackpot spenders kicking their heels in the Roosevelt electoral parade all excited the mirth and scorn of the jokesters and the commentators.

Harry Byrd was digging into New Deal extravagances and announced that the bureaucracy had proliferated at such an amazing rate that space was rented in 107 private buildings by the government to house the bureaucrats. Senator Carter Glass leveled his harshest attacks at the administration. "The New Deal," he said, "is not only a mistake. It is a disgrace to the nation. I would rather die than live to see the disgrace of this era." Senator Bailey of North Carolina, Senator Ashurst of Arizona, Senator Copeland of New York were up in arms. Lewis Douglas, Roosevelt's first director of the Budget, James Warburg, one of his earliest champions, George Peek, Hugh Johnson, Governor Ely of Massachusetts and, above all, Al Smith were unsparing in their criticism. Al Smith declared that if Roosevelt were renominated on an endorsement of the New Deal he "would take a walk." Smith, one columnist observed, was presenting Roosevelt with the sidewalks of New York one brick at a time.

The charge that Roosevelt had been playing a game of irresponsible experimentation with the American people as the guinea pigs was pressed with such effect that Roosevelt felt called upon, in a

letter to Roy Howard, head of the Scripps Howard Newspapers, to assure him that the experimental stage of the New Deal was near an end. Amid all his other difficulties, the President was presented with the soldiers' bonus bill. He vetoed that but had an arrangement with the Democratic leadership that they would pass it over his head. Thus the President could get credit for trying to kill it while the Democrats would get credit for actually passing it.

The country had been torn by strikes—over 2,000 of them. The drive of the CIO for membership in their new unions was proceeding with ostentatious energy. There was no discounting the apparent seriousness of the differences that had developed among the Democratic leaders. The Southern senators—men like Walter George and Pat Harrison and Millard Tydings and others, including Vice-President Garner—were in deep dejection at the direction in which they saw the party going. Even stalwart Democratic leaders and newspapers, along with men whose opinions could not be dismissed, were disgusted with the orgy of the relief rolls under Hopkins. The President felt it necessary to say something about that. He said that to dole out relief in this way “is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit . . . I am not willing that the vitality of our people be further sapped by the giving of doles, of market baskets, by a few hours of weekly work cutting grass, raking leaves or picking up papers in the public parks.” He declared for useful public works—roads, highways, reforestation.

Tempers were frayed. Representative Blanton of Texas offered to fight all the physicians in Washington at one time. John O'Connor of New York said he would kick Father Coughlin from the Capitol to the White House. Father Coughlin, who had extolled Roosevelt at first as a great leader, now denounced him as a liar. Vito Marcantonio said he would like to meet Police Commissioner Valentine of New York in a gymnasium. The New York *Sun* suggested that the House restaurant had better take raw meat off the menu. The Townsendites got into a fight among themselves. Townsend accused Representative McGroarty, who introduced the Townsend bill, of trying to deliver the Townsendites to the Democrats. William Randolph Hearst, who supported Roosevelt in 1932

and without whose support he could not have got his first nomination, attacked Roosevelt for accepting the support of organizations alien to the American form of government, and Steve Early said Hearst was "a notorious newspaper owner" who had made a planned attempt to ruin Roosevelt. Others branded Roosevelt a Communist and Reverend John O'Brien fulminated with blazing vehemence that this was "an ugly, cowardly and flagrant calumny."

When the Republicans met they nominated Alfred Landon of Kansas for President and Frank Knox of Chicago for Vice-President. Landon as governor of Kansas had made a notable record as a budget balancer and chief executive. The Republicans adopted a platform which did not differ much from the Democratic platform of 1932. When accused of stealing the Democratic platform of 1932, the Republicans replied "Why not? The Democrats have no more use for it. Moreover it is in perfectly good condition—it was never even used." Their chief reliance was upon the charge that the President had usurped the powers of Congress, attacked the integrity of the courts, invaded the constitutional prerogatives of the states, attempted to substitute regulated monopoly for free enterprise, forced through Congress unconstitutional laws, filled a vast array of bureaus with swarms of bureaucrats to harass the people and breed fear in commerce and industry, discouraged new enterprises and thus prolonged the depression, had used relief to corrupt and intimidate the voters and made appeals to class prejudice to inflame the masses and create dangerous divisions.

Bertrand Snell, permanent chairman of the Republican convention, said "the people should thank God for the Constitution, the Supreme Court and a courageous press." Whether one agrees with this or not, most men, I am sure, will now agree in the light of events that had there been no constitutional prohibitions and no Supreme Court, Roosevelt would certainly have gone to terrifying lengths in his course. And as an example of what Time does to slogans and anthems, the band in the GOP convention greeted the arrival of the New York delegation by playing alternately "The Sidewalks of New York" and "California Here I Come" in honor of the two bitter antagonists of the 1928 battle—Smith and Hoover.

At the Democratic convention the theme song was still "Happy Days Are Here Again." Delirious enthusiasm was lathered up by every device known to show business for making whoop-de-dee. From the moment the gavel fell to open that wild conclave to the knock of the adjourning gavel everything that was said and done or that seemed to just happen was in accordance with a carefully arranged and managed scenario. The delegates were mere puppets and answered to their cues precisely like the extras in a movie mob scene. The only spontaneous thing in the convention was an unarranged demonstration for Jim Farley, the stage manager of the great hippodrome. It was really a Farley show. A Texan rode a donkey around the hall. The screaming delegates named a queen of the convention; they roared and paraded; they abolished the two-thirds rule and, after it was all over, on Saturday night at Franklin Field before a crowd of 100,000, Roosevelt and Garner stood surrounded by Mrs. Roosevelt, Sr. and Jr., James, John, Franklin Jr., and Mr. and Mrs. John Boettiger, while Lily Pons sang "The Star-Spangled Banner" and the exhausted Democrats sang, cheered and wept.

As the campaign got under way the betting was eight to five on Roosevelt. Nevertheless the Republicans thought they had a golden chance to win. John Hamilton of Kansas was made National Chairman and he challenged Jim Farley to name six states Roosevelt was sure to carry. The Republican forecasters—and many others—were completely deceived by the group of elements and issues hostile to Roosevelt which we have enumerated—the opposition of Al Smith and the anti-New Deal Democrats, the scandals in the relief rolls, Roosevelt's complete betrayal of all his 1932 promises, the rise in taxes and prices and debt, the boisterous, angry caterwalling of the leaders of those hungry millions who wanted old-age pensions and more government handouts. Shortly after the Democratic convention, Father Coughlin, Representative Lemke and some remnants of the Share-the-Wealthers led by Gerald L. K. Smith met to form a third party. They called it the Union Party. It resolved for Social Justice, Revolving Pensions and Every Man a King. Then it nominated Lemke for President and Gerald L. K. Smith told the world it would poll 20 million ballots in November.

These amateur politicians did not know that Farley had already gathered in the Huey Long crowd and the Townsendites and that only the shells of these movements were at the Union Party convention. As for those anti-New Deal Democrats, the dopesters refused to understand the fact that the bulk of them were from the South and they just did not understand what makes a Southern Democrat tick. Carter Glass had flung a whole string of sulphurous adjectives at the New Deal. But Heywood Broun appraised that factor rightly when he said: "Carter Glass would never forsake the party if the fiend himself were nominated. He might assail Lucifer verbally, perhaps refuse to go to his house to dinner, but if the Devil were a Democrat he would never cut him on the ballot."

They overlooked the fact that the South had both arms up to its shoulder blades in Roosevelt's relief and public works barrel. National politics was now paying off in the South in terms of billions. When Alf Landon talked about Roosevelt's invasions of the Constitution, the man on relief and the farmer fingering his subsidy check replied "You can't eat the Constitution." Not only that, but the small store owner had customers now by the millions whose WPA and PWA and CCC and AAA spendings in his store made the difference between black and red on his books. Roosevelt over the radio said the whole question was after all a simple one—just ask yourself one question. Are you worse off now or better off than when we took office? He repeated the employment figures on the day of his inauguration and during this campaign. As to the public debt he said we borrowed eight billions but we have increased the national income by 22 billions. Would you borrow \$800 a year if thereby you could increase your income by \$2200, he asked. That is what we have done, he answered, with the air of a man who has easily resolved a tough conundrum. And though the figures were false and the reasoning even more so it was practically impossible for a Republican orator to reason with voters against these seemingly obvious and plausible figures.

Oddly, throughout the campaign, one issue seemed to obtrude itself at intervals like a distant and indefinable odor. The smell of war got into the air off in the background. The Socialist Party held

its convention at Cleveland and nominated Norman Thomas for President. But a bitter struggle arose over a resolution calling for a mass resistance to war by a general strike. The resolution was passed but Louis Waldman, Algernon Lee, James O'Neal and Thomas Kreuger walked out of the convention and formed what they called the Social Democratic Federation of the United States. Thus the war issue split the Socialist Party though it was only 1936.

Somehow people seemed jittery on this subject. If there was one resolution firmly imbedded in their minds it was that they would not be drawn into another war. The Spanish revolution was in full blast and Germany and Italy and Russia were dipping their fingers in it, to the great irritation of diverse groups here. Someone wrote that this was just a dress rehearsal for that greater conflict between Russia and Germany which was inevitable. Roosevelt, exploiting every vote-getting device and perceiving this stern resistance to our participation in any possible war, chose it as the theme of his first formal address in the campaign. He told his audience that he "was more concerned and less cheerful about international world conditions than about our immediate domestic prospects." This was saying plainly that he saw ahead a possible war situation rather than any domestic crisis. He said: "We shun political commitments which might entangle us in future wars; we avoid connection with the political activities of the League of Nations." He told the audience "We are not isolationist except insofar as *we attempt to isolate ourselves completely from war.*" Then he warned that "so long as war exists on earth there will be some danger that even a nation which ardently desires peace may be drawn into that war."

He continued with emphasis: "I hate war. I have passed unnumbered hours, I shall pass unnumbered hours thinking and planning how war may be kept from this nation." The Congress, he explained, had given him certain authority to provide safeguards of American neutrality in case of war. The President had been given "new weapons to maintain our neutrality." Thus he was approving the existence of those weapons in the Neutrality Act. But this was not enough. Whether we went in or stayed out of war would depend on who was President at the time. "Nevertheless," he said

with staccato emphasis on every word, "and I speak from long experience—the effective maintenance of American neutrality depends today as in the past on the wisdom and determination of whoever at the moment occupies the office of President of the United States and Secretary of State." ³²

Nothing could be clearer. At the moment three leading nations were flirting with war. That war might break. It might spread over Europe as the First World War did, which started in Serbia and then engulfed the world. Roosevelt was saying as plainly as words could say it that if the President, when the chance came, wanted to take us into the war, the Neutrality Act would not avail, but if the President wanted to keep us out, this would be an effective weapon in his hands. And, of course, the final implication was that the great chance of the American people to avoid this grave possibility was to name him President.

Then he touched a sensitive note: "It is clear that our present policy . . . would in the event of war on some other continent, reduce war profits which would otherwise accrue to American citizens. Industrial and agricultural products having a war market may give immense fortunes to a few men. *For a nation as a whole it produces disaster.*" Who, then, had we to fear as the war-mongers? "Let us not blink the fact," he continued, "that we would find in this country thousands of Americans who, seeking immediate riches, fool's gold, would attempt to break down or evade our neutrality." They would tell you the unemployed would find work, that America would capture the trade of the world. "It would be hard for Americans," the President said, "to look beyond—to realize the inevitable penalties, the inevitable day of reckoning that comes from a false prosperity . . . But all the wisdom of America is not to be found in the White House or the Department of State; we need the meditation, the prayers and the support of the people of America who will go along with us in seeking peace."

He ended by saying that "peace will depend on their (the President and Secretary of State) day to day decisions . . . We can keep out of war if those who watch and desire have a sufficiently detailed understanding of international affairs to make certain that

the small decisions of today do not lead toward war and if at the same time they possess the courage to say no to those who selfishly or unwisely would lead us to war."

Of course Roosevelt was talking not about some mythical or vague threat of war. He was talking about a war in Europe or Asia. Hitler had been in power for four years. He had denounced the Versailles Treaty and the Locarno Pact. He had marched into the Rhineland. He had announced his intention to rearm Germany to the teeth. He was breathing fire and brimstone against his neighbors. When, therefore, Roosevelt referred to a possible war, it was just such a war as broke out in Europe in 1939. And he was telling the people of America that if such a crisis came the one chance to stay out of it was to name him President to be certain that the Neutrality Act would be used to the fullest extent to keep us out.

Two months after this, Jim Farley reported to Roosevelt that Senator Hugo Black, who had just made a trip through many states, had told him the President's opposition to a possible war was the most effective issue he had, coupled with the fact that he was familiar with the international situation, and Black urged Farley to induce the President to make another speech on the subject.

To those who followed the election closely the result was a foregone conclusion. But few realized it would be so sweeping. Jim Farley had predicted that Landon would carry only two states. It must stand as an all-time record in the field of political prophecy. Roosevelt got 523 electoral votes, Landon only eight. In no state, save New Hampshire, was the voting even close. Roosevelt got 27,751,000 votes; Landon 16,681,000. Curiously the election not only wrecked for the moment the Republican party; it almost destroyed the Socialist party. That party had once polled a million votes for Eugene V. Debs. It polled 884,000 votes for Thomas in 1932. In this election it got 187,000. Some 700,000 Socialist votes had been swept into the Democratic party.

After the election predictions were being freely made by various writers and political observers all over the country that the defeat of Landon marked the end of the Republican party.

The election had in it a profound lesson for those who have some

familiarity with European history. What had achieved this amazing result? The President's golden voice? His oratorical power? His extraordinary personal charm? The astonishing success of his program? Obviously none of these. His program was almost all in collapse and those things which remained, such as the Social Security Act, the Stock Exchange Act, the Utility Holding Company Act, etc., had had no possible effect on the economic system yet. Men do not win elections with golden voices and personal charms. They do not win such resounding victories as these. Actually, the President was supported loyally by many men who, far from melting under his charm, hated him.

The President's victory was due to one thing and one thing only, to that one great rabbit—the spending rabbit—he had so reluctantly pulled out of his hat in 1933. This put into his hands a fund amounting to nearly 20 billion dollars with which he was able to gratify the appetites of vast groups of people in every county in America—not merely the poor and disconsolate victims of the depression, but the long deferred ambitions of every town, county, city and state for expensive and even grandiose projects otherwise hopelessly out of their reach. It enabled him to engage in that succession of grandiose and reckless adventures, which had the appearance of great daring and captivated the imagination of so many young men and women who understood little or nothing about the great laws of both nature and economics which he flouted. The meager campaign funds spent on Presidential elections in the past were so much chicken-feed compared with that stupendous barrel of billions which the President had to dispense twelve months a year. Of all those fictitious rabbits the President pulled out of his hat this was the one and the only one which survived and was any good for the great job ahead. It became a snorting steed of incredible vigor. It had become a little wild. But it was this monstrous rabbit with Roosevelt on its back that carried him on that wild ride through the polling places of 46 states and shot him breathlessly back into the White House for another four years.

BOOK
TWO } CONFUSION

1 } The Coming American Boom

FOR THE SECOND TIME, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT FACED THE CHIEF Justice on the front portico of the Capitol to be sworn in as President. For a man who took almost childish delight in breaking precedents, he must have derived a good deal of satisfaction from the fact that he was the first President, under the new law, to be sworn in on January 20 instead of March 4. Aside from that, it was the standard type of inauguration, including the rain.

But the scene in the great wide country had changed vastly. The nation was having its disasters, but they were natural ones—rivers swollen and farms inundated—but no great economic disturbances were in sight. Roosevelt appeared before the throng as the great physician who had healed the nation. True, the patient was not wholly recovered. The national income, payrolls, industrial production were still 20 per cent under the 1929 figure and building was only about one-third of what it had been in 1929. Farm commodities were still under their 1929 price. But things were moving up.

The tremendous victory of the President at the polls had done something to his enemies. A sense of political frustration had swept over the business leaders of the country. Many of them were so beaten down by the popular endorsement of the President that the fight was taken out of them. A vague presentiment troubled them that some new condition had come which they did not fully understand and that the best thing to do was to make the best of it. Newspapers and magazines were saying that the Republican party was done.

Above the depressive undertone, however, was a rising tone of

optimism. Men in Wall Street and business circles were talking about the coming American boom. Even the great steel industry, the last to feel the pull of this new life, was roaring along. I went through the steel towns before Christmas, just prior to the 1937 inauguration. As one approached the steel country the sky was ablaze with the radiance of the old beehive ovens—thousands of them brought into life again because the existing modern ovens were inadequate. At Pittsburgh a spirit of rush and movement was there again for the first time since 1929. In all the hotels and restaurants the orchestras were playing the new song "Santa Claus Is Coming to Town." The mills were working three shifts a day and the workers were getting 10 per cent wage increases. They were paying up old bills and buying new things in the stores. Spindles were humming in the cotton textile mills of New England. By March there were some business men who were afraid the boom might get out of hand and go too far.

Labor was on the march. The great drive for the steel workers, with John L. Lewis as commander-in-chief of the CIO was under way. The workers were joining up in great numbers and ahead lay the promise of a grave issue. Sit-down strikes were in progress in many plants and the whole Pacific coast was tied up in a great shipping strike. But all this somehow did not impair the brightness of the outlook to business men who were hungry for the boom.

The great victory in November had done something to Roosevelt too. Almost his whole first-term program lay about him in ruins. All the theatrical features which had excited the imagination of the people had been taken off the boards. Despite that, there had been a steady rise in recovery or at least what looked like recovery. Unemployment was down to about seven million and it continued to decrease each month. The President confidently believed that he had licked the depression, but to whatever extent the country had recovery it was due entirely to the spending program of the administration.

This he had called "priming the pump." The pump, of course, was the great business machine into which America poured its investment billions and its vast labor energies and out of which was

pumped the vast flood of goods and the income to buy them. Roosevelt had poured 16 billion dollars of borrowed public funds into that pump but he had failed to do anything about fixing the pump. The pump was delivering up goods and income but only so long as he primed it. The great investment industries were idle. The building industry generally was still from a half to a third below prosperity figures. Without the revival of investment there could be no revival of the economic system. The system was being supported by government spending of borrowed funds.

The President did not too clearly perceive the full significance of all this. He imagined that the pump had begun to work and that very soon he could proudly announce that he could cease priming it, that is, that he could quit spending borrowed funds and balance the budget.

He was in a gay and triumphant mood. A naturally vain man, the tremendous victory at the polls had swollen his ego enormously. Few men in public life have ever received such thunderous applause or been surrounded by so many flatterers. The reason, of course, was that no man in our history had ever had in his hands a purse so full of billions to hand out to states and to cities, to business, to workers, to rich and poor alike. Flattery drenched his uplifted head. After all, this widespread applause, these innumerable flatteries could not all be wrong. In fact, were not the results of his wizardry before him? Perhaps he *was* a wizard after all. He became more cocky and, what is more, he decided he was going to punish certain powerful elements who had defied him. To begin with he was going to bring the Supreme Court to its knees.

Aside from this, what would Roosevelt now do? If, as he supposed, the economic system was now moving rapidly towards a healthful balance, what more could be asked of him? He would have to balance the budget and, probably, reduce the debt he had created. He had given the country a Social Security Act, opened the banks, tamed Wall Street. What else was there to do?

It is not always easy to know from what Roosevelt said at any given moment just what he was about. For instance, in his 1937 inaugural address he gave the impression that there stretched before

him certain great objectives—that millions of people worked at pitifully low salaries, that millions of farmers lived squalid lives, on farms worse than the poorest European farms, he said; that millions of people didn't have enough to eat. He used the phrase "one-third of a nation ill-clad, ill-fed and ill-housed" and from this he gave out the promise that he was just beginning to fight and that he proposed to use the powers of the government to put an end to all this.

Yet a short time after this he said to a very powerful senator among his own supporters that he was through with experimentation and that what he now wished to do was to consolidate his gains. This, coming a few weeks after the challenging inaugural oration, was the precise reverse of that address. Which of these points of view represented what was really in his mind?

I repeat here that until he was inaugurated as President, Roosevelt probably never entertained any doubts whatever about the soundness of our existing system. He had run with that school which believes government should put more of its weight on the side of the so-called "little people." This general attitude of benevolence to the interests of the masses, rather than to the interests of business, characterized those groups in this country who liked to call themselves liberals.

As already indicated, these were views into which he had fallen with the tide of the time in which he lived as a young man. They were the views of his associates and the party faction in which he had begun his career. It is perfectly obvious from any study of his speeches and his actions that he had not arrived at these principles through any long examination of the nature and structure of society. Looking at Roosevelt's whole program—that which he achieved and that which still remained—Raymond Moley describes it most vividly. One's astonishment at beholding it, he wrote:

"Arose chiefly from the wonder that one man could have been so flexible as to permit himself to believe so many things in so short a time. But to look upon these policies as the result of a unified plan was to believe that the accumulation of stuffed snakes, baseball pictures, school flags, old tennis shoes, carpenter's tools, geometry books and chemistry

sets in a boy's bedroom could have been put there by an interior decorator." ¹

As nearly as one can make out, Roosevelt's opinions at this moment were generally that big business was immoral, that the poor were not getting a fair break and that the depression was the result of the sins of business and that business must be punished for these sins. But it is perfectly obvious that he did not know what the sins were which had done the damage. Beyond doubt business men commit sins, singly and in organized groups. Some of the sins spring from greed. Others spring from perfectly proper motives. Some are sins of the heart; some are sins of the head without conscious iniquity in them. Some of the sins injure the whole social economy very seriously. Others, however wicked, do not have that effect—may actually help it. There is no evidence that Roosevelt ever put his finger on the real causes that make the free private enterprise system fail to work. Along with this he had drifted to the general theory, only vaguely defined, that the government must step into the situation and by the use of its credit and its regulatory power, take a controlling part in making the system work. He certainly had not explored the direction in which this theory would lead him. It is the theory of the all-powerful benevolent state toward which Europe had been drifting for fifty years and which had begun with certain small, uncertain experimental steps very much like those Roosevelt was taking. But the last thing in his mind was any suspicion that the steps he was taking would lead him as far as they finally did and as they must inevitably lead any statesman who tries them.

If he was right, he had to believe that presently the whole economic system would be moving along smoothly and that at this point he must do something to give the working man and the poorer elements in the community a better break. Furthermore, to do this he must remain in power, that is he must not merely continue to be President throughout his four years, but must have a Congress amenable to his wishes and a Court that would not balk him. To do this he must have votes all the time and particularly

two years hence in the 1938 Congressional elections. Under no circumstances could he permit a recurrence of the depression.

The three forces that he wished to set in motion were under way. First, there was the great industrial labor movement. Second, the election had crushed his enemies and put in his hands tremendous power to work his will. Third, the country was rolling on in another great American boom. How would it all turn out?

Bright as it all seemed one cloud moved over this serene landscape. The great sit-down strike drive had begun. The union was encamped inside the Fisher Body plant and the General Motors plants in Detroit. Vice-President Garner was aroused at this. He went to Roosevelt. He spoke plainly. And Roosevelt assured him that he agreed that the strikes were illegal and not right. Garner got the impression Roosevelt would issue a statement against them. But he did not. Later in January, after the inauguration, Garner, Robinson and Roosevelt were discussing the legislative program. Garner talked about the sit-down strikes. They were an illegal seizure of property. If the Michigan governor did not stop it the people of Michigan were being denied a republican government. The federal government must intervene. But Roosevelt refused to move. He said any attempt to get the men out would mean bloodshed. The argument broke into an angry brawl. Garner angrily told Roosevelt: "John L. Lewis is a bigger man than you are if you can't find some way to cope with this."² Senator Robinson quieted the Vice-President. But from that moment on Garner was in a state of continuous disgust over the development of the labor situation. Senator Byrnes offered a resolution declaring it to be the sense of the Senate that the sit-down strike was illegal. Senator Joe Robinson, majority leader, told him he favored it, but as leader could not go along. The resolution, under Roosevelt's influence, was defeated. But this subject was to divide the Democratic party dangerously for the whole of the second term.

The outlines of the President's character now began to appear, but only vaguely. When Roosevelt became President he was very little known personally. His long illness immediately after World War I had withdrawn him from general circulation until he ran

for governor of New York. He did not get around as men in public life do and he had few actual personal contacts with the men who were to deal with him later.

He appeared now before the public as a genial, happy and at times merry person, warm-hearted and generous. He had acquired the reputation of being a public speaker of extraordinary talents. But many stories got around that those famous speeches he delivered were written for him by others and his talent was rather that of an actor who declaimed them well.

In Washington, among his Democratic associates and leaders, he had begun to acquire a reputation for being a little shifty and undependable in an agreement. Garner said he was a hard man to have an arrangement with—"he would deviate from the understanding."³ Many stories were told about the readiness with which he made promises and the equal readiness with which he forgot them. In personal conversation he was full of tall tales about himself and his prowess in laying out imaginary disputants. The public generally, however, knew nothing of this and the image of the high-toned, aristocratic gentleman of unimpeachable personal integrity persisted popularly.

He was a handsome man with a colorful personality and singularly favored by nature in his physical get-up. It was not surprising that he should be a vain man. He sat, after his 1936 victory, at the topmost peak of fame. Courtiers flattered him; politicians, organizations, people of all sorts seeking some part of that vast treasure which he had been given by Congress vied with each other in extolling him. A kind of legend grew up around him from this source—about his charm, his voice, his lightening shafts of wit and such. He would have been less than human if he had not yielded to the whisperings of vanity.

For another thing, a curious laxity in the behavior of his family was causing a good deal of talk around the country. In Washington a group of senators sent one of their number to suggest to him that the escapades of some of his sons were bringing his own name under unprofitable criticism.⁴ He assured the senator that he had given his sons a good education, done everything possible to put them

upon the right path and he did not feel he was responsible for what they did. Magazines and newspapers printed stories about the members of his family in their efforts to exploit the White House for commercial ends. This was a source of a good deal of surprise in a family which was supposed to be wealthy. Mrs. Roosevelt's activities, her lectures and her radio broadcasts for money running into large sums were, to say the least, unusual. It took the public a little while to get used to her.

Altogether, the sum total of it was the feeling in certain quarters that the ethical standards of the family were not too high, not what had been expected of people of their standing and class. It surprised many. It disappointed and disturbed others. The tradition of the White House as an exemplar of good manners and good conduct was being subjected to some strain.

The seriousness of it lay in one fact of tremendous significance. Of that we shall see later. For the time being we may rest with the comment that already that fatal spiritual drug, Power, had begun its work upon the mind and spirit of the President. Power is an insidious intoxicant. It has produced in history some of its most appalling tragedies. Power now had come into the hands of this man. What were his moral and intellectual qualities for resisting its corrosive effects? The President's immense victory in November was a heavy dose to take, save for a soul well-armed. This thing called power had been a subject of grave preoccupation with the men who built the Republic. They had made the most elaborate arrangements to keep this dreaded cup out of the hands of presidents. Now it was in the hands of one, and filled almost to its brim—though not quite. If what follows has any lesson for history it is because it is one more clinical experiment in the effect of power upon the human mind and upon human society.

2 } War on the Courts

IF EVIDENCE WERE LACKING THAT ROOSEVELT'S MASSIVE VICTORY at the polls had done something to him, he lost no time in supplying the proof. On February 4, 1937, just two weeks after his inauguration, the President sent word to Joe Robinson, his Senate leader, and Speaker Bankhead of the House to be present at a cabinet meeting that day and to bring with them Hatton Sumners and Senator Henry Ashurst, chairmen respectively of the House and Senate Judiciary Committees. The cabinet and the invited legislators were present shortly before noon, assembled around the large table in the cabinet room, and all wondering what was in the air.⁵

Presently, somewhat late, the President was led in and took his seat at the head of the table. The clerk put on the table in front of each person several documents. The President looked at his watch and said he would not have very much time. He had sent for them to inform them that he was sending to Congress a message and the draft of a bill which proposed a reorganization of the Supreme Court. The bill would give him power to appoint a justice for every member of the Court who had reached the age of 70 and refused to retire, and he could appoint as many as six additional judges. He explained that this was necessary because, due to the age of the justices the Court was behind in its work, that the method of administering the Court's docket was defective and that the same rule applied to district and circuit judges would enable him to provide enough judges to keep up with the courts' lagging business.

He made a few more brief explanations, looked at his watch again and explained that he had a press conference in a few minutes, could wait no longer and went out of the room.

The President of the United States had just acquainted the cabinet and the Democratic Congressional leaders with a plan, the boldest and most revolutionary any president had ever suggested to his party colleagues. Not a soul present, save Attorney-General Cummings, had any inkling of what was coming. No one was asked to comment or give an opinion. It was an imperial order by a man who had become confused about his true place in the general scheme of things.

This was one show that was being managed by Mr. Roosevelt himself. Up to now he had had the benefit on political matters of the astute advice and direction of Jim Farley and on Congressional matters of Vice-President Garner, Joe Robinson in the Senate, and of Bankhead, Rayburn and others in the House. But all of these men had been carefully excluded from any knowledge of this step.

The plan had been cooked up between Roosevelt, Attorney-General Homer Cummings and Donald Richberg. The Supreme Court had invalidated not only the NRA and the AAA, but a whole string of Roosevelt's New Deal laws. After all, there was and is a Constitution and Roosevelt had swept it aside in his impetuous drive for the numerous contradictory New Deal measures. His conception of the structure of the government was never really clear. The independence of the courts is something which all parties had accepted as a matter of course. Yet Roosevelt could suggest to Chief Justice Hughes that it might be well if Hughes discussed controverted constitutional decisions with him while he would discuss proposed legislation with the Chief Justice. The veriest law tyro would see the impropriety of this. Yet Roosevelt, in telling of the incident, described Hughes' coolness to his suggestion as evidence of the Court's "unwillingness to cooperate."

More than a year earlier, Tommy Corcoran had suggested to Senator Burton K. Wheeler the addition of two justices to the Court and Senator Wheeler had advised that the President quickly forget any such scheme. Corcoran reported this to the President, betraying some concern himself about the propriety of the proposal. Later, Homer Cummings took up the matter seriously and it was he who brought to the President the court-packing plan. Roosevelt was de-

lighted and imposed on Cummings and Richberg, who was then brought into the proceedings, the most absolute secrecy. Thus nothing was known of this plan until it was thrown on the table on the morning of February 4, 1937.

The news, of course, created a sensation. Republican opposition was up in arms. But more serious, a large section of the huge Democratic majority was dismayed. The bill would be referred to the Judiciary Committees of both houses for hearings. Judge Hatton Sumners of Texas was chairman of the House committee. He had been at the cabinet meeting when Roosevelt tossed his plan before the leaders at the White House. As Sumners left the White House that morning, several newspapermen asked him what it was all about. He told them. Then he said: "This is where I cash in my chips."

The House leaders, angry though they were, reported to Roosevelt that he had a majority for the bill of 100 in the House. History, I think, will record that the House of Representatives elected in the landslide of 1936 reached the lowest level in character and intelligence of any House since the Civil War. Its members and its leaders were the compliant tools of the President and the hungry beggars for his bounties. Nevertheless, this bill was a little too much and while they dutifully expressed in the private polls taken by the leaders their readiness to go along, they muttered among themselves and they did not complain when resolute old Hatton Sumners determined that the House Judiciary Committee would not even hold hearings on the bill. The President and his subalterns considered taking a vote of the House to compel the Judiciary Committee to report the bill. They had the votes, but for some reason decided not to act, but to start hearings on the bill in the Senate.

The Republican leaders decided that it would be wise for them, after formal and perfunctory expressions of individual disapproval, to leave this bone for the Democrats. From his sickbed in Virginia, Carter Glass began hurling whole streams of epithets at the plan which, he said, was "completely destitute of all moral understanding." Harry Byrd, Millard Tydings and above all, Burton K. Wheeler sounded off and at a later meeting of the Democratic

critics of the plan it was decided that Burton Wheeler should take the leadership of the opposition.

Wheeler had had a long and distinguished career as a courageous and honest champion of liberal causes. Like most liberals, he had been critical of the Court, but he was a believer in the Constitution and the American system and everything in his soul rose up in rebellion against the President's audacious plan to destroy the independence of the judiciary.

Wheeler was a Democrat—a powerful Democrat. He knew when he took the leadership of this movement he was putting under Roosevelt's hand his own political death warrant which Roosevelt would not hesitate to sign. He delivered a terrific blow to the plan on the first day of the Senate hearings. The reasons given by Roosevelt for his plan publicly were wholly lacking in frankness. He did not say he wanted to pack the Court with a batch of judges who would vote as he wished. He put it entirely on the ground that because of the age and infirmities of so many judges the Court was hopelessly behind with its work. This reason for the plan was supplied to Roosevelt by Sam Rosenman. On the first day of the open hearings, Senator Wheeler rose and read a letter from Chief Justice Hughes, in which the Justice called attention to the fact—a fact well-known to lawyers—that the Supreme Court's docket for the first time in many years was absolutely up to date. There were no cases lagging behind for any reason. Hughes had been not merely the presiding judge, but a competent and exacting administrator of the Court's affairs. This letter completely punctured the whole pretense on which Roosevelt's plan was based.

It produced consternation in the White House. Roosevelt called in his immediate White House advisers. He was angry with Rosenman, who had invented this shabby excuse which had now been completely deflated, and he poured out his wrath on Rosenman's head. One of the group, more hardy than the others, said there was nothing to do but to come out boldly and frankly with the real reason. "This," he said, "is a plan to pack the Court. You have to say so frankly to the people. Until you do that you cannot advance the real arguments which you have for the plan."

However, Roosevelt's optimism was not diminished. Taking at 100 per cent all the praise showered on him for his irresistible charm, he believed that he had the complete confidence of the voters and that he could talk them into his plan without any trouble. He said to Farley: "All we have to do is to let the flood of mail settle on Congress. You just wait. All I have to do is to deliver a better speech and the opposition will be beating a path to the White House door." He had already made two speeches—one a fireside chat in which he told the people to trust him, to have faith in him and his motives. But somehow the golden voice didn't work.

Roosevelt's first mistake was the manner in which he had announced the plan, which was an insult to the leaders. His second was the phony reason he gave for it, which was now gone. His third was in supposing that he could do anything provided he could reach the people with his voice. He was now to make a fourth.

Wheeler's plan of action in attack could hardly be improved on. He summoned before the committee none but well-known liberals, men whose standing before the country as liberals could not be questioned. Week after week there came lawyers, educators, authorities on constitutional law, writers and leaders, all of whom had been critical of the decisions of the Court, but all of whom repudiated the idea that because the Court did not agree with them our system of government should be torn to pieces and our constitutional liberties deprived of the incalculable bulwark of a free court against the aggressions of an executive. Just as Hughes' letter had cut from under Roosevelt's feet the pretense that the plan was offered to get rid of the log-jam in the courts, so Wheeler's strategy robbed Roosevelt completely of the false cry that the opposition came from the economic royalists and the tories. The more senators listened to the arguments offered day after day before the Senate Judiciary Committee, the more the people read of these arguments and the men who were offering them, the weaker and more hopeless became the President's case.

At this point the men closest to Roosevelt in managing the fight began to talk of compromises. One of these was to limit the number of new justices to two. Another was to allow the President to ap-

point a justice for every man reaching the age of 75, but limiting him to one appointment a year. He could have gotten this, which would have been unfortunate, but it would have enabled him to show a victory over the Court. He rejected the idea of compromise in spite of the advice of almost everybody around him.

Throughout the battle, things seemed to break against Roosevelt who, a few months before, looked upon himself as the very darling of Fortune. First of all, the Supreme Court came in with a batch of five decisions upholding the constitutionality of some recent Congressional measures; one or two of them by unanimous vote thus impairing the charge of a perversely hostile court. Next Justice Van Devanter resigned, giving Roosevelt the opportunity to appoint a judge of his own political complexion.

This presented him with another dilemma. The Senate leaders wanted Joe Robinson appointed to the bench. This had been Robinson's life-long ambition. It was Robinson's militant and unflinching defense of Roosevelt's plan that was keeping it alive. But the appointment never came to Robinson, who resented this, and a coolness developed between him and the White House. Learning of this, Roosevelt had to send his son James to appease Robinson and invite him to the White House. There Roosevelt had to make to the high-tempered senator the awkward explanation that he could not well appoint him until he had another vacancy so that he could name a well-known liberal to mitigate the objections of New Dealers who looked on Robinson as a reactionary.

Roosevelt's unwillingness to compromise now angered his own supporters who were being forced to carry this unpopular cause. In the end he had to assure Robinson that he would have the appointment, and then to crown Roosevelt's difficulties, Robinson was stricken with a heart attack in the Senate and died shortly after, alone in his apartment.

Tempers were high now. All the Democratic House and Senate leaders, cabinet officials and politicians left on a special train for Little Rock, Arkansas, to attend Robinson's funeral. The train was hot with quarrels and bickerings. It ceased to be a funeral train and became a traveling Democratic caucus seething with anger over

the Court plan and all the troubles it had brought, including the splitting wide open of the Democratic party. Farley says he was "amazed at the amount of bitterness engendered by the Court issue." High on the agenda of frets and worries was the question of Robinson's successor as leader of the Senate.

Alben Barkley of Kentucky, assistant leader, was a candidate. So was Pat Harrison of Mississippi. Roosevelt, following Robinson's funeral, wished to communicate with the Democratic organization in the Senate on the Court bill. He did so by writing to Barkley—the "dear Alben" letter, which just about finished Harrison. Harrison was in arms. He said this was Roosevelt's way of tapping Barkley for the leadership job. Farley had to step into the breach. He told the President of the wrath in the Harrison camp. The President denied that he was for Barkley. He wrote a sweet letter to Harrison, but actually he was for Barkley and took pains to see that Barkley got the support that he, Roosevelt, could command in the Senate, thus electing him leader. This is an example of one of those incidents which led almost every member of Mr. Roosevelt's high command at one time or another to say that the President had misled them with obvious untruths.

Vice-President Garner, disgusted at the labor troubles which he attributed to Roosevelt, had packed up his duds and gone to Texas. Roosevelt complained that Garner had left him in the lurch on the Court fight. But he really had no right to complain. He had not taken Garner or any other leader into his confidence on the Court plan. He had set out to manage it himself. He had made an appalling mess of it and he now complained bitterly that Garner had deserted him. However, when the Robinson funeral train got to Little Rock, Garner was there. This event had fetched him out of his seclusion at Uvalde. Returning to Washington on the train, Garner got in touch with all the Democratic senators and leaders aboard. When the President got back to Washington, he was informed by those who were still fighting his battle that it was now no longer possible to get any kind of face-saving compromise.

Following this, Garner went to the White House. He was brutally frank with the President. He told him he was licked and sug-

gested that the best course for him was to leave the matter in Garner's hands to make the best settlement he could. Roosevelt wearily agreed. Garner went to Wheeler and asked on what terms he would settle. Wheeler replied: "Unconditional surrender."

Meanwhile, the President asked Barkley to see Wheeler and to make an arrangement by which the bill would at least remain on the calendar. On July 22, in the afternoon, Senator Logan rose on the floor of the Senate. It had been agreed that the bill would be recommitted to the committee with the Supreme Court provisions left out of it. Senator Logan now made the motion to recommit. Hiram Johnson of California rose. He asked: "Is the Supreme Court out of this?" Senator Logan replied; with an element of sadness in his voice: "The Supreme Court is out of it." Senator Johnson lifted up his hands and said: "Glory be to God!" as the galleries broke into wild applause. The Court bill was dead.

Later Roosevelt complained to Farley that Garner was to blame for the defeat. He had told Garner to make the best compromise he could but, said Roosevelt, "It is apparent Garner made no effort to do so. He just capitulated to the opposition." But the truth was that Garner had capitulated to an opposition that had all the votes necessary to defeat the President.

This was in July, a little more than seven months after that avalanche of votes which had led Mr. Roosevelt to believe he was invincible and which had betrayed him into this pathetic defeat at the hands of one of the weakest and most compliant congresses in history.

There remains but one feature of this Court episode, without which its full significance is lost. The criticism of the Court among Democratic statesmen was general. They believed that some of the members were much too far to the Right and that an infusion of new minds was highly desirable. Among these critics was Hatton Sumners of Texas. But Judge Sumners was a lawyer who was also a student of the history of our constitutional system. He believed that some older judges would retire if the government made a provision for them to do so on full pay. He approached Justices Van Devanter and Sutherland on the subject and they expressed their de-

sire to retire, but could not afford to do so on a mere half-pay stipend. Sumners discussed this with the President and introduced a bill providing for retirement at full pay.

Some of the more frenzied New Dealers promptly criticized Sumners for trying to make a soft berth for a bunch of old Tories and, in disgust, he withdrew his bill. Later when the mutterings against the Court began to rise menacingly, he again offered his bill with the full assurance of two justices that they would retire when it was passed. He informed Roosevelt so, who knew, therefore, *that the way was open to him to get a majority of what he called liberals on the Court without any difficulty*. Despite this knowledge he threw away this means and sprang instead, without consulting Sumners, his wholesale grab at the Court. Sumners was satisfied then that Roosevelt's judgment on this subject was unhinged and that what he was after was not a mere majority, but the complete subjugation of the Court and the judiciary to the Executive by establishing a precedent that would make an independent Supreme Court in the future practically impossible.

3 } The Forgotten Depression

A MONTH AFTER ROOSEVELT'S SECOND INAUGURATION MANY BUSINESS men were fearful we might see a runaway boom. The war clouds had darkened over Europe. European money was in flight to America. Great Britain had just launched a \$7,500,000,000 armament program and industry here was expecting to get a good slice of this war business. Our Neutrality Law did not prohibit armament sales abroad in peace-time. And Marriner Eccles and

other administration officials were troubling their minds lest the rising armament industry unsettle our economy.

Throughout the year 1937 the President was busy with his misbegotten war on the Supreme Court. But there was at least a hearty draught of good cheer in the rosy reports about business that came to him from the New Deal statisticians. Despite all the fatalities amongst his glittering plans it did look to him as if his great task—rescuing the nation from the depression—was about to be completed. For a brief moment his mind wandered away from the tricky schemes of the reformers for remaking America. There were but three years to go before his White House lease would end. If he could have the nation soundly back on its feet by the end of 1938, then his chief task would be to strengthen the few institutions he had established and which had withstood the storm. He stopped talking about things like the NRA and about planning. Now he became interested in the little business man, in the enforcement of the anti-trust laws. Only a couple of years before he was delivering lectures to the newsmen with a wall chart and a pointer like a real professor, explaining how corporations and business men must be allowed to get together and write their own tickets about circumnavigating the anti-trust laws. Now he was telling the folks that he could not enforce the anti-trust laws, which the wicked Supreme Court had restored by annulling NRA, because the courts wouldn't let him. Back in 1934 the Federal Trade Commission had attacked the steel barons for their monopolistic practices. Roosevelt had rebuked the Commissioners, put them in the doghouse and cut their appropriations to the bone. Aside from this, the big thing was to balance the budget.

By August, however, while he was yet smarting under the Court defeat, signs began to appear that the vitality was oozing out of the boom. People were still talking about recovery, but the thing that makes for solid recovery in the capitalist system—the revival of real investment—had failed to materialize. The building industry was in the doldrums. Private financing was still on a hopelessly inadequate level. Much publicity was given to the large stock and bond issues. But they were issues to replace old stocks and bonds

that were being recalled and did not represent any flow of new money into business.

In 1932 there were 11,385,000 unemployed. But employment improved all during the President's first term. By June, 1937 unemployment was down to 4,464,000, which was still too large. And it never got any better. It got worse and by November, 1937, there were 7,000,000 people out of work.⁶ As early as July men were asking: "What has become of the boom?" The Treasury boasted that relief payments were less than in the same period the preceding year. But this was not so. The Treasury made a practice of keeping tricky books and producing phony results. It had merely shifted relief payments to other accounts. They were, in fact, larger than the year before. Stock prices began to decline and by September the unpleasant prospect could be no longer hidden. Daniel Roper, Secretary of Commerce, was putting out rosy statements about business. But the facts had seeped into the White House and on October 8, 1937, Jim Farley talked to Roosevelt about business. Roosevelt pooh-poohed it. Everything was all right, he said. It was all a move by business to discredit his policies.

This was characteristic of Roosevelt. Any unfavorable turn he attributed to a secret plot of his enemies. Any criticism of his measures he put down to some secret hatred of him personally. He was still bitter about the Court defeat. He sneered at the Senate and House. He told Farley the trouble with them, including the Vice-President, was that their thinking was still antiquated. They didn't see the importance of minimum wage and maximum hour legislation. This was a curious comment from the man who forced the Congress shortly after his first election to ditch minimum wage and maximum hour legislation which the Senate had already passed. There were some other matters, none of outstanding importance, which he wanted to see through and then, he told Farley, "then he would just ride along."

At a cabinet meeting later the same day Dan Roper undertook to say that business was all right. Roosevelt jumped on him. "Dan," he said, "you have just got to stop issuing these Hooverish statements." Roosevelt didn't disagree with Roper. He just felt the situa-

tion should be ignored and that things would right themselves. "Everything will work out all right if we just sit tight and keep quiet," he ended. The next day he told Farley there was altogether too much talking and too many press conferences. "I'm going to put the lid on," he said.⁷

But by the end of October, the grim facts about conditions could no longer be ignored. The market crashed and administration critics were saying this was the end of the New Deal. In November, at a cabinet meeting, Miss Perkins brought up a report just prepared by her statistician, Isador Lubin. It showed employment was off two per cent, she said, when it ought to be up two per cent. The heavy industries were behind and sales following the automobile show were disappointing. She feared things might be dangerous in view of conditions. Henry Morgenthau, the Milquetoast of the cabinet, got the courage to speak up. He said business was complaining that the capital gains and undistributed profits taxes were impairing recovery. Then he dared to say: "I think it would be heartening for you to show how far better off we are today."

Roosevelt shut him up with a rude rebuff: "Oh, for God's sake, Henry! Do you want me to read the record again?"

Poor Henry reddened as Roosevelt glowered at him amidst an embarrassing silence. Farley spoke up. "Boss," he said, "I think the situation would be helped if you would say something that would alleviate the fears in business. Frankly, I think you should make a quieting statement."

Other cabinet officers—Woodring and Wallace—expressed the same views. But Roosevelt was angry. He blamed the depression on Wall Street. Then he burst out:

"I get all kinds of criticisms and complaints about the economic situation, but few people come into me with any concrete suggestions as to how the situation can be alleviated. It's easy enough to criticize, but it's another thing to help."

Here was the man who had blasted Hoover so unmercifully when it was Hoover's depression. Now there was a Roosevelt depression after he had spent 17 billion dollars. And he didn't like even to be told of it. He denied it at first. Then he snapped:

"I am fully conscious of the situation which exists. I have been studying it for a long time. And I know who's responsible for it. Business, particularly the banking business, has ganged up on me."

The grim specter of disintegrating business continued to haunt the cabinet meetings and to make discussion with Roosevelt difficult. Morgenthau was convinced the country was heading for another depression. After his first rebuff, he shrank from the subject. But on November 7 he wrote a letter to Roosevelt saying plainly we were moving into a depression. That night he telephoned the President and had what he describes as "a grim conversation." Roosevelt flew into a rage. He told Henry he knew "a wise old bird" who told him business was deliberately causing the depression in order to hold a pistol at his head and force a retreat from the New Deal.

At a cabinet meeting next day Roosevelt brought the subject up himself. He told the cabinet about Henry's letter. He grew angry and said: "I'm sick and tired of being told by the cabinet, by Henry and everybody else what's the matter with the country and nobody suggests what I should do."

This was indeed an extraordinary statement. Only a little over a year before he had been elected by the most amazing majority ever given a President upon the theory that he was the one man who knew what to do. And here he was now trapped in the mysterious tangles of a depression and *nobody would tell him what to do about it*. If there was one thing had been settled in his mind it was that *he, above all men, knew what to do about it*. Actually he had solved the depression. He had driven it from the land. He was in the act of putting on a few extra finishing touches to the great edifice of recovery and, lo! here is that Old Debbil Depression snoopin' 'round the White House and all the little men in the cabinet frightened to death and nobody will tell the great Depression Killer what to do about it. Apparently the depression hadn't been killed. It had just been drugged, just flattened out with 17 billion dollars' worth of knockout drops. Now in spite of everything, the damned thing was opening its eyes, breathing, even snorting again, coming to life. Could it be that all that magic medicine he had administered was no good—just a quack pain-killer?

When the President uttered his doleful complaint there was an ominous silence around the cabinet board. As Henry Morgenthau relates it, he, the meek and humble shadow of the Great Man, took his courage in his hands and, like an aroused bunny, looked the bull dog in the face. He said:

"You *can* do something about it. You can do something about the railroads. You can do something about housing. Above all, you can do something to reassure business."

Then he waited for the walls to fall in. They didn't, so he went on: "What business wants to know is: are we headed toward Socialism or are we going to continue on a capitalist basis?"

Roosevelt muttered that he had told them that again and again.

"All right," said Henry, "tell them for the fifteenth time."

Jim Farley added: "That's what they want to know."

Even Henry Wallace seconded the motion.

So Roosevelt decided to appease business. A few days later Henry Morgenthau was slated to make a speech before the National Academy of Political Science. A Morgan partner was on either side of him and spread out around the numerous tables was the elite of American business. And Henry told them. He told them the New Deal wanted to see capital go into production and private business expand. And then he used a sentence embodying an idea which never yet had gotten any real welcome in the President's head. Henry said: "We believe that much of the remaining unemployment will disappear if private capital funds are increasingly employed in productive enterprise. We believe that one of the most important ways of achieving these ends at this time is to continue progress toward a balance of the federal budget."

This sounded terribly like Mr. Hoover or Mr. Ogden Mills or Mr. Landon. Yet the whole theme of Mr. Roosevelt's New Deal had been war on business. It was a Holy War. And Roosevelt and the men around him took a delight in picturing business itself as evil and profit as criminal. Now Morgenthau was sent as the emissary of the President to deliver this belated appeal to business. The poor creature was horrified at the response. The audience first tittered and then guffawed out loud. To Oliphant, Henry's croak-

ing New Deal Treasury legal adviser, this proved the whole New Deal case. It showed "the hopelessness of working with them."

After all, it was a little funny and no one can blame the diners for laughing. The budget was running in the red at the time to the tune of \$300,000,000 a month.

The Roosevelt technique of trouncing the business man was resumed. Assistant Attorney-General Jackson and Secretary Harold Ickes in December made speeches inspired by the President raising the old ghost of the 60 families who haunt America with their controls. In January, John D. Biggers staggered the administration with his report after a survey that there were 10 million out of work. Soon it would be 11,800,000—*more than were unemployed when Roosevelt was elected in 1932.*

Pessimism spread through the cabinet. Farley wrote in his diary:

"The days that are to follow, in my judgment, will be more important to the President than the days after the first inauguration. At that time he was trying to get us out of the depression (of Hoover) and now we are in a period that will be blamed on this administration and its policies."⁸

The dark realities of the country had sunk deeply into Roosevelt's mind now. There were just a year and six months before a Democratic convention would meet to pick his successor. All that gaudy edifice of recovery of which he was the be-medaled architect was crumbling around him. One thing was certain. The Second New Deal was a flop. The First New Deal had been abandoned, as we have seen, immediately after his inauguration. A wholly new approach and a completely unheard series of devices were put together to the roll of the drums and the blaring of the trumpets. This was the Second New Deal. One by one all of its parts had been discarded save a few well-meaning but quite ineffectual social reforms. The President had settled down to a realization that after all priming the pump—spending billions—had by itself done the job and he hoped to skate along on that to the end of his term. But now even that had failed. Despite the billions and the debt, the depression was back. And it was not a new depression. It was the old one which

had not been driven away but merely hidden behind a curtain of 15 billion dollars of new government debt. And, worst of all, he did not have a single new idea that he could use. He actually faced at this moment the appalling prospect, after all the ballyhoo, of going out of office in a depression as great as the one he found in 1932. The prospect was humiliating in the extreme, especially to a man whose vanity had allowed him to be blown up into such a giant depression-killer.

On January 16, 1938, he and poor Henry Morgenthau sat down to a sad repast. Roosevelt told him "the next two years don't count—they are already water over the dam." Then he revealed the extent of his plans—they would have to step up spending, forget about balancing the budget and get along with a two or three billion dollar a year deficit for two years. Then a conservative would come into office. That administration would do what Roosevelt had been promising he would do—quit government spending. And then the whole thing would go down in a big crash. At that point, they would have to yell for Roosevelt and Morgenthau to come back and get them out of the hole. The amazing feature of this strange confidence which Morgenthau has reported is this. Roosevelt and Morgenthau were already in a hole—the kind of hole the next administration would be in. Nobody had to call them in now—they were in. And they had not the foggiest idea what to do about getting out of the hole they were in, except to spend. Morgenthau concluded from this that Roosevelt had put out of his mind any thought of a third term. It is possible that he had.

Roosevelt was now in the center of a tug-of-war with the spenders like Harry Hopkins, Aubrey Williams, Leon Henderson and Rex Tugwell on one side and Henry Morgenthau, the frightened spokesman for the conservatives on the other. Farley reports that he had a talk on the subject with Roosevelt on March 28, 1938. It is of the first importance as revealing the precise problem that Roosevelt faced and how he solved it.

He told Farley he would have "to go in for pump-priming or relief." Farley agreed. But then Roosevelt confessed to a difficulty little understood at the time, or since. What could he spend on? That

was the problem. There is only a limited number of things on which the federal government can spend. This grows out of the character of the federal system. The federal government can build schools, hospitals, roads, institutions of all sorts. But they are built in cities, counties, states and the activities which go on in these buildings are within the jurisdiction of the states. The states have to pay the teachers or nurses and staffs, have to support and maintain the roads and so on. The federal government can spend money on agricultural experimentation, on scientific research, on national parks, on power dams, etc. But in the end the outlays on these things are limited. The one big thing the federal government can spend money on is the army and navy. Roosevelt explained to Farley that he could not spend on local projects because the states and cities did not want any more buildings and institutions which they would have to support. They were having trouble enough paying the bills of those already built. Roosevelt revealed to Farley that many WPA projects approved by the government were abandoned because the states and cities could not raise the money to support them. He had to spend—but what could he spend on? The 1938 Congressional elections and Roosevelt's purge were on and of course Harry Hopkins was dishing it out as fast as he could without very much regard to utility or even decency. That was to meet a political emergency and couldn't go on indefinitely. And the whole problem was becoming complicated by the fact that inside his own official family the pressure for balancing the budget was growing embarrassing.

However, the spenders put on a vigorous winter drive and as Roosevelt went to Warm Springs, Morgenthau went to Sea Island, Georgia to work out a plan for balancing the budget. Around April 10, Roosevelt was back in Washington and Henry had a long talk with him. It was, he confesses mournfully, "a long and unhappy talk" with Roosevelt and Hopkins. Poor Henry's battle was lost. He found that the spenders had won. They had all their plans made. They had consulted no one in the cabinet, neither the Treasury nor the Director of the Budget. Secretary Ickes was to coax states and cities to borrow more. Nathan Straus was to double housing loans. They were to start a great transcontinental motor road. Morgenthau told

Roosevelt the program frightened him. Immediately after Roosevelt disclosed his plans to the cabinet, Henry interrupted to say tax revenues would fall by 900 millions and the President's plans would increase the deficit to three and a half billion. The figures shocked the party leaders.

Morgenthau was so depressed that next day he told the President he "was seriously thinking of quitting." Roosevelt reproached him; refused to listen to his resignation and Henry left in a miserable state of mind.

Actually Henry didn't know the half of it. The country had now really reached a greater crisis than in 1933. The public debt, which was 22 billion when Roosevelt took office—almost all a heritage of World War I—was now 37 billion. Taxes were more than doubled. The President had a war on against the conservatives in his party and his own cabinet was split and angry. Unemployment was several thousand more than it was in October, 1932. Roosevelt knew now he was in a crisis. And he had at his disposal nothing to fight it with save a weapon—government spending—which had failed and which he felt now was a paliative and not a cure. He knew that the means of spending open to him, for the reasons explained above, were hopelessly inadequate. Yet he was now convinced for reasons which we shall see soon that he must not merely spend, but must spend two and three times as much as he had been spending. Would the country take it? He believed that the alternative was a crash of as great proportions as in 1933 and this meant, after all the wreaths that had been put upon his brow, he would go out of office in disgrace.

Roosevelt's position at this moment was singularly embarrassing. He had denounced Hoover as a spendthrift, for refusing to cut taxes and for his failure to balance the budget. Then he had proceeded to outspend Hoover, to raise taxes, to plunge the government into heavy debts, and now things were at least as badly off as when he hurled those challenges and charges at Hoover. It would be interesting to know what thoughts shouldered themselves through that care-free and comfortable mind as he saw himself now sinking under the weight of the crumbling economic system.

To a man of more humility the suspicion might have inserted itself into the secret precincts of his mind that, after all, he did not fully understand the vast organism he had set out to repair and that it might be he was a tinkerer rather than a mechanic, not so much a physician as a quack. There might have been, indeed, at least a little touch of understanding of the tremendous problem that confronted Hoover who faced the disaster at its top violence rather than after it had spent its terrible force. Certainly voices began now to speak up—voices that were lyrical about Roosevelt in 1933 and 1934—to suggest that after all Hoover may have known what he was doing, that here, nine years after the depression began and after the accidental irritants had been to some extent removed by time and gravity, the fundamental condition of the country was no further advanced than it was at the end of Hoover's three-year struggle with the disaster and that it would be very much worse but for the spending of billions of deficit government money on relief—the very thing Roosevelt himself had denounced as so shocking.

The depression which assaulted our unprepared society in 1929 was by no means a mysterious phenomenon to those who had given any attention to the more or less new studies in the subject of the business cycle. It was, first of all and essentially, one of those cyclical disturbances common to the system of private enterprise. That economic system has in it certain defects that expose it at intervals to certain maladjustments. And this was one of those intervals. Had it been no more than this it could have been checked and reversed in two or three years. But this cyclical depression was aggravated by additional irritants:

1. The banking system had been gravely weakened by a group of abuses, some of which arose out of the cupidity of some bankers and others out of ignorance.

2. A wild orgy of speculation had intruded into the system stimulated by a group of bad practices in the investment banking field.

3. A depression in Europe arising out of special causes there had produced the most serious repercussions here.

The great, central consequence of these several disturbances was to check and then almost halt completely the flow of savings into in-

vestment. All economists now know what few, apparently, knew then—that in the capitalist system, power begins in the payments made by employers to workers and others in the process of producing goods. And this must be constantly freshened by an uninterrupted flow of savings into investment—the creation of new enterprises and the expansion of old ones. If this flow of savings into investment slows down the whole economic system slows down. If it is checked severely the whole economic system goes into a collapse.

Now whatever one may think of Hoover, he at least understood this. And whatever one may think of Roosevelt, he did not have the foggiest idea of this subject. President Hoover while Secretary of Commerce had promoted a series of studies into this subject of the business cycle. The studies were made by the National Bureau of Economic Research and fortunately were directed by Wesley C. Mitchell, of Columbia University, a pioneer in stimulating research into the business cycle and the sources and behavior of national income. The results of these studies appeared in several volumes and were widely discussed at the time.

When the depression appeared, Hoover, aware of the latest available authoritative opinion on this subject, knew well that the great central problem was to reactivate the economic system by restoring conditions under which savings and bank credit would begin to flow once again into private investment. There was not too much he could do about the European situation, but there was something he could do about the banks. And there was something could be done about the correction of the whole machinery of speculation. In addition to this, there were the purely human ravages of the depression arising out of the unemployment of so many people.

The banking problem consisted in saving the banks which were threatened with destruction and in correcting the banking system, first to restore confidence in the banks and second to prevent a recurrence of the disaster. The speculative mania had been corrected, but many of the destructive tools that had been employed in the speculative markets still existed, ready to the hand of any unconscionable operator who wished to use them; and throughout Hoo-

ver's term one of these—the ruthless operation of gamblers in the stock market with the dangerous weapon of short selling—continued to add at intervals spectacular crashes in the market which intensified the declining confidence of the people.

Hoover therefore urged a reform in the banking structure and, when the situation grew worse, established the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to aid banks threatened with runs and disaster. He provoked that investigation of the speculative markets which functioned until Roosevelt came into office and which most uninformed people imagine was set in motion by Roosevelt.

Hoover stood fast upon a group of propositions. For one, he insisted that the government expenses should be cut and he never faltered in this demand. Second, he demanded that Congress should balance the budget, and not expose the nation's credit to the hazards of the depression. Third, he insisted that aid to the distressed was primarily the function of the states and local communities as well as private organizations. The states and local governments should provide the funds. But he urged that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation should aid in this by lending federal money to the states upon the security of state bonds. Fourth, he believed that the federal government should stimulate the recovery of the economic system by expenditures on public works, but that these must be essential public works—roads, dams, necessary public buildings, etc. For that purpose, almost as soon as the depression assumed threatening proportions, he urged Congress to plan a program of public works amounting to \$600,000,000, roads' construction of \$75,000,000, the Colorado Dam at \$65,000,000, river and harbors at \$150,000,000. Actually he was a pioneer in proposing government intervention in the correction of cyclical economic disturbances. He proposed that the governments should accumulate public works and improvements during periods of prosperity in order not to accentuate its boom proportions and that these improvements should be launched at the appearance of a depression.

But Hoover had against him, in addition to those natural, international and social disturbances, an additional force, namely a Democratic House of Representatives which set itself with relentless

purpose against everything he attempted to do from 1930 on. It had a vested interest in the depression. The depression seemed to come to it as a gift from heaven. And as the campaign for the presidency got under way in its early stages in 1931, there was nothing that could have delivered a more staggering blow to its hopes than the success of Hoover's plans for stemming the tide.

The Democratic leadership and Roosevelt himself, when he became the candidate, kept the air hot with denunciations of Hoover's "failure to balance the budget," his "plunging the nation into debt," his mounting taxes and rising expenditures. Roosevelt called him "the greatest spendthrift in history," spoke of his "multiplication of useless and oppressive bureaus," his "failure to deal with the banking collapses" and finally "his callousness to human suffering and the lot of the unemployed." While the Democrats were damning him for his extravagances at the very time when he refused to be drawn into extravagances, the Democratic House passed a bill appropriating \$1,500,000,000 for old-fashioned pork-barrel outlays.

Roosevelt's collection of expletives picturing Hoover as the spender, the plunger, the debt-maker, the bureau builder and so on have been recalled endlessly. However, when Roosevelt came into power he proceeded to do all these things—to spend billions, to get these billions by increasing the public debt, to create bureau upon bureau and generally to do all those things he had denounced in Hoover without the slightest foundation for the charges. The nation had indeed gone into debt because in the depression taxes had fallen critically. Hoover had indeed spent a great deal but never so much as Roosevelt was demanding he should spend. But whatever Hoover did, this much must be said; it was done in conformity with a definite and compact theory of the cause and cure of depressions. And I think it must now be admitted that had he had a Congress in sympathy with his own theories the economic system could have been rescued from its doldrums without all that appalling train of consequences which flowed from Roosevelt's policies. There would, of course, have been much to do to put the economic system in perfectly good health and no one knew that better than Hoover. And it is entirely possible that no one knew less about that subject

than Roosevelt. It would seem that the most unthinking admirer would concede this in the presence of the fact that after six years of extravagance, deficits and debt, of so many wild schemes which had to be abandoned as failures, Roosevelt should find himself in 1938 with 11,800,000 unemployed on his hands, business still showing no spark of recovery and his whole cabinet split, angry and surly.

He had charged ahead and around, like an amateur soldier at a riot, pushing and hauling and driving in every direction, without realizing quite what he was doing. Yet out of his numerous sallies a fairly clear pattern of behavior began to appear. It was always easy to sell him a plan that involved giving away government money. It was always easy to interest him in a plan which would confer some special benefit upon some special class in the population in exchange for their votes. He was sure to be interested in any scheme that had the appearance of novelty and he would seize quickly upon a plan that would startle and excite people by its theatrical qualities. That these several projects should be in eternal hostility to each other was of no moment. As a social physician he gave to his patient eagerly one pill for diarrhea and another for constipation, one solution for high blood pressure and another for low blood pressure, one to produce fever and one to allay it, stimulants and sedatives, prophylactics and poisons, each eagerly adopted on the suggestion of some quack with a theory to exploit or an organized group to benefit or delight. This was Roosevelt. And it landed him in 1938 back pretty much where he began and without a single compound left in his little satchel of remedies save spending and more spending.

But how would he spend and on what? Bridges, roads, a few more dams? These would consume a few billions at most. On what, then, could it be? He already had a definite idea in his mind on what it would be. He had denounced Hoover, among other things, for spending so much on the military establishment. He had warned that if the Republicans were not stopped, they would soon expose the people to the burden of "a billion dollars a year on the military and naval establishment." Now, looking up at the world from the hole in which he found himself, he had to swallow all that too. Half thinking aloud in a chat with Farley he said "The danger of war

with Japan will naturally cause an increase in our armaments program, which cannot be avoided." He had only recently warned Americans against those politicians who would tell them that a military industry would produce work for the people and profits for business. But it would be hard, he had said at Chautauqua only two years before "for Americans to look beyond, to realize the inevitable penalties, the inevitable day of reckoning that comes from a false prosperity." Yet now he was playing with that very war motif.

But something new had happened to his mind of which his cabinet officers knew nothing. A new theory had danced across his desk—a sparkling, captivating theory—which he was to seize and hug to his heart like a man in the water whose strength is spent and who suddenly finds a powerful and lusty swimmer at his side.

Before we have a look at this brilliant idea, there was one more problem Roosevelt faced in 1938—the approaching Congressional elections.

4 } Harry the Hop and the Happy Hot Dogs

THE SITUATION AS THE 1938 ELECTIONS LOOMED AHEAD WAS NOT the same as when the second administration began. Neither Congress nor the country were any longer at Roosevelt's feet. His party was profoundly divided and the hatreds within it were deep and poignant. He could not afford to lose any part of the subservient elements in the Congress. He had made up his mind to drive out of the House and Senate those members who had humiliated him in the Court fight and who had been grumbling at his extravagances. It was now necessary to teach them that they could not oppose his will

with impunity. He was angry, resentful, vindictive. The names on the purge list were many, but heading that list were Senators Walter F. George of Georgia, Millard Tydings of Maryland, Guy Gillette of Iowa and, in the House, John O'Connor of New York. Moreover, Roosevelt felt it necessary to put every possible resource back of the renomination of his special pets like Alben Barkley of Kentucky and Joe Guffey of Pennsylvania. In Kentucky, the Governor, "Happy" Chandler, a rollicking, crooning, handshaking executive was a real threat to Barkley's reelection. Indeed it began to look for a while as if Chandler might defeat him.

Roosevelt had decided, too, that spending must be resumed. This was the only rabbit left in the magician's warren. These two projects brought closer to him the man who had done the bulk of his spending and who had accomplished it with the greatest measure of political results. This was Harry Hopkins, whom the President referred to affectionately as Harry the Hop.

Hopkins had started in Washington on the very outer rim of the New Deal, had been gradually working his way toward the center and was at this point one of the small group shouldering their way against everyone to be nearest to the all-high. It was to Hopkins that Roosevelt now turned in the campaign to repair his shattered fortunes.

The career of Hopkins began, with a kind of poetic irony, in the very heart of that horse-and-buggy age which evoked the sneers of the great lawgiver he served. His father was a harness maker in Sioux City, Iowa, where Harry was born. Later the family moved to Grinnell, Iowa, where Harry took his first steps in commercial life selling magazines, newspapers and cigarettes. His mother was a zealous Methodist who taught him to pray, to work and to avoid poverty. He went to Grinnell College, graduated and without delay plunged into the great ocean of social welfare.

He got a job as head of a small summer camp at Boundbrook, New Jersey, which brought him East and planted him close to the fountains of philanthropy and the cocktail lounges of Babylon, upon which he was to flourish. From this point on, he was committed to the many-sided life of a social worker. The social welfare world of

New York is a multi-colored world in itself. It consists of the poor who are absolutely essential to the profession and of the rich who give to the poor and of the social welfare workers who are the pipeline through which the bounty of the rich flows into the hands of the poor. It is better, saith the good book, to give than to receive, and Harry Hopkins was never unaware of the pleasant consequences which inure to the profession of giving.

He began with a \$45-a-month salary at Christodora House in Avenue B and arrived rapidly at the head of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor in New York with a salary of \$10,000 a year—in the good old days when \$10,000 bought a lot of the good life and one did not have to hand over \$2500 in taxes to the Roosevelt-Hopkins government.

The chief function of the secretary or director of a great philanthropic enterprise is to get the money. Fortunately this world of New York poverty is a stamping ground for wealthy widows, rich octogenarians, along with the sons and daughters of the last generation of the "criminal rich" who dedicate themselves to deodorizing the family name by passing out to the poor the millions left by their "predatory" dads. The prime business of the secretary is to stalk this game. The bulk of the hard work is done by the rookie welfarers in the slums, investigating, checking, snooping, reporting, advising and supervising. But the bulk of the work of the secretary is on Park Avenue and its environs, with frequent week-end trips to the blooded cattle farms, golf clubs, hunting lodges and other hideaways of the benevolent rich. This life is apt to do something to the secretary. He finds himself stretching his legs under the tea and dinner tables of the rich, drinking rare vintage wines, eating costly viands and smoking expensive cigars. It cultivates an appetite for the good life wholly beyond the reach of even a \$10,000-a-year general secretary or director. He finds himself after a while consuming the bonded liquors and imported caviar out of other people's pantries and watching others picking up the checks in night clubs. Warm-hearted, elderly ladies wonder how the poor fellow gets along on his slender stipend. Extravagant males are similarly puzzled, and so one day the secretary, who is almost certain to have had a slight

case of Marxism in his youth, finds himself taking tips from the capitalist exploiters. "Tips" is hardly the word. That has to do with small change. It is not easy to decide at what point a tip becomes a handout or a handout becomes a bonus or a bonus becomes a grant or when a grant rises to the royal eminence of an honorarium. But the honorarium becomes the thing. It is a habit-forming drug but it enables the secretary to live in the manner to which his wealthy companions are accustomed.

It can have another effect on a man, though there are those who resist and survive it. An important feature of his professional function is to find and keep patrons. He must dance attendance on the wealthy ladies and cultivate the art of saying "yes" in a dozen changing accents to the heavy-check men. This was a word which Harry was to find highly useful in the hot political world of the White House. It was in this gay life of giving and gratuities, the life of the survey, the questionnaire, the supervisor and the unsteady budget, that Harry Hopkins got his training for the great role of planetary welfare and global boondoggling, and rose from the modest function of distributing the meager benefits in the small neighborhood of Avenue B to operating as grand almoner of the spendiest Haroun al Raschid in the history of human extravagance.

Hopkins married a fellow welfare worker at Christodora House. As we have seen, he rose rapidly and after serving in the South with the Red Cross during the First World War, went to the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor as assistant director in 1924 and in that year became director of the New York Tuberculosis Association.

Then in 1928 Fate rolled up her sleeves to see just how far she could toss Harry. Al Smith was running for President and Hopkins was out helping Al when he met Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was running for governor of New York. Hopkins organized a committee of medical men for Roosevelt-for-Governor. Roosevelt liked him at once and with Mrs. Roosevelt it was pals at first sight. Roosevelt was elected governor. Then came the depression, which was to be filled with milk and honey for Harry Hopkins. Jesse I. Straus, head

of the Macy store in New York, became head of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in New York in 1931 and he named Hopkins executive director. Later Hopkins succeeded him to the chairmanship with Mrs. Roosevelt's influence. When Roosevelt became President and wanted a Federal Emergency Relief Administrator he named Harry Hopkins to this post at Mrs. Roosevelt's urging.

This put Harry in a job he understood—giving away money—but now he did not have to worry about where it came from. The NRA act had given Roosevelt \$3,300,000,000 to spend. It is difficult to believe, but it is true that Roosevelt was averse to spending this money. However, Mrs. Roosevelt managed to get Hopkins to the President by the direct route, bypassing all the secretarial barriers, and there Hopkins sold the President on the idea of a moderate relief program by means of grants-in-aid to the states. Roosevelt supposed the NRA was going to bring prosperity quickly, but at the end of July the bubble burst and the great champion of the balanced budget turned in desperation to the two things he had denounced—spending and doles. He then put Harold Ickes in charge of the Public Works Administration (PWA) and Harry Hopkins in charge of the Civil Works Administration (CWA). In short order Harry had a vast army pulling weeds and raking leaves. He told the President: "I've got four million at work but for God's sake, don't ask me what they are doing."

When Hopkins began this gaudy mission he found himself in a social worker's paradise—a splendid abundance of unemployed and an endless supply of money. But he and Roosevelt made another discovery. Both profoundly ignorant of finance, they did not dream of the magic that lies wrapped in public debt. When first elected, Roosevelt naturally supposed that to spend he would have to tax, which is very unpopular. The alternative would be to borrow from the people and he knew that was difficult. He did not dream of the incredible miracle of *government BANK borrowing*. He did not know that the bank lends money which it actually creates in the act of making the loan. When Roosevelt realized this, he saw he had something very handy in his tool kit. *He could spend without*

taxing people or borrowing from them, while at the same time creating billions in bank deposits. Wonderful!

But he and Hopkins discovered something even more important. As soon as Roosevelt got hold of this \$3,300,000,000, congressmen, senators, mayors, governors, chambers of commerce, charity organizations from every state and city formed in line. Hopkins saw before Roosevelt did that the President had in his hands on a vast scale what political parties had had in the past on a very small scale. The little local bosses with their pitiful little graft and social welfare benefits from the district clubhouse were pikers. Now all the philanthropy in the country through local politicians flowed from one great boss in Washington. No district leader could satisfy the appetites of his constituents on a scale comparable to the big boss of all the bosses. Roosevelt discovered what the Italian Premier Giolitti had discovered over 50 years before, that it was not necessary to buy the politicians. He bought their constituents with borrowed money and the politicians had to go along. Everybody with a half-way appealing tale got money, but on one condition—that he play ball with Roosevelt. Harry Hopkins estimated that 25 million people got their living from WPA alone. It was not the President's widely advertised charm or his golden voice that was the secret of his amazing power. It was his streams of golden billions. This was the rabbit that produced results for the magician—the spending rabbit. Harry Hopkins was the Keeper of the Golden Rabbit and knew precisely the tricks Roosevelt wanted done with it.

The CWA had got in bad very quickly as a leaf-raking agency and so it was reorganized into the Works Progress Administration (WPA). As we have seen, Roosevelt set out to purge the men who had balked him in the Court fight and to support those who had stood behind him. In the 1938 election Senator Alben Barkley was being opposed for the Democratic nomination in the primary in Kentucky by "Happy" Chandler, then governor of the state. During the election grave charges were made in the Scripps-Howard newspapers about the manner in which WPA workers in Kentucky were being forced to support the administration candidate. A special Senate committee investigated the charges. The hearings were

printed but not generally circulated. The performances of the WPA in Kentucky and various other places as outlined here are taken from that official report.⁹

In the first WPA district of Kentucky, one WPA official went to work on Governor Chandler. He took his orders from the administration political headquarters in Kentucky. He put nine WPA supervisors and 340 WPA timekeepers on government time to work preparing elaborate forms for checking on all the relievers in the district. Having done this they then proceeded to check up on the 17,000 poor devils who were drawing relief money to see how they stood on the election. The Senate committee got possession of these forms.

In the second WPA district, another WPA official who was the area engineer, managed a thorough canvass of the workers in Pulaski and Russell counties. The WPA foremen were given sheets upon which they had to report on the standing of the relievers in the political campaign. It became a part of Mr. Hopkins' WPA organization in Kentucky to learn how many of the down-and-out had enough devotion to Franklin D. Roosevelt to be entitled to eat. It was not sufficient for an indigent Kentuckian to be just down and out and hungry. He had to believe that the President of the United States was his redeemer and had to be ready to register that belief at the polls. The relievers were asked to sign papers pledging themselves to the election of the senior senator from Kentucky. They were given campaign buttons and told to wear them and there were instances where, if they refused, they were thrown off the WPA rolls.

All this, of course, was in a Democratic primary where only Democrats could vote. But there were a lot of poor Republicans in Kentucky who couldn't vote in the Democratic primary so long as they were Republicans. So they were told to change their registration and become Democrats, or no WPA jobs for them.

A lady employed in the Division of Employment in WPA District 4 in Kentucky got a letter from the project superintendent asking her for a contribution to the Barkley Campaign Committee. A district supervisor of employment in District 4 talked to her, told her

that the election was drawing near and that she might be criticized if she did not contribute since she was employed on WPA, that she should be in sympathy with the program and be loyal and he stated also that he was a Republican but he was going to change his registration. Then he told her she would be permitted to contribute if she liked in the amount of two per cent of her salary. Letters went out from the superintendent to practically all of the relievers. The assistant supervisor of the WPA, who got \$175 a month, sent a check for \$42.50 as a result of this letter and another getting \$1800 a year gave \$30.

Here is the kind of letter sent out. It was from the project superintendent for whom these people worked:

"We know that you, as a friend of the National Administration, are anxious to see Senator Barkley reelected as he has supported the President in all New Deal legislation . . . If Senator Barkley is nominated and elected by a large majority there is definite possibility of his being the candidate of the Democratic party in 1940. Think what this would mean for Kentucky.

"We know you will appreciate the opportunity of being given a chance to take an active part in reelecting Senator Barkley by making a liberal contribution towards his campaign expenses. Such contribution is actually underwriting a continuance of New Deal policies."

These gentlemen were nice and considerate—they allowed the relievers to pay on the installment plan. The letter went on:

"As the enclosed subscription blank indicates, you may pay one-half of your contribution now and the balance by July 16."

Worker after worker testified that he received the above letter or one like it and had made contributions in proportion to the pay he was getting, usually about two per cent.

In Pennsylvania, where Senator Joe Guffey presided over the destinies of the Democratic party, the story was much the same. Men who supplied trucks to WPA were solicited for \$100 each in Carbon County. The owners of the trucks were requested by WPA

officials to visit representatives of certain political leaders at their homes. Ten or twelve at a time went and many of them contributed. In Lucerne County it was the same. They were told to call at Democratic headquarters and make their contributions. In Montgomery County, the WPA workers got letters stating that at the direction of the senator from Pennsylvania (Guffey) and the state committeeman, a joint meeting of WPA workers would be held on a certain date and they were told "there will be no excuse accepted for lack of attendance."

The evidence showed that WPA workers in this county, including timekeepers and poor women on sewing projects, were requested and ordered to change their registration from Republican to Democratic and in many cases those who refused were fired. There was testimony that there were a number of Republicans on the WPA project near Wilkes Barre. They lived in Wilkes Barre and they thought they had a right to continue to be Republicans. They soon discovered that that right had vanished when they became wards of the New Deal and as a punishment, 18 were transferred from the project near Wilkes Barre to a project 35 or 40 miles from their homes because they refused to discard their Republican buttons.

In Pennsylvania work-cards were issued by the Party entitling the recipients to employment on the state highways and these were distributed by political groups. Some of these cards entitled the holders to employment "*for two to four weeks around election time.*" In one county, from September, 1935 to September, 1938, the WPA spent more than \$27,000,000 on highways. What chance had any man or any party against this? Al Smith had said you can't beat a billion dollars.

Those who, in their poverty and helplessness, refused to surrender their independence, paid for it. A man in Plymouth, Pa., was given a white-collar relief job before election at \$60.50 a month. He was told to change his registration from Republican to Democratic. He refused and very soon found himself transferred—transferred from his white-collar job to a pick-axe job on a rock pile in a quarry. There he discovered others on the rock pile who had refused to change their registration. This was in America, the America of the

men who were chanting and crooning about liberty and freedom 365 days a year, who were talking about democracy and freedom for all men everywhere.

It was the same in Tennessee where the WPA was lighting a fire under Governor Browning. Relievers who were for Browning—if it could be proved—were excommunicated from the payroll. They were asked for contributions—two per cent. One man was asked to put up \$5. He didn't have it. He was summoned next day. The collector had decided to reduce his tribute to \$3. He didn't have that. He was told to get it. He had to borrow it. Another, assessed twice before, rebelled. "You don't have to pay," he was told, "but if you don't you'll have a hell of a time getting on the WPA." Negro relievers were made to put up 25 and 50 cents.

In Cook County, Illinois, where Kelly and Nash carried the New Deal banner, 450 men were employed in one election district and dismissed the day after election. Seventy reported to do highway work and were told to go to their voting precincts and canvass for votes for the Horner-Courtney-Lucas ticket. These 450 men cost \$23,268. All of them had their work-cards initialed by the campaign manager in Northern Illinois for the Horner-Courtney-Lucas ticket.

This investigation covered four states. There is not the slightest doubt, however, that what happened in these four states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Pennsylvania and Illinois, happened in greater or lesser degree in most of the states of the Union. Of course these jobs were done by men in the field while Mr. Hopkins sat in Washington and pretended to be quite innocent of it all. Indeed, after the findings of the committee were made public, Hopkins declared he had made his own investigation and denied all the charges. But the committee said: "After still further investigation of its own, it adhered to its own findings." It also called attention to an address made by Aubrey Williams, Mr. Hopkins' chief deputy administrator, at a big WPA conference on June 27, 1938, in which he said: "We've got to stick together; we've got to keep our friends in power."

These primaries of 1938, of course, were the scenes of the great

Roosevelt purge, when distinguished Democratic senators and congressmen were marked for annihilation. Raymond Moley pointed out that Harry Hopkins was directing this purge while passing out these hundreds of millions. In fact, on August 31, 1938, in the midst of this campaign, Hopkins complained that the leadership of the Democratic opposition was urging Democrats to register and vote in the primaries to help defeat the aims of President Roosevelt, not in the clear-cut general election "where the divergent views of parties are clearly understood, but stealthily, within the councils of our own party." Now consider the significance of that statement. This man was actually complaining that the Democratic opponents of the President were calling on Democrats to register and vote in a Democratic primary. It had already become a crime for a Democrat to disagree with the administration. Mr. Hopkins was making it a crime for a Democrat who didn't agree with the nominations of the administration in various states to register in his own party and vote against the administration nominee. But while he was objecting to Democrats registering as Democrats and voting in a Democratic primary unless they agreed with Roosevelt, his agents in Kentucky and Tennessee and Pennsylvania and Illinois and practically everywhere else were threatening Republican relievers with starvation if they didn't quit being Republicans and register as Democrats and actually firing them and in some cases putting them on the rock pile.

Roosevelt was profoundly convinced that all he had to do was to let the Democratic electorate in any state or district know that a senator or congressman was his enemy and that would sound his doom. He had come to the settled conviction that the people were no longer interested in issues, that they were interested only in him, that they were for him or against him. In the 1936 campaign he had told his campaign manager there was only one issue—"myself"—and he told members of his cabinet that the people were for the Court plan because he was for it and that they would be for whatever he was for.

It was therefore a source of unmixed astonishment to him when every Democratic candidate but one whom he had marked for the

purge in the Democratic primaries of 1938 was renominated. Barkley and Guffey, of course, had been renominated for the Senate, but they were not involved in the purge—their fights had been local ones. The one instance in which Roosevelt was successful was in defeating Congressman John O'Connor in New York City for re-nomination. In this case he committed the job to Tommy Corcoran who went to New York and with all the forces of the administration at his command succeeded in defeating O'Connor. Roosevelt regarded this as in some measure proof of his own personal political acumen, since the job of defeating O'Connor had been handled by a White House subaltern. He believed it was in some way due to his own mastery.

The odor of Harry Hopkins' performances in WPA became such that it was advisable to lift him out of that position after the 1938 elections were over. Then this cynical man, who had been living on endowments and tips all his life, who had never been in a business transaction, who despised business and business men and loved to exhibit his scorn, who in the group around the President was the most skilled in needling him against business and whose only contacts with business men had been as a beneficiary of their bounty, was made by the President—of all things—Secretary of Commerce! He spent much of his time as Secretary in the hospital. When he left the Department of Commerce a little more than a year and a half later it was to enter the White House as the officially installed and publicly proclaimed favorite of the court—not merely a friendly adviser to the President, as many presidents have had, but as a resident of the White House itself, roaming around its halls with access to the President's bedside at all hours of the day and night, a free boarder holding an office that was never created by Congress and does not actually exist, being paid a salary that was never authorized by Congress, discharging functions that were never envisioned by Congress, exercising the highest authority without being appointed in the constitutional manner, that is without senatorial confirmation, outranking cabinet officers and, indeed, sending orders to cabinet officers signed "H.H.,"

He would become powerful enough to keep one member of the

cabinet out of the White House for eleven months—to make it impossible for a cabinet officer, a legally confirmed adviser of the President, to even see the President for nearly a year. This curious figure, operating in the shadows, became, next to the President himself, the most powerful person in the United States.

How did Harry Hopkins worm his way into this position of power? It was not by accident. It was because he had a character well-suited to the functions he was expected to discharge and a special talent for maneuver in the turgid pools of palace politics. He was rich in cunning, always devious in his enterprises and something of his personal history throws much light upon those elements in his character which fitted him for the role of intriguer.

Hopkins inhabited an area of moral and ethical life which does not correspond in its standards of behavior to the area in which most normal Americans move. He was pictured to the popular audience as one whose life was dedicated to the welfare of the underprivileged masses. He had married as a young man a fellow welfare worker. They had three sons. In 1930 his wife filed suit against him for absolute divorce in New York State, the charge being infidelity. She secured the divorce and, I am informed, an order for the payment of \$5000 a year in alimony. Hopkins was making \$10,000 a year at the time. This meant that one-half his salary would be retained for himself and the other half for the support of his wife and three children. It does not seem to have been an excessive provision. All this, of course, is a matter personal to Hopkins' own life, but it is germane here because of several facets of the incident. Shortly after the divorce, he took a second wife. He became WPA Administrator at a salary of \$10,000 a year. Hopkins himself was a man of very expensive tastes. It took a good deal of money to keep him provided with the forms of amusement to which he was addicted and \$10,000 was not enough to take care of his two families and his expensive appetites. The matter was arranged in a manner that cannot be overlooked in forming an estimate of Hopkins' character. Mr. Marquis W. Childs, in an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* of April 19 and 26, 1941, said Hopkins was hard-pressed for funds under the circumstances and was having a difficult time meeting

the alimony payments to his first wife. To cure this situation, social workers were brought together to raise a fund of \$5000 a year to take care of Hopkins' alimony. A number of small-salaried little social welfare workers were assessed to discharge Hopkins' natural obligation to support his own children in order to enable him to indulge in those expensive tastes to which he was accustomed. In theory the money was collected to pay him for lectures, which he rarely had the time to deliver. It was a subterfuge to mask the real purpose of the levy. And it went on for two years. Then in January, 1936, his salary was raised to \$12,000 and the welfare workers were relieved of the burden of Hopkins' alimony.

It is a strange story in view of the further incident related by Mr. Childs in the same articles, that during those WPA days, Hopkins, who was so pressed for funds that the support of his children through alimony was saddled upon a group of low-paid social workers, was, with the men around him, playing poker with losses so stiff they ran to \$500 or \$600 an evening and that he found the time and the means to run up for week-ends to the homes of some of the malefactors of great wealth he so liked to denounce and to make frequent visits to the race tracks at Saratoga, Pimlico and Warrenton. *Life* has printed much the same stories about him.

There came then the time when Hopkins had to leave the WPA and later saw fit to end his brief career as Secretary of Commerce. For a while he found himself without any income. Hopkins belongs to that class of person who must be taken care of one way or another. Having no job a job had to be invented for him. About this time the President created a monument to himself—a library building on his estate where future generations may make pilgrimages to honor his memory. According to Mr. Felix Belair in an article in *Life*, Postmaster-General Walker and John D. Hertz, the taxicab magnate, and other millionaire friends, raised a purse to pay Hopkins \$5000 a year as head of Franklin D. Roosevelt's library at Hyde Park. But of course Hopkins could not subsist on this wretched stipend. Hence when the Lend-Lease act was voted the President found a way to arrange a \$10,000-a-year salary for Harry under the Lend-Lease program.

In the meantime, he had moved into the White House where he enjoyed the additional privilege of free board and lodging. His second wife had died and his daughter by this marriage lived with him in the White House. It is worth observing that still later, when he had taken a third wife and moved with her to Georgetown, his daughter, after remaining with them a while, went back to the White House. Mrs. Roosevelt tells how she fretted about the lonely life of this child and spoke to Hopkins about it. He said to her: "That's totally unimportant. The only thing that is important is to win the war." He found plenty of time, however, to pursue at intervals his favorite forms of diversions in the night clubs of New York and Washington.

Yet he had found time during this period to pursue his new courtship and marry a third wife, who was brought to the White House to live at government expense. But even with free board and lodging at the White House and free transportation and government expense accounts, \$10,000 a year was not enough for Hopkins. As usual, ways had to be found to provide him with more. And so he began to appear in the magazines as a literary light, like so many others in the New Deal. Tom Beck, the head of the Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, a faithful satellite of the White House throughout the New Deal episode, provided Harry with the trimmings for his meal ticket by paying him \$5000 a piece for seven or eight articles in the *American Magazine* over a period of several years—articles written, of course, by someone else and signed by Hopkins. This was one of the favorite rackets of the New Deal "scholars."

When he married for the third time, the charge was made that the new bridal couple spent their honeymoon on a vessel which the government had taken from the owner and converted into a warship and that Lord Beaverbrook gave to the new Mrs. Hopkins a magnificent necklace of emeralds. The Hopkinses denied getting any emeralds. Later Drew Pearson printed the story that while this denial was correct, it was a necklace of diamonds which Beaverbrook had presented and it was worth \$4000. Like Jacques in "The Two Orphans," he was charged with stealing a coat and replied: "You

lie—it was a cloak.” Why should Beaverbrook, then representing the British government, make a present of \$4000 to the bride of the man who was arranging Lend-Lease shipments to England—a man he scarcely knew?

Then some time in December, 1942, Mr. Bernard Baruch gave a dinner for Mr. and Mrs. Hopkins. It was during the war, when the President was constantly calling upon the people to make more and more sacrifices as part of the war effort and to learn to do without luxuries and even many necessities. Some enterprising reporter produced the sacrificial menu at the buffet feast tendered to Hopkins and his bride. Here it is:

Bowl of Caviar with trimmings	Mousse of chicken
Pate de Foie Gras	Gallatine of Capon
Cheese croquettes	Cold tongue
Baked Oysters Bonne Femme	Beef a la Mode
Celery, Radishes, Olives, Pecans	Corned beef in jelly
Tortue Clair (En Terrine)	Turkey—Chicken—
Creme au Champignon Frais	Virginia Ham
Profitrole	Calves head Vinaigrette
Truite en Gelee	Russian dressing
Homard en Aspic	Mixed green salad
Terrapin (Baltimore style)	Assorted cheese and crackers
Chicken a la King	Iced black cherries and vanilla ice cream
Steamed Rice	Socle of Raspberry Ice
Sliced tomatoes, crisp lettuce	Petits Fours
Mayonnaise French dressing	
Demi Tasse	

A Washington reporter wrote: “Throughout the function the face of Hopkins, who warned his countrymen in a recent magazine article that they will have to forego milk and tea and predicted drastic curtailment of all civilian industries except coffin-making, was wreathed in smiles.”

The story of Hopkins is not complete without some reference to that pulling and hauling which went on behind the scenes for

control of the great man's coattails. From the beginning of the New Deal, Felix Frankfurter had been pictured as the mysterious being who sat off in the shadows and pulled the strings that operated all the puppets who had cooked up the NRA and invented the AAA, who was the arch Red and was in fact the unseen and unheard culprit behind most of Mr. Roosevelt's dangerous enterprises. The bureaus were supposed to be filled with the satellites of Frankfurter and in good time this exclusive crew of sappers and borers came to be known as the "happy hot dogs."

As a matter of fact, Felix Frankfurter never was a Red—neither a malignant Communist nor a benevolent Socialist. He disapproved of the NRA and looked with dismay on the AAA, and above all, he condemned, though he held his peace publicly, the fight on the Supreme Court. Frankfurter appeared before the larger public less than any of the prominent supporters of the administration. Actually there was perhaps less in common between Frankfurter and Roosevelt than between Roosevelt and any of those who remained so long a part of his intellectual entourage. Frankfurter had been a life-long disciple of the social theories of Justice Brandeis and the legal philosophy of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. It was Brandeis who got him appointed to the Harvard Law Faculty after the First World War, where he remained until he went on the Supreme Court. One of Frankfurter's controlling intellectual passions had been for freedom of speech. He might be defined as a reformer, not a Socialist. He defended Sacco and Venzetti not because he was a Communist but because he believed no man charged with a crime tinged with political implications should be convicted and electrocuted without a competent defense.

There was, however, another side to his nature by no means as harmless as his political philosophy. He had a yearning to exercise power from the sidelines. He wished to shape affairs anonymously. Without any ambition to hold political office, he loved to exercise power over the minds of men who did. He wrote little himself but patiently cultivated intimate association with those who did. He was beyond doubt a teacher who inspired his students. He talked to them not only about law but about history and political ideas and

thus he attracted to his classes young men with lively interests in public affairs. When they left law school they went into powerful law firms and government offices. In the lean years after 1929 the flow of these energetic spirits into government increased as the demand in private practice shrank. And soon, almost without realizing it, Frankfurter found his students and his disciples in all sorts of places in Washington where they sat close to the centers of power.

As the depression deepened, Frankfurter made a more conscious effort to place his students where their weight would be felt. A Washington bureau may employ a thousand men, but only a handful are important—the administrator, the counsel, the economist, the statistician, the publicity man. These are the men who influence policy and it was policy, not jobs, that interested Frankfurter.

Frankfurter's most important move upon this board was sending Thomas G. Corcoran, one of his ablest pupils, to a place in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation while Hoover was President. Tommy had a flair for public affairs and a passion for political maneuvering.

As the New Deal began to create bureau after bureau and the number of jobs desirable to both Frankfurter and Corcoran multiplied, Corcoran proceeded to fill them with what Hugh Johnson called the "happy hot dogs." Tommy found the places; Frankfurter produced the recommendations and the Frankfurter boys were in. They were everywhere. Most of them, of course, were lawyers, but many had become economists overnight. And soon Tommy Corcoran was in the White House at the elbow of the President, writing or superintending the preparation of his speeches.

With the beginning of the second campaign—that is, after Moley had departed and Louis Howe had died—the Frankfurter influence was topmost around the White House, despite Frankfurter's grave concern about Roosevelt's drift toward the planned economy. But little by little Frankfurter's personal influence waned, particularly after the Supreme Court fight.

When Frankfurter started filling the bureaus with his lawyers and economists he didn't quite realize what he was doing. Many had been his proteges but he did not know as well as he supposed

what was going on in the minds of these young men. The times, perhaps the smell and color of revolutionary activity which intrigues young minds, the absorption of these gay and truculent youths in the vague yet trenchant philosophy of the New Deal under lawgivers and philosophers who were peddling a far more tasty and intoxicating brand of liquor than had come from their old law professor—all combined to draw these fellows closer to Roosevelt than to Frankfurter. Some, in fact, had drifted into the far more turbulent waters of Communism and near-Communism where the fellow-travelers disport themselves. Probably from 1937 to 1940 Frankfurter became a minor figure so far as his influence on policy was concerned. But he came back with a real bounce when America went into the war.

In the meantime, things were not going too well for his "chief of staff," Tommy Corcoran. Tommy actually lived in the White House for months to be near his chief. But Hopkins had his eye on the spot occupied by Tommy. Hopkins set out deliberately to get possession of Roosevelt's confidence and he worked and wormed and lied wherever necessary to push away everybody and, above all, Corcoran. In this contest Corcoran was no match for Hopkins. Corcoran loves politics with a Gaelic fervor. He has opinions. He is something of a student and had his own collection of political beliefs. He was eager, doubtless, to hold his place near the throne, chiefly to influence Roosevelt's mind on the side of his own philosophy.

Hopkins had no such foolish and impractical objectives. Earlier in his life he had been a mild Socialist but at this time he had no philosophy save insofar as his opinions were influenced by his deep cynicism. His object was to become first man in power next to Roosevelt. He explained his theory about this to more than one. He said that a man must always have a clear idea of the source of his power. Some men get their power from the people. Others get their power indirectly through some other man. He confessed freely that he could not get any power whatever at the hands of the people. He must therefore fasten himself upon the man who had the power to give. The source of that power was the President and so he fastened

himself upon the President. To hold that power he must cultivate the President. It was no part of his business to argue with Roosevelt or to cross him or ever to use the word "no" definitively. He must be ever the subservient, compliant yes-man, cultivating the good graces of his master, flattering his vanity, doing his chores, satisfying his desires, cunningly divining those desires and without revealing his discovery, giving him the favors he wished, getting his own way by deviously influencing the master and by all means possible killing off the rivals for the royal favor.

It is one of the characteristics of power long held that it attracts around it men of this stamp. The man with vast powers is sure to find men like Hopkins worming themselves into their confidence if they are willing to use that kind of man. Men of high intellectual and spiritual caliber soon make themselves disagreeable to rulers who want abject subservience in their subalterns. They soon find the atmosphere of the court repulsive. They either depart or are dismissed. In the end, the only ones who remain are men of the type of Hopkins. There were men close to Roosevelt who were interested in pressing upon him their own ideas of policy. There were men who were not interested in policy but only in discerning Roosevelt's pet mental drifts and promoting them. Hopkins was of the latter breed. As the years passed, one by one the abler men with some sense of personal dignity who were unequal to the role of sycophant drifted away or were dropped. Raymond Moley, Lewis Douglas, John Hanes, Hugh Johnson, George Peek, Tommy Corcoran, Jim Farley, Stanley High and many others departed. The palace guard that survived were such men as Harry Hopkins, Sam Rosenman, General "Pa" Watson, who was a sort of court jester, Admiral (Doctor) McIntire, the President's physician who could see no wrong in Roosevelt, even in his vascular system, David Niles and Henry Wallace, who hung fast to the tails of whatever coat Roosevelt chose to wear—men who listened attentively for Roosevelt's slightest changes in desire, sensed them with the readiness of faithful animals, and ran obediently to perform whatever tricks the master wanted.

There were others like Hull, who hung on even though it was on

the outer fringes of policy, willing to suffer any indignity so long as he might continue to call himself Secretary of State and promote his febrile crusade for commercial reciprocity, while Roosevelt named ambassadors, ministers and minor employees in the State Department without consulting him and carried on our foreign affairs through Sumner Welles behind Hull's back.

5 } *The Dance of the Philosophers*

I. THE PLANNERS

WE MUST NOW HAVE A LOOK AT SOME OF THE MEN WHO WERE the managers of that sparkling and seductive idea which danced across Roosevelt's desk as he wrestled with the grave crisis in his fortunes in 1938. Roosevelt had cried out in despair to his cabinet for help: "No one tells me what to do about it." As a matter of fact, he was not in the habit of purchasing his magic rabbits from his cabinet. Old Man Hull and Big Jim Farley, Dan Roper, Harry Woodring and the aging Swanson never dreamed of being in the rabbit business. Cummings had produced one—the Court plan—and it had bitten the master. Certainly Morgenthau was no breeder of magic rabbits, nor even Miss Perkins, nor Ickes who, after all, was just an old-fashioned Progressive who had been fighting the power trust and was for soil conservation and really belonged to the First New Deal to which he had added an illusion of revolution by his vitriolic tongue. Wallace, of course, could promote rabbits and, before he ended, squirrels. But at the moment he was more bewildered than anything else. It was always from the rapidly shifting membership of the kitchen cabinet that Roosevelt got his great ideas. And so it proved now.

Perhaps the most influential member of this group was always Rexford Guy Tugwell, though his influence was most powerful indirectly through those whose minds he influenced. He, more than any other man in this orbit, represented the true form of the Third New Deal which was now about to be born.

Tugwell came from a New York State farm, went from high school to the Wharton School of Business and then began as a teacher at the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Washington and finally Columbia. Ray Moley, who knew him at Columbia, drafted him for Roosevelt's Brain Trust in 1932 and when Roosevelt was inaugurated Tugwell was made Assistant Secretary of Agriculture under Henry Wallace.

Perhaps no colder heart ever beat for the Common Man than Tugwell's. Unlike some of his colleagues, he was in no sense queer. He differed from most of them in that he had a first-rate mind and wrote well, in a severely cold style with a painfully cultivated formality. He perfected himself in the fine art of being contemptuous. At college he looked at the world and found it distinctly third-class—not at all the kind he would have made. He burst into song in a poem called "The Dreamer," indicating his general intention with reference to his own tawdry country as follows:

"I am strong.
I am big and well made.
I am sick of a nation's stench.
I am sick of propertied czars.
I have dreamed my great dream of their passing.
I have gathered my tools and my charts.
My plans are finished and practical.
I shall roll up my sleeves—make America over."¹⁰

And sure enough, here he was in Washington with his charts and his tools—only his tools were men, and he didn't think much of them either. As an administrator in the Agricultural Department he did not get far, due chiefly to his bad manners. Farmers who called on him were treated with scorn. But the darling targets of his contumely were congressmen and senators. He quarreled with

everyone, save, of course, the President—the source of his present power. He had to be got out of Washington because of the trouble he stirred up and in due time, like many another New Dealer, he hid his scorn under a bushel while he crawled onto the payroll of one of those great enemies of the Common Man—a big Puerto Rican sugar corporation. Later he would be named Governor of Puerto Rico. Despite all this it was, nevertheless, this well-dressed, almost dandified, contumelious and disliked scholar who, as much as anyone else, indicated the lines upon which the much-bedeviled and bewildered leader of the New Deal would travel.

Before following this trail further we must reconstruct in our minds the state of political opinion on that side of controversy called the Left. Nothing has confused so perfectly the critics of Mr. Roosevelt's various New Deals as their obscurity about the meaning of a lot of words such as Socialism, Communism, Fascism, Liberal, Conservative and so on. We must clear this up for ourselves before we can see with clarity just what happened in Washington in the next two years.

It goes back a long way and begins with the Socialists. There were all sorts of schools of Socialists. But in the United States the kind that acquired such a large influence over the minds of Americans were those democratic Socialists led by Eugene Debs, Maurice Hilquit and Norman Thomas. They were profoundly devoted to the ideal of human freedom. They believed they could, by a gradual series of alterations in the structure of our society, create a truly democratic world in which all men would enjoy not merely freedom but plenty. They believed this could never be achieved under the system of private property and profit. They did not advocate revolution, but rather a gradual acquisition by the State of all the great utilities—power, transportation, communications and the great basic industries like coal, oil, steel, etc. From this point on this partly socialized state would expand its acquisition of all other economic activities to whatever extent seemed feasible.

They dreamed of a cooperative commonwealth in which all would share suitably in the abundance created by a great productive organism owned by the people. This would end poverty, ignorance

and crises. The Socialist Party once polled a million votes and even in 1932 Norman Thomas polled over 800,000 votes. But the influence of the Socialist Party cannot be measured by the number of votes it got. Its philosophy penetrated deeply into the thinking of large numbers of men who never voted a Socialist ticket and particularly into those groups loosely described as intellectuals.

The Russian revolution was essentially a Socialist revolution. Lenin preferred to call his government a Communist government though the term meant very much the same. In fact Russia became known as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. However, Lenin and his colleagues completely discarded the idea of a democratically controlled society and instead set up what they called the Dictatorship of the Proletariat which was in fact nothing more than a dictatorship by the Communist Party, a tiny fraction of the population. It was in fact a dictatorship by an elite—the so-called experts in the Socialist organization. And this it has remained. This dictatorship, so complete, so cruel, so savage in fact, produced a sense of defeat or at least frustration in the minds of great numbers who had nursed the old Socialist democratic dream. This shocking example of the first Socialist state dampened the tolerance with which the Socialist dream was held by many people who never embraced Socialism but were willing to give it a free voice in the discussion of public problems.

On the other hand, semi-Socialist states rose all over Europe—social democracies they were called. They were part socialist, part capitalist, part parliamentary, but with all the defects of the European parliamentary system critically exaggerated. Perhaps it would be better to say that systems which were at least three-fourths capitalist were being operated by Socialist governments, for in most of the countries of Europe for a while at least Socialist prime ministers and partly Socialist ministries were running the show.

However, the most important thing that rose out of all this was a new approach that made a tremendous appeal to many of the same intellectuals who had dallied with socialism. I say new, yet it was not really new. Men had been flirting with the idea in Germany since the days of Fichte, who might be said to be the father

of the theory of a planned capitalism. The idea was that it would be sufficient to nationalize the banks, the railroads, all means of transport, the mines and a few great basic industries—perhaps not even all of them. This would leave all the factories, stores, amusements, farms, etc., in the hands of private owners. Actually such a society would be about one-fourth socialist and three-fourths privately owned or capitalist. However, in this society the State would assume the responsibility for making the whole work; it would hold itself responsible for the well-being of all the citizens, their protection from the hazards of life—poverty, sickness, age, etc. And to make the whole work continuously without occasional breakdowns, the State would set up certain great planning agencies or boards which would continuously study and observe the functioning of the economic system and make plans covering production, prices, distribution, financing, profits, wages, hours, etc. Thus we would have what was in fact a Planned Capitalism—with the State responsible for the planning and for ensuring the carrying out of its plans through great government bureaus armed with the necessary powers to enforce compliance.

This was the perfect haven for great masses of intellectuals—students, teachers, lawyers, politicians, writers, journalists and others—who had flirted timidly with Socialism and Communism, but who did not dare admit they were Communists or Socialists because that would carry with it a certain ostracism in the schools, the journals, in the professions and in business. There was indeed a good deal of tolerance for the idea of planning our capitalist system even in the most conservative circles. And a man could support publicly and with vehemence this system of the Planned Economy without incurring the odium of being too much of a radical for polite and practical society.

There was only one trouble with it. This was what Mussolini had adopted—the Planned Capitalist State. And he gave it a name—fascism. Then came Hitler and adopted the same idea. His party was called the Nazi party, which was derived from the initials of its true name, but it was dedicated to fascism. Mussolini and Hitler,

of course, realized that a system like this, which undertakes to impose a vast complex of decrees upon a people while subjecting them to confiscatory taxes to support the immense activities of the State cannot be operated save by an absolute government that has the power to enforce compliance. Actually this system had spread over Europe. For nearly 70 years all the countries in Europe, with Germany in the lead, had been experimenting with the baleful idea of the security State, the State which attempts to provide its people with jobs and protection from all the hazards of life. After World War I, the dominance of this idea over the populations of every European state became complete and every state in Europe was riding, before World War II, hell-bent for bankruptcy under the impossible burden of meeting these obligations.

Whatever it was, it was the direct opposite of liberalism. It was an attempt, somewhere midway between Communism and capitalism, to organize a stable society and to do it by setting up a State equipped with massive powers over the lives and fortunes of the citizens. This may be a wise dispensation, but it is the negation of the liberal philosophy which for decades has been fighting to emancipate the people from the tyranny of all-powerful states. Yet this curiously un-American doctrine was being peddled in America as the bright flower of the liberals. Of course they did not dare call it fascism, because that had a bad name. They did not dare admit that it implied the restoration to the State of a numerous collection of those very powers which we had stripped from the State as the means of giving freedom to men. They called it the Planned Economy. But it was and is fascism by whatever name it is known. And though it may be launched under a free republic, it will wither and die because of the feebleness of the government which tries to enforce it by helpless appeals to the people. Little by little the government must be made stronger, the rights of the citizens before the government must be reduced. Little by little, if the Planned Economy is to be made to work, the free republic must wither. These two ideas—the idea of a free republic and the idea of a Planned Economy—cannot live together.¹¹

But this meant little to Tugwell and his school. He wrote:

"Planning will become a function of the federal government; either that or the planning agency will supersede the government, which is why, of course, such a scheme will be assimilated to the State."¹²

The most vocal of the open advocates of the system of the Planned Economy was Mr. George Soule, in the columns of the *New Republic*. He wrote a book on the subject in 1932 and about the same time Stuart Chase began to advocate a Closed National Economy.¹³ This word Planned Economy is a very tricky one. If you oppose it you can be asked: "Do you really mean we ought not to plan our economic system?" What objection can anyone have to planning to make an economic system work? If I am asked: "Do you believe we should plan to make the economic system work?" I would answer "Yes." But what system? A Communist system? A fascist system? Or a capitalist system? I believe in planning to make our free capitalist system work. What must be the object of my planning? It must be to keep the system privately owned and free and functioning at its highest efficiency. Obviously I cannot plan for a free capitalist system the way I would plan for a Communist system. My plans must be to make the free capitalist system function at top capacity according to its own special genius.

But the Planners have something else in mind. The first thing they would do is to destroy the freedom of the system. The next thing would be to socialize about one-fourth of it. Obviously this would not be planning to make "our" economic system work. It would be planning to substitute another one. These planners mean that inside the State a great aggregation of bureaus must be set up with some totalitarian over-all bureau to decide what will be produced and how much and who will produce it and who will be allowed to produce and where and at what price he will get his materials and at what price he will sell them and what he will pay for labor and the conditions under which labor will work and so on. In foreign trade, the business will be handled precisely as it was in Hitler's Germany, through huge state cartels which will, if possible, unite with similar cartels from other countries in great

international cartels which will regulate the international flow of goods. The central planning agency will control the banks and the flow of all investment, deciding where it will go and at what profits it will work. This is what they mean by planning and any man in his senses knows that when such plans are made for the guidance of a free people—140 million of them—who are not accustomed to being pushed around, they will refuse to comply unless the government has in its hands powers sufficiently formidable to compel them. This means a continual accumulation of power at the center until it becomes absolute. And whether it is good or bad it represents a complete revolution. "Planned Society" is just a soft, misleading name for a society part capitalist and part socialist run by a dictatorship of the experts.

Stuart Chase, one of the few among the Planners who stated the case fearlessly and frankly, admitted that to introduce it into a society of *laissez-faire* would be suicidal. "It can be introduced," he said, "only when governments take power and speculative profits away from bankers and business men . . . New industries must be set up; old industries liquidated; industrial research for substitute commodities encouraged on a large scale; millions of potentially unemployed steered to new jobs; colossal capital shrinkage adjusted in some fashion; such foreign trade as remains rigidly budgeted by central authority. National Planning and economic nationalism must go together or not at all." ¹⁴

Perhaps the great pioneer of planning in this country was Thorstein Veblen and it was from him that Tugwell and the others drew their inspiration. Veblen, like so many of his kind, was an unpleasant fellow. He was born in Minnesota in 1857 and went to a small Lutheran college where he got himself disliked for his incredible bad manners. From there he took his sneering mind to Johns Hopkins where he hoped to get a scholarship and where, in addition to failing in that, he involved himself in debt from a good deal of promiscuous borrowing. After a period at Yale he went back home where he lay around for several years exploiting a fake illness. Then he married a young lady of wealth and treated himself to many years of idleness. Like Marx and some other such philosophers he

proceeded on the theory that the world owed him a living. At the end of this series of easy sabbaticals he decided to return to college at the age of 34. His wife, of course, eventually left him.

In time he went to the faculty of the New School for Social Research in New York. He had a brilliant though erratic mind, and his influence on young teachers with radical leanings in New York at Columbia and the New School cannot be exaggerated. In an age when it was the popular thing in college to be in revolt, Veblen supplied his followers with a steady stream of alluring and half-baked slants on the world around them. The point that stuck with them was that our democratic system of business was run by a lot of ignoramuses and that the remedy was a new structure of society in which the experts—the technicians and the professors—would take over. This was government by the elite, which is precisely what Mussolini believed in.

Veblen decided that the capitalist system was doomed because it could never produce abundance. It could not do this because the business men who dominated it were systematically engaged in sabotage—that is, the conscious withdrawal of efficiency in order to create scarcity and increase prices. The technicians alone possess the technological knowledge for producing at all times all the goods and services which the population requires. Unfortunately the experts were now under the control of the bankers and the absentee owners who forced them to curtail output. Veblen insisted that the engineers should unite, since they are few in number and could easily do this. "Given time it should not come as a surprise that the guild of the engineers are provoked to put their heads together and disallow that large absentee ownership that goes to make the vested interests and to unmake an industrial system . . .

"A general strike of the technological specialists in industry need involve no more than a minute fraction of the whole population; yet it would swiftly bring a collapse of the old order and sweep the time-worn fabric of finance and absentee sabotage into the discard for good and all." ¹⁵

One of the men who fell under the spell of this ribald and lawless iconoclast was Rex Tugwell and it was Tugwell, of all the men who

had a chance to influence Roosevelt, who resembled Veblen most in the substance of his philosophy.

Another was Leon Henderson. Around 1932 a seedy philosopher with a patch in his pants named Harold Scott appeared upon our troubled scene sponsored by Leon Henderson. Scott was full of the Veblenian philosophy. He started a squalid little movement, until Leon Henderson and some others managed to get some business men to give him a hearing at a big banquet. Henderson got him into a cheap dinner jacket and Scott then proceeded to frighten the soul out of his hosts. He was pure Veblen. The present system was going to smash. Nothing could save it but a Soviet of the Engineers. They must take over. Then we must unite the whole continent in a single economic unit in the most severe type of economic nationalism, since the United States alone did not possess all the materials essential to a self-subsisting economy. The engineers would take it all into their laps. Money would be abolished and the unit of value would be the erg—the unit of energy. The production possibilities would be colossal.

A number of academic gentlemen set up an institute at Columbia University to study the possibility of this great Continental Economy and it was promoted by Henderson and others in what was called Technocracy, Inc. Henderson was a director. But the philosophers soon disagreed and the project blew up. On January 12, 1942, Congressman Martin Dies charged in the House that Henderson had been a Technocrat. Henderson, then clowning as the boss of OPA, indignantly denied it and offered to eat the Washington telephone book on the steps of the Capitol if Dies could prove it. But the proof was simple. The *New York Times* on January 24, 1933 announced the break-up of Technocracy, Inc., as being due to the resignations of four of its eight directors, including Leon Henderson. The *New York Herald Tribune* reported the same story, adding that Leon Henderson defended Technocracy, notwithstanding the resignation. The trouble arose over the manner in which Scott was running things.

Not long after this adventure in continental remodeling, Leon Henderson became the economic adviser of the NRA and from that

incredible explosion he moved over to become the economic adviser and research director of the Democratic National Committee.

As for Mr. Tugwell, he always maintained a close pipeline for transporting his views on affairs. These men and those like them had never thought much of that Second New Deal which in 1938 came tumbling down. Roosevelt was bewildered, asking why no one told him what to do—and these men and their confreres all the time knew precisely what to do.

However, there was still another group of philosophers, and as the sweet, discordant notes of the crumbling capitalist system, like a Shostakovich symphony made music in their ears, they were on hand with their special brand of medicine.

2. THE SPENDERS

All during the winter and spring of 1938 a group of young instructors from Harvard and Tufts were busy on a book which they called "An Economic Program for American Democracy." This little volume made its appearance in October, 1938, just as the solemn truth about the crack-up of the Second New Deal had sunk definitely into everybody's consciousness, including Mr. Roosevelt's.

These young professors had been moving under the guidance of a person somewhat more eminent than themselves—Dr. Alvin H. Hansen, professor of Economics at Harvard, who was destined before long to become the chief economic lawgiver of the New Deal in its revised Third Edition.¹⁶

The theory propounded by these gentlemen may be briefly stated thus. The expansion of the American economy came to an end in 1929. Before that it had grown for several well-known reasons. (1) There was a rapid increase in population due to free immigration. (2) The frontier was open to entry and exploitation. (3) Technological expansion went forward upon an amazing scale. But all this was at an end. Population is no longer increasing save at a small rate. The frontier is gone, having been exploited and settled. Technological advance at the old rate is no longer possible—the great era of revolutionary inventions is over. A basic change has come over the structure of the American economy.

Their theory continued: Government spending in the last five years had been proved to be a powerful force for promoting national well-being. Too many made the mistake of supposing that this was a temporary expedient to bring back a self-sustaining recovery. Certainly Mr. Roosevelt made this mistake. He had supposed he was merely priming the pump of business. Public spending, this new school insisted, could not bring the privately supported economic system back to full production because the private system was no longer capable of that. Public spending must be used not as a pump primer, but as a permanent additional or auxiliary pump. The old pump—private industry and business—could no longer produce the national income required for a full life. The government had to set up not a mere pump primer to prime the old pump, but a new pump to do its full share along with the old one to create abundance.

"The government," they concluded, "must assume full responsibility for maintaining national income at a sufficiently high level to assure full utilization of our human and material resource."

This must be done, they insisted, by public spending. *"The notion that public spending can be safely resorted to as a temporary emergency device must be abandoned."*

Their thesis was as follows. The people do not spend all of the income they receive on consumable goods and services. Each year they save great sums. These savings are thus withdrawn from the function of spending. They must be brought back into the stream of spending some way or the system collapses. The orthodox method of accomplishing this in the past has been through private investment. People who save and who do not wish to spend their money for food or clothes or consumable goods are willing to invest it. If they invest it they put it into what are called capital goods—goods designed to produce other goods such as houses, buildings, machinery, etc. If they do this the money is used to employ workmen, experts, technicians, etc., and this gets into the hands of people who will spend it. *To keep the capitalist system going at full tilt there must be a continuous flow of all savings into investment—into new industries and the expansion of old industries.* That is a perfectly sound theory. It has been held by most of the economists

who have studied business cycle theory for many years. It was the basis of the conclusion reached by many men when they predicted the depression of 1929. It was the basis of the opinion of those who appealed to Mr. Roosevelt in 1933 to adopt a program that would encourage business expansion instead of making war on business and killing investment. These New Deal economists, however, were just learning this important principle. But they concluded that a continuous flow of savings into private investment was no longer possible. This is possible only when business men wish to borrow funds for new enterprises and expansion of old ones. But we can never hope to see this again, they said. Expansion on a sufficient scale in new enterprises and expanded old ones is hopeless because the economy has reached the end of its expansion era, as described above. The only way to avoid the inevitable collapse of the system, therefore, is for the government to step in and borrow those sums which business refuses to borrow and to spend these on all sorts of welfare, educational, social and other public enterprises.

Of course government spending had already plunged the government into debt to the tune of nearly 40 billion dollars. Continuous spending of funds borrowed by the government would mean a continuous expansion of the government debt. But to these new economic philosophers this was nothing to disturb the slumbers of the people. Government debt is not like private debt, they said. It does not have to be paid. The government can keep it afloat indefinitely by redeeming old bonds with new bonds. Moreover the interest on the government debt will not be a burden. The debt is due by the people to themselves. The people owe the debt. The people own the bonds which represent the debt. The government taxes the people to pay the interest on the bonds. It takes the taxes out of the pockets of the people and then pays it back to them in the form of interest. It is just taking it out of one pocket and putting it in the other.

The government therefore need not bother about the size of the debt. It can go on borrowing indefinitely. One of the eminent Harvard economists delivered a speech in which he assured his hearers that over the course of years the government might create a debt of

a thousand billion dollars without being unduly worried. Of course a more crack-brained proposition was never promulgated in the name of higher learning. But the fact that all this was coming, not from some howling dervishes in the corn belt, but from gentlemen who took care to identify themselves as Harvard economists gave it a respectability which got for it a ready welcome in the most astonishing quarters.

About this time Mr. Tugwell and Leon Henderson engaged a couple of more orthodox economists in a discussion of the public's recovery problem. Mr. Tugwell and Mr. Henderson both admitted that the President's spending program had failed. But they insisted that it had failed because it had been on a far too modest scale. Instead of spending three billion a year, for which Roosevelt was being damned, Tugwell said he should have spent twelve billion a year.

It is not hard to understand what a happy effect this produced on the mind of Mr. Roosevelt. Always hospitable to fresh and bizarre ideas, he found himself now in a state of bitter frustration because, after what he had supposed was a spending spree, the depression was back on his doorstep. Here were men, not long-haired Populist crossroads philosophers, but honest-to-goodness Harvard and Columbia professors telling him the trouble with him was he had not spent enough. He was like a man suffering with the jimmies from consuming a quart of rum who was being exhorted by his wife to sober up and take the pledge when along came a batch of eminent physicians and assured him his whole trouble was that he should have drunk three quarts instead of one and should keep it up as a steady diet. There was probably no suggestion that fell upon Roosevelt's mind and spirit that gave him such a lift as this, that picked him up out of a spiritual slump in which he could not see his way ahead and now satisfied him that what he had been doing was fundamentally right. He had merely been too stingy, too reluctant. That lone remaining rabbit—the spending rabbit—the rabbit he had been ungrateful enough to think at times had been wild—now he saw that the whole trouble was he had been keeping too tight a rein on him, that he had not been nearly wild enough. Now he was ready for a wilder ride than ever.

It was these two groups—the Planners and the Spenders—who now really captured his mind and made him feel that, instead of having arrived at the end of his experiment, he was in truth only at the beginning. And here at hand was the most magnificent of all objects of spending—National Defense.

He had arrived now definitely at the point at which the staggering, ramshackle parliamentary governments of Europe had arrived before the First World War. Very soon a Temporary National Economic Committee, composed of representatives of the House, the Senate and the Executive department was named to make a great study of our economic system. Senator O'Mahoney was made chairman, but Leon Henderson, one of the champions of this new school, was the actual executive director. Everybody was given a chance to air his views. But Henderson and his immediate associates steered the whole show in the direction of the new ideas. Next a National Resources Planning Board was appointed. And, true to his strange contradictory limitations, Roosevelt named as its chairman his uncle, Colonel Frederic Delano, an aging engineer who was one of the most reactionary mine owners in the whole field. But the god in the machine, the economic philosopher who was to inspire its purposes and devices was that Dr. Alvin Hansen, the chief apostle of the spenders, who was named to a place in the Federal Reserve Board from which spot he began to function as the chief economic thinker of the New Deal—the Third New Deal.

Almost all of the men who were responsible for the little book which proclaimed this theory to the world were summoned down to Washington and became economic advisers to some sector of the government. Leon Henderson became eventually head of the OPA when the war arrived, and Richard Gilbert, Hansen's principal adjutant, became its economic adviser.

Roosevelt now had a plan. The events in Europe provided him with a means of spending money in a way that would command the approval of many of his bitterest critics.

The spread of these two ideas now—the Planned Economy and the theory of Spending and Debt—ran with a thrill through all the bureaus in Washington. A pall of spiritual depression had settled

over that large band of New Dealers who had been functioning so joyously up to the appearance of the economic crack-up. But now spending was resumed. Spending was to be continuous and everlasting. All around they saw the signs that the President, who had been regarded as a laggard in their great philosophical journey, was now completely converted. The money began to flow and there was the clear intention that the flow should be speeded up. Employment began to rise again. Never since the first inauguration had the new bureaucracy been so much in evidence. It sprang into a more spirited intellectual life.

In the capital one bumped suddenly and frequently into a happy and eager bureaucrat who had but recently been a tutor or professor or instructor in some college where he was eating his heart out over the futility of the professor's existence—where he presided over the destinies of two dozen youths in some small fragment of human learning, while lesser and baser men directed the destinies of the nation. Now he is in Washington and by a swift turn of the wheel of Fortune he presides over a numerous division of lesser bureaucrats, earns twice what he got as a teacher and is amazed and delighted at finding himself fabricating a policy to mold the lives of a million farmers or twice as many housewives. The sense of anonymous power sends the blood coursing through his heated brain. After a while he seems not unequal to any problem, however vast.

In certain cocktail bars or in the household salons of numerous Madame de Staals they foregather and are fascinated by what they have come to think of as the regime of the philosophers. Only two or three years ago it was the crackpots who were prancing and kicking up their heels all over the place and terrifying the men of power. But now, as in the days before the Bastille, the philosophers are whirling about in a new dance, a little crazier than the dance of the crackpots. The town is full of salons with well-stocked cellars. The little fresh-water instructor finds himself standing up near a beautifully carved colonial fireplace in Georgetown, with a caviar hors d'oeuvre in one hand and a martini cocktail in the other, discussing with Assistant Secretary So and So or Commissioner What's

His Name what shall be done with the potato crop or the new situation that has arisen in China. It is ravishing. It is intoxicating. The dead days of the dour Hoover are gone forever. The faltering and uncertain feeling of the Second New Deal are over. Roosevelt has seen the light—they knew he would all the time. The theory of the Permanent Crisis is now established. Oh, happy Crisis! Oh, blessed Catastrophe! At last we have set our foot truly upon the threshold of the real revolution—the perfect revolution, bloodless, worked out in charts and tables, attended by no massacres and no sacrifices, just a smooth, pleasant ascent up the flowery hills of government debt. But even the most wildly optimistic of the happy prophets had no vision of how tall the peaks would be.

6 } War Clouds

WHILE THE SHADOWS OF THE DEPRESSION WERE LENGTHENING over America, the war clouds grew darker over Europe. The First World War was the inevitable result of 50 years of European history. It began with the invasion of Serbia by Austria, as the Second World War began with the invasion of Poland by Germany and Russia. But the invasion of Serbia was no more the cause of World War I than the invasion of Poland was the cause of World War II. In each case the rape of a small country was merely the last step in a long series of accumulating causes that made this last step inevitable.

For 70 years all Europe had been developing along the same lines—(1) extending social services beyond the capacity of the State to support; (2) using militarism as a means of employing men in the

army, and in factories to supply the army; (3) paying for all this with vast government debts; and (4) the gradual extension of radical socialist ideas throughout Europe. The First World War interrupted but did not end these drifts. The new European governments moved as fast as possible into militaristic programs. The left-wing parties were powerful in the governments and used that power to develop on a greater scale than ever the Welfare State, committed to jobs and security for all. In Germany the use of militarism to support the economic system by providing jobs was delayed by the Treaty of Versailles. But Hitler cast off that chain and proceeded to do what all other governments were doing—develop the Welfare State with jobs for all, security for all and an army that would provide a million jobs in the ranks and two million in the factories to produce arms, uniforms and food for the army. Everywhere militarism was the biggest of all the industries. What Hitler did in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, Metaxas in Greece and various other dictators in other countries was merely the end result of every attempt to set up the Welfare State. It cannot work under a democratic government because it must have a dictator to enforce its harsh policies. *The welfare state cannot operate without the police state.*

Everywhere in Europe the armies were drilling; the shovel squads were busy in the forests and the poor and unemployed were getting their handouts from German, Italian, Austrian, Greek, Yugoslavian and other Harry Hopkinses. The arms factories, too, were busy, but the burden of all this upon the people was intolerable. To a degree people could be subjugated to these massive controls and exactions by the police authority of the absolute state, but one other weapon was also essential and that was fear. Neither the people of Germany nor Italy nor any other country could have been subjected indefinitely to the crushing taxation and humiliating controls unless they were kept in a state of fear. Control over the minds of men became as important to the dictator as his armies and police. And as it happened, the European militarist-welfare-police states had at their disposal two of the mightiest instruments of propaganda that the world has ever known—the radio and the motion pictures. Every-

where the hate campaigns were rolling along. Every population in Europe was being terrified by the radio and the motion pictures with fears of their neighbors. After 1933 nothing could avert war in Europe. It was just a question of how long it could be held off and at just what precise point it would break. It had to come soon. By 1936 Hitler was strong enough to denounce the Versailles and Locarno pacts and send his troops into the demilitarized Rhineland without France or England raising a hand. Mussolini had invaded Ethiopia.

As 1937 opened and Roosevelt began his second term, the smell of war filled the air from four directions—from Spain, Japan, Italy and Germany. The first shadow of the returning depression came in July in America and it was in July that Japan began, at the Marco Polo Bridge, the invasion of Northern China and within a month had taken possession of Peiping and invaded Shanghai.

Early in 1938, when Roosevelt was having so many blue days with his cabinet about the return of the depression, Hitler in a series of swift shocks sent the German columns to seize Austria and declared that Austria had ceased to exist as a nation. He had said there were ten million Germans outside the borders of Germany who must be reclaimed for the fatherland. By the Austrian coup he got seven million. But there still remained three million in the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia. That became his next objective and he let the world know it. All through the Spring and Summer of 1938, Hitler was storming at Czechoslovakia. France and Britain began to speak openly about fighting. By April, France made it clear she would live up to her treaty with the Czechs if Germany attacked and by the end of May the Czechs were ordered to their war stations. German armored divisions were moving up to the Czech border and the crisis was approaching. Clashes were occurring on the Czech frontier. Chamberlain and Daladier were putting pressure on Hitler. Hitler demanded the Sudeten. Bomb-proof dug-outs were being rushed in Hyde Park and gas-mask stations were being set up in Piccadilly. Chamberlain, Daladier and Mussolini went to Munich on September 29, 1938 for a talk with Hitler. There an agreement was reached by which the whole Sudeten area

was surrendered to Germany and Chamberlain went back to London with his famous announcement that he brought back "peace in our time." But no one believed it. Hitler immediately resumed his agitation against Czechoslovakia.

As Hitler's legions rolled into Czechoslovakia, Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles claimed over the radio that Roosevelt had sent a personal message to Mussolini begging him to intervene and that, on this request, Mussolini had done so. As a result, Hitler had halted his soldiers and sent an invitation to Chamberlain to come to Munich. Five days later Secretary of War Woodring made the same claim. And the White House secretariat put out a record of all the messages from the President synchronized with the events in Munich to prove that Roosevelt had turned the scales for peace. Later, in the 1940 campaign, Willkie charged that Roosevelt had boasted of his part in the appeasement. Secretary Hull indignantly denied this and asserted that the President had "never telephoned to Mussolini" as charged by Willkie. However, in Mr. Hull's more recently published memoirs¹⁷ he forgot that disclaimer and he himself boasted that the President sent a "message to Mussolini" and one to Hitler. He wrote "whether the actions taken by the President brought about these results it is impossible to say. But undoubtedly they exercised considerable influence" and he produced proudly a letter from King George VI to the President saying: "I have little doubt that your efforts contributed largely to the result." Whether they did or not the President's office and his agents were loud in their claims that he had brought about the Munich appeasement.

Every man who followed the course of international affairs knew what Hitler was driving at. He was driving at Russia. Of course he had a claim on Poland for the restoration of the Polish Corridor and it was inevitable that he would fight for that. But that was a minor objective. Hitler had set himself up as the great enemy of Communism, which was becoming a menace all over Europe. But he had far more practical reasons for his Russian ambitions than the mere "defense" of western civilization against Communism. What Hitler really wanted was first to smash the Communist government in Russia and second to seize the Ukraine and the Caucasus with

the vast resources of those regions. He intended to rip them out of the Soviet Union and bring them under German control where he would have free and complete access to their vast oil, mineral, timber, chemical and agricultural products. When Hitler would undertake this aggressive enterprise would depend upon his own judgment as to when the German armies were ready and it began to look as if they were pretty nearly ready in 1938.

These war moves were of profound interest to the American people. There was a general feeling that our well-intentioned entry into the First World War had been ill-advised, that none of the grandiose moral objectives had been achieved, that all the tall talk about ending war forever and bringing a reign of peace through the League had been a ghastly failure, that our allies had taunted us with our selfishness for making money out of the war, asked for cancellation of the war debts and called us Uncle Shylock. There was a feeling that we had been drawn into the war through the ill-considered day-to-day decisions made by the administration then in power and that we had been lured in by permitting ourselves to tap the resources of war as an opportunity for business prosperity.

Americans were generally decided that we would not make that mistake again and out of this grew the now famous Neutrality legislation. Secretary of State Cordell Hull, in his memoirs, has denounced the Special Senate Committee Investigating the Munitions Industry, which was headed by Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota, for having put upon our statute books this Neutrality Act. It is possible that Secretary Hull to this day does not know how the Neutrality Act came to be passed, since the President was in the habit—as Mr. Hull himself has demonstrated—of carrying out important projects in international affairs without consulting his Secretary of State.

The origin of the Neutrality Act has never, I believe, been made public before. The writer was in a position to know the facts and now states them for the first time. I was acting as one of the advisers of the Nye Committee. On March 20, 1935, Senator Nye brought the Committee into executive session. There he informed the members and myself that he had just received a message from the Presi-

dent requesting him to bring the Committee or as many members as possible, with him to the White House at once. I do not recall how many members went with Senator Nye, but they went at once and there the President proceeded to expatiate at some length upon the causes of war, based upon his own personal experiences in war.

He then declared that he thought the wise thing for the Committee to do would be to prepare an act which would guarantee, in the event of a European war, the absolute neutrality of the American people. This was the first proposal for a Neutrality Act and it came from the President of the United States, Mr. Hull's superior at the time. Several senators expressed prompt agreement. The President then said he thought William Jennings Bryan was right in 1916 on this subject. Senator Bennett Clark, whose father had been defeated for the presidential nomination by Bryan's leadership, laughed a little sardonically and said "Well, so far as I am concerned, I have no use for William Jennings Bryan or any of the things he stood for, but I do agree with him on that." This referred to the position taken by Bryan that American citizens should be prohibited from traveling on foreign ships in time of war or on American ships into the war zones.

The Committee was greatly pleased with the President's suggestion and left the White House in complete agreement with him. Senator Nye later prepared, after consultation with his colleagues, the first draft of the famous Neutrality Act, which generally was along the lines suggested by the President. It was introduced in the Senate and House and passed by very large majorities. It had a time limit of two years and at the expiration of the time limit it was passed again by enormous majorities in both houses.

The President promptly applied the law with a good deal of gusto when Mussolini attacked Ethiopia, and when the Spanish Civil War broke out and the President found the Act did not apply to civil wars but only to wars between countries, he sent for Senator Nye, requested him to have the law amended immediately to apply to civil war, all of which was done and the President promptly declared the Neutrality Act in force as to Spain.

In the 1936 campaign, in the famous address at Chautauqua

already referred to, the President described the conditions which bring countries into war. He had said: "Industrial and agricultural production having a war market may give immense fortunes to a few men. For a nation as a whole it produces disaster." He described how war profits had sterilized our farms, extended monopoly, produced unjustified expansion of industry and a price level that dislocated relations between debtor and creditor. And then he said with complete approval: "The Congress of the United States has given me certain authority to provide safeguards of American neutrality in case of war" and he warned the nation that this was not enough unless the President himself was one who was willing to use the authority.

Yet for years writers dealing with this subject have referred to the Neutrality Acts as if they were something that had been imposed on the President against his better judgment and for the purpose of hamstringing him in the conduct of foreign affairs. The whole policy of the Neutrality Acts has been referred to as the "neutrality blunder" as if it were the blunder of the President's critics instead of one in which he had not only shared but which he had actually initiated. This is just one more thing the President did in the field of foreign affairs without consulting Mr. Hull and he probably never confided to him that he had originated the idea.

Roosevelt had said in his 1936 campaign that "the effective maintenance of American neutrality depends today as in the past on the wisdom and determination of whoever at the moment occupies the office of President of the United States and Secretary of State." And he had warned that in the event of war abroad we would have to be on guard against those seeking "fool's gold," those who would find it hard to look beyond, "to realize the inevitable penalties, the inevitable day of reckoning that comes from a false prosperity." We can keep out of war, he promised, "*if those who watch and desire have a sufficiently detailed understanding of international affairs to make certain that the small decisions of today do not lead toward war and if at the same time they possess the courage to say no to those who selfishly or unwisely would lead us into war.*" This is what was called isolationism.

And now war in Asia was a fact—a vast war with a million Japanese soldiers in China. There was a civil war in Spain which had aroused differing elements of our people, and Hitler's legions were mobilized for the inevitable plunge eastward into Poland and then into Russia.

The fatal moment was at hand when the day-to-day decisions of the President of the United States would lead us in one direction or the other and Roosevelt was the President. Already the war orders were coming fast. England had set up a \$7,500,000,000 war preparation fund. Germany, France, England, Italy, China, Japan were all clamoring for steel, scrap iron, oil, planes, plane parts. The time was here when "thousands of Americans who, seeking immediate riches, fool's gold, would attempt to break down or evade our neutrality."

What would the President do?

Here he was with a depression on his hands—eleven million men out of work, the whole fabric of his policy in tatters, his promise only a few months old to balance the budget still fresh in the minds of the people and yet the pressing necessity, as he put it himself, of spending two or three billion a year of deficit money and, most serious of all, as he told Jim Farley—*no way to spend it*.

Here now was a gift from the gods—and from the gods of war at that. Here was the chance to spend. Here now was something the federal government could really spend money on—military and naval preparations.

Obviously, in the disturbed state of the world, something could be said for this. But Roosevelt in 1932 had denounced Hoover for spending so much on the army and navy. Now he promptly set off on an immense program of military and naval expenditures—which was proper and in which Congress concurred—but without making any retrenchment in the enormous outlays he was putting out on all the other New Deal departments of spending, all with borrowed money and more government debt. He simply increased his government borrowing. He was now committed all-out to the theory which the Planners and the Spenders had sold him, that government debt means nothing. He could now spread his wings for a grand flight

under the influence of this new theory without troubling his soul about the economic consequences.

In 1936, when Mussolini attacked Ethiopia, the President had promptly applied the Neutrality Act. When the Civil War began in Spain, as we have seen he promptly urged the Act's amendment to cover that situation. But in 1937, when Japan invaded China, *we were in a depression and this time he refused to apply the Neutrality Act and permitted shipments to China and Japan from this country.* One excuse was that there was no declaration of war, which was silly. The Neutrality Act did not require a declaration of war by an aggressor; it merely required the fact of war. The other reason was that we were China's only source of defense materials, in spite of the fact that we were shipping six times as much to Japan as we were shipping to China. What the President's New Deal needed now was that war trade with Japan. The President defied the mandatory provisions of the Neutrality Act because his administration required that at this moment America should get a little of that "fool's gold" from Japan.

In September, 1937 two old gentlemen—Cordell Hull and Norman Davis—put their heads together and decided the United States was getting too isolationist. They decided "some day-to-day decisions" should be made to bring us a little closer to the brawl that was brewing in Europe. They went to Roosevelt and sold him the idea that he should make a speech on "international cooperation."¹⁸ Roosevelt readily agreed. The two of them proceeded to write the speech. Davis undoubtedly did it because Hull could hardly write a decent speech for himself. And this speech Roosevelt delivered on October 5, 1937 at Chicago. It was the celebrated "quarantine" speech which created a sensation. He talked of "homicides raging over the world, destroying all the works of civilization." Then he said:

"If those things come to pass in other parts of the world let no one imagine that America will escape . . . that this hemisphere will not be attacked and that it will continue to tranquilly and peacefully carry on the ethics and arts of civilization . . . If those days come there will be

no safety in arms, no help from authority, no answer in science. The storm will rage until every flower of culture is trampled and all human beings are leveled in a vast chaos . . .

"It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading. When an epidemic of physical disease spreads the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients against the spread of the disease . . . War is a contagion whether it be declared or undeclared. It can engulf states and peoples distant from the original scene of hostility. We are determined to keep out of war, yet we cannot assure ourselves against the disastrous effects of war and the danger of involvement. We are adopting such measures as will minimize our risk of involvement but we cannot have complete protection in a world of disorder in which confidence and security have broken down."

Ernest Lindley, a New Deal journalist, at a press conference asked the President if the speech was a repudiation of neutrality.¹⁹ When Roosevelt answered there was no conflict between such a program and neutrality, Lindley replied that they seemed to be at opposite ends of the poles. Roosevelt refused to say what he meant by quarantining an aggressor.

Hull and Davis had not been responsible for the quarantine idea in the speech. The speech went further than they thought it ought to have gone, but not, of course, further than they were willing to go. They were eager for America to get into a war if it came. But they felt the people had to be drawn along a little at a time. They wanted the President to frighten the people a little as a starter. But he increased the recommended dose. The reaction was so violent that they felt it put back by at least six months the purpose they had in mind—rousing America to a warlike mood.

Two months later an American gunboat, the *Panay*, was bombed in the Yangtse River in China in the heart of the Sino-Japanese war area. Japan immediately apologized and agreed to pay full damages and to punish the guilty officers. Had the President applied the Neutrality Act, as he was in duty-bound to do—this boat would not have been protecting American oil tankers delivering oil in the midst of two warring armies in China. The purpose of the Neutrality Act was to avoid precisely an incident like this. However,

following the *Panay* incident, Mr. Hull began to churn up as much war spirit as possible and through the radio and the movies frantic efforts were made to whip up the anger of the American people.

In January, 1938, I talked with one of the President's most intimate advisers. I asked him if the President knew we were in a depression. He said that of course he did. I asked what the President proposed to do. He answered: "Resume spending." I then suggested he would find difficulty in getting objects on which the federal government could spend. He said he knew that. What, then, I asked, will the President spend on? He laughed and replied in a single word: "Battleships." I asked why. He said: "You know we are going to have a war." And when I asked whom we were going to fight he said "Japan" and when I asked where and what about, he said "in South America." "Well," I said, "you are moving logically there. If your only hope is spending and the only thing you have to spend on is national defense, then you have got to have an enemy to defend against and a war in prospect."

Apparently the best hope of a war at that moment for popular consumption was with the Japs, who had just sunk the *Panay*, and as there was little chance of arousing the American people to fight around Japan, South America seemed a more likely battleground to stimulate our fears and emotions. There is nothing new about this. Kings and ministers have toyed with this device for ages and convinced themselves they were acting wisely and nobly.

7 } The Third Term

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT TOYED WITH the idea of a third term from the moment of his second inauguration. It was impossible that a man who took so much satisfaction from breaking so many comparatively unimportant precedents should fail to feel the urge to break this one.

However, it is possible that with the economic crash of 1937-38, he put the idea out of his mind. Henry Morgenthau has made it quite clear that Roosevelt had the hope that he could get through the remaining years of his second administration without balancing the budget and then go out of power to await the inevitable crash that would follow his departure and be the prologue to another Roosevelt term. The disastrous Court fight, the hopeless purge defeat, the deep cleavage within his party and inside his own cabinet, the failure of all his policies beyond doubt led him to look forward to a period of peace and he actually discussed with a magazine a proposal to write for them at a very large honorarium.

After the arrival in Washington of the academic champions of government spending and the rise of the war fever in Europe, which presented him almost like a fairy gift with the means of spending on a most elaborate scale, the sense of frustration that had extinguished in his breast the ambition for a third term was now gone. Now he knew he had the perfect project for spending—national defense. Now he knew, because the economists from Harvard and Tufts had assured him, that all his fears about the unbalanced budget were just old-fashioned horse-and-buggy bogies. There is not the slightest doubt, from the accounts of all who saw him fre-

quently, that by the beginning of 1939 his spirits soared aloft. Roosevelt knew that war was coming, with a great probability that America might get into it. If America did not actually go into the war itself, she would certainly play a critical role on the edges of the war and when the war came to an end she would sit at the head of the table, perhaps as arbiter, in the making of some great and luminous peace. It must be very clear to anyone that Roosevelt could not bear the thought of surrendering the glorious experience of managing America's part in that war into other hands. It is fairly certain now that early in 1939, if not a little sooner, he made up his mind to seek a third election.

Roosevelt had a weakness that was a source of unending embarrassment and perplexity to his closest advisers. When he was bent upon some act which he was very eager to perform, yet which he believed would not stand exposure to discussion, he had a kind of childish habit of not only concealing his intention from those who ought to know but of even dissembling it like a small boy bent on mischief. Having made his decision to seek a third term, he kept the subject a complete secret from practically everyone. He realized the political difficulties involved in a third nomination. He wanted it, therefore, to be a "draft Roosevelt" movement, rising up spontaneously within the party. Certainly he did not tell any member of his cabinet or any of the sycophantic time-servers who formed his kitchen cabinet that they must not promote his nomination. There is an old Irish saying that sometimes half a word is better than a whole sentence. It is probable that to Hopkins and a few others, Roosevelt barely lisped that half word and they went with their whole souls and all their energies and most of their time into the great adventure of making sure of Roosevelt's nomination.

It was almost all done by the men who spent most of their time in and around the White House and so cunningly was this whole comedy of the "draft" carried on that Roosevelt himself was able at once to play the coy maiden and chairman of the Draft Roosevelt movement.

Apparently some time late in 1938, Edward J. Flynn²⁰ discussed the third term with Roosevelt, who told him a story about his

"Uncle Ted" as he called him. When Theodore Roosevelt was considering a similar situation he said to friends that the people of the United States "are sick and tired of the Roosevelts," that they "were sick of looking at my grin and hearing what Alice had for breakfast. In fact they want a rest from the Roosevelts." The people felt the same way about his own family, said Roosevelt. They were tired of looking at them.

Organization Democrats at this time were not so strong for Roosevelt to run. Certainly Garner was not and neither was Farley. Flynn says he refrained from urging Roosevelt to attempt another campaign. He felt the President was not in the best of health, that he was no longer young, that "he lacked some of the early resilience and power of quick reaction he once had." The eagerness for another term all came from the New Dealers and they were hard at work trying to get the necessary delegates, which Flynn says was not helping the cause any because they were deeply resented everywhere by the orthodox leaders. Charlie Michaelson,²¹ who I am convinced was not very much in the inner secrets of either the party or the White House, says he wrote in 1938 "Of course I am entitled to a guess and my guess is that FDR would take a case of the hives rather than four more years of the headache that being President means."

Miss Perkins, who worshiped Roosevelt, says that she never urged him to run for a third term because she "had real doubt about the wisdom of third terms as a matter of principle." And she insists that the President did not really want a third term. She called on him with Daniel Tobin of the Teamsters' Union on some labor matter, but she does not give the date. Tobin told Roosevelt he must run for a third term. The President said: "No, no, Dan. I just can't do it. I tell you I've been here a long time. I am tired. Besides I have to take care of myself. This sinus trouble I've got—the Washington climate makes it dreadful . . . I never had it until I came here. The doctors say I have to go into the hospital for a month of steady treatment and I can't do that, you know . . . No, I can't be President again. I want to go home to Hyde Park. I want to take care of my trees. I have a big planting there, Dan. I want to make

the farm pay. I want to finish my little house on the hill. I want to write history. No, I just can't do it, Dan." And then he added with a laugh: "You know, the people don't like the third term either." ²²

Tobin assured him that labor would stand by him. This might have been in 1938, during those dark months. However, Roosevelt knew enough to know that such a disclaimer would not prevent the "draft" so long as all the men in the White House, from Hopkins up and down, were running it.

At this same session Roosevelt told Tobin that John L. Lewis had come to him and urged him to run for a third term, much as Tobin had, and that he had made the same answer to Lewis, but that Lewis had suggested that "if John L. Lewis was nominated for Vice-President all the objections would disappear." ²³ This statement was without a grain of truth. Besides, John L. Lewis was far too smart a man ever to go about getting the nomination for President or Vice-President that way.

In July of 1938, Fred Perkins of the *Pittsburgh Press*, at a White House press conference, asked: "Mr. President, would you care to comment on Governor Earle's suggestion that you run for a third term?" The President said: "The weather is very hot." Then Robert Post of the *New York Times* put in: "Mr. President, will you tell us now if you will accept a third term?" The President said: "Bob Post should put on a dunce cap and stand in the corner." Then Fred Perkins tried again: "Did your statement last winter fully cover the third term?" The President replied: "Fred Perkins to don a dunce cap likewise." ²⁴

However, Farley says that after 1938 the President became increasingly interested in the 1940 convention and that he saw his successor in every man to achieve stature in the country and that as the time approached he became more and more critical of all these would-be presidential candidates. As a rule, a president who does not intend to run to succeed himself, is bound to want to see a successor friendly to his policies and to his fame and a candidate who can win. Actually the normal behavior for Roosevelt, if he was not grooming himself, was to be looking around earnestly for someone to follow him and to assist in building up either that man or some

other strong candidate. After 1938, Roosevelt pursued precisely the opposite course. Theodore Roosevelt had surrounded himself with the ablest cabinet of any in our time. He was himself a big man, confident of his own capacity to deal with other big men and was not afraid to have that kind around him. Franklin Roosevelt surrounded himself with a cabinet of perhaps the smallest stature of any president in our time. Theodore Roosevelt, anxious to be succeeded by a strong man, went to great pains to build up William Howard Taft. Franklin Roosevelt, on the other hand, never failed to knock down anybody suggested as a possible successor. The name of Paul McNutt was being urged. Roosevelt sent him as High Commissioner to the Philippines and jokingly asked: "Is that far enough?"

The four names most prominently mentioned were Garner, Hull, Farley and McNutt. Farley says that Roosevelt could not see Garner under any circumstances—"he was too conservative." He didn't want Hull because he was too slow—"thought things over too long." He could not have Farley because Farley was a Catholic and that would not be wise. From all this Farley, in 1939, wrote in his diary:

"I am satisfied in my own mind that the President will not be a candidate for reelection, *but might be willing to listen to argument*. I don't know if he has anyone in mind definitely to succeed him. If he had to make a selection at the moment I believe he would select Harry Hopkins, Robert Jackson or Frank Murphy in the order named."²⁵

It has been said that Jim Farley's break with Roosevelt was occasioned by Roosevelt's determination to run for a third term and thus blast Farley's ambition to be President. But a careful reading of Farley's memoirs makes it pretty clear that he had no idea of being nominated for the presidency, that he was flattered at the suggestion but what he thought he might get was the nomination for the vice-presidency. For instance, he wrote in 1939: "There isn't any doubt in my mind if I assist in bringing about Garner's or Hull's nomination, I can have second place with either man if I want it."

In February, 1939, Farley made several long trips to sound out party sentiment. He wrote: "My own opinion is that the leaders of

the party with few exceptions do not want Roosevelt to run for a third term." He noted that they were sick of Wallace, Hopkins, Corcoran and the rest and did not relish the idea of a bitter campaign defending a third term candidacy. This, he said, was the opinion of every responsible leader he talked with except Olson of California and Kelly of Chicago. Farley noted that after this, in frequent conversations with Roosevelt, as different names appeared in some connection wholly removed from the election, Roosevelt would dismiss them with "he wants to be president" as if this were an offense. He was angry that McNutt should even permit his name to be discussed for the presidency. He told Farley: "I consider it bad taste on his part to be letting his name be used when he is still a member of my administration."²⁶ This meant that any Democrat with the Roosevelt administration could not permit his name to be discussed for the presidency without resigning.

In June, Garner told Farley that under no circumstances would he support a third term. Farley agreed and confided: "The two of us can pull together to stop Roosevelt." Garner told Farley he had committed the sin of becoming popular and that was something Roosevelt would not tolerate in anyone. He said: "He is jealous of Hull for his standing before the people. He is jealous of me for my popularity with Congress. He ought to be glad to see men in the party coming along but he doesn't like it."

This was in June of 1939 and a short time afterwards Cardinal Mundelein sent for Farley and urged him to support Roosevelt for a third term. Mundelein had come directly from the White House. Roosevelt had not consulted Farley on an appointment for a year and a half and after this, his visits to the White House grew fewer. Then some time during the summer, Roosevelt asked Farley to come to Hyde Park. He talked about the 1940 campaign and the candidates. There was Garner—he's just impossible. Then Wallace—"he hasn't got 'it.'" Then McNutt—he turned the thumb of his right hand down. Then he got around to the third term and after a pause, he leaned over and in a low voice of great confidence he said: "I am going to tell you something I have never told another living soul," and then almost in a whisper: "Of course I will not

run for a third term, but I don't want you to pass this on to anyone because it would make my position difficult if the fact were known prematurely." Farley pledged his silence.

After allowing this to sink in, he told Farley that while he would not run, he did not want to campaign for a losing ticket. Farley asked what kind of candidate he wanted. He said: "Pick someone who is sympathetic to my administration and will continue my policies." It is perfectly clear from what Farley wrote at the time that he did not believe Roosevelt. Many men, enemies of the President, had accused him of being, to put it mildly, untruthful. Farley had been politically his most important lieutenant from the time he was nominated for the governorship. Roosevelt was now, under the veil of secrecy, making a firm statement to Farley about a matter of the supremest importance to both men. And Farley didn't believe him.

After this Farley went to Europe. While he was away, Hitler drove into Poland and the British and French declared war. When he came back the whole problem had been solved for Roosevelt. Farley found him in a state of the highest excitement. They had lunch and Farley said: "*We are to all intents and purposes in a state of war.* I think at this time politics should be adjourned. The people aren't interested in politics. They are interested in their country and their families." To which Roosevelt replied: "*Jim, you have hit the nail on the head,*" which corresponds with Frances Perkins' statement that for Roosevelt the war years began in September, 1939.

Still later, at a dinner party at the White House, Roosevelt said to Farley's wife that he was having a terrible time. People were trying to make him run and he didn't want to. To which she replied: "Well, you're the President, aren't you? All you have to do is to tell them you won't run." He looked very much surprised and turned to the lady on his right. It was at this point that Farley knew definitely that Roosevelt was going to run again and after this the President virtually ignored Farley, and a White House assistant secretary was ordered not to assist Farley in a speech he was about to make. Cordell Hull says that from 1938 to July, 1940, Roosevelt told him definitely that Hull would be his successor. But all the

time he was laying his plans for a "draft"—and acting out the comedy with Hull, who apparently still believes Roosevelt wanted him to run.

The whole story is a chapter of duplicity, in which Roosevelt, who had definitely decided to run if he could make it, was putting on before Farley the pose that he didn't want to run and before Hull the pose that Hull was his candidate, while all the New Deal agents, with his full knowledge and approval, were scouring the country for delegates and Roosevelt was using every artifice and pressure he could command to kill off every possible contender for the nomination. Saved now by the war from the disaster which overtook his administration in 1938, completely converted to the golden theories sold him by Hansen and Tugwell of eternal deficits and spending of billions on the greatest of all WPA projects, he could now rise out of the ashes of a mere New Deal leader to become a modern St. Michael brandishing his sword against Hitler and all the forces of evil throughout the world.

8 } *The Shock Troops of the Third New Deal*

WITH THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE EUROPEAN WAR a certainty, Roosevelt was now ready to go to work to get himself elected.

The whole conservative wing of the Democratic party was angry, from Vice-President Garner down. It was angry about the radical labor power inside the party, about the attacks on business and about the Court fight and the purge. Nevertheless, the President had in his hands control of the party machinery.

In the 1932 convention, Roosevelt had had the hostility of the party machines in the big cities. They had been hostile at first but had been held in line by Jim Farley. They were unwilling friends in the 1936 election, but now they had been conquered completely by Roosevelt. In addition to them, he had the vast legions of organized labor which, by 1939, were being directed from the White House through the masterful leadership of Sidney Hillman. He had the immense payroll army of the New Deal government which included millions. And he was now to cultivate those racial and religious groups whose emotions had been inflamed by the outrages committed in Europe upon the inhabitants of their old homelands.

I. THE RIGHTEOUS BOSSES

There never has been in American politics a religion so expansively and luminously righteous as the New Deal. From the beginning to the end it was constant in one heroic enterprise—war to the death upon evil, upon greed, poverty and oppression. It had, in fact, one monstrous enemy against which it tilted its shining spear seven days a week and that was SIN. If you criticized the New Deal, you were *for* sin.

Yet it must be conceded that amongst the warriors of the New Deal were many whose presence in the army against sin was a little surprising. One such collection of men were those who are called leaders by their friends and bosses by their enemies in the big cities. What were the leaders of these great grafting organizations doing on the side of the angels?

In New York City, Tammany Hall was the organization that managed the Democratic hosts of the city. It had a long and at times unsavory existence. Its motto was "To the victor belongs the spoils" and the spoils consisted not merely in jobs that went to the party workers, but those great enterprises that feed upon the state and that are included under the name of graft. Illegal graft was the levying of extortion upon contractors, gambling houses, commercial prostitution, commercial vice of all sorts. There was, however, an area known as legal graft that consisted in various kinds of profits which organization leaders and favorites made out of ordinarily

legal business but which they were able to collect because of political power and pressure. For instance, a Tammany leader might have a silent partner in some firm handling contracts with the city. In cities, the bonding and insuring business is an important element in all kinds of activities—bonds in the courts, bonds of office holders, insurance and bonds of city contractors and the insurance business of large firms that depend heavily upon city business or the favor of the administration in power. Always there were Tammany leaders with an interest in an insurance firm either directly or through their relatives.

With the advent of Charlie Murphy as the leader, there was a marked moral change. Murphy, like many of his contemporaries, was a good family man and a steady church member. He began as a saloon owner but left that and as he grew older became aware of the vicious aspects of organized vice and its partnership with machine politics. When John Hylan became mayor of New York, strongly under the influence of his religious wife he made up his mind to end the toleration of commercial vice in New York City. Murphy supported him in that and whatever critics may say of Hylan and Tammany, he put that policy into effect and drove these industries out of New York City into New Jersey, where they found a hospitable welcome.

I do not mean that the leaders of Tammany Hall put on wings. There remained always a few leaders who resented this flight to grace and there were areas of so-called legal graft which were extensively cultivated. But another factor had intruded upon the scene. Al Smith loomed as a candidate for the presidency. Murphy nursed the ambition of electing an authentic Tammany man to the White House and as part of that plan he began to enforce a more exacting code of good conduct on Tammany leaders, some of whom, to be sure, chafed under it. But Murphy said Tammany could not afford a bad name to stain the good repute of Al.

One other point about Tammany must be noted. It was primarily a political organization, but one activity of the organization was social welfare. Tammany lived on the support of the masses of voters. In each city district was a Tammany club. It was the head-

quarters of the political life of the district, but it was also the center of certain social services. Every night the boss was there, surrounded by numerous city employees from the various departments of the city—school board, magistrates' courts, public works, health, etc.—and to this club every evening came a steady stream of people in the district looking for aid—a woman who wants her teacher-daughter brought to a school nearer home; another who wants help in the magistrate's court for her erring son, a whole collection of victims of the eternal traffic violation ticket who want it fixed, a poor woman who wants a little coal or a few dollars or a word to the commissioner of welfare for a relative, and various others seeking many other kinds of help.

The cost of all this so-called social welfare to the district boss was not very great. The personal services were performed by the faithful on the city payroll and the actual money outlay was modest and met out of the boss' own funds and funds levied on city employees and contractors and others who enjoyed the favor of the leader. But it was the most powerful source of the hold that Tammany Hall and its affiliated organizations in the other boroughs of the city had upon the people of New York.

The worst of these city machines were the Kelly-Nash machine in Chicago, the Hague machine in Jersey City and the Pendergast machine in Missouri, although there were many others in the great industrial cities. When Roosevelt was a candidate for the nomination in 1932 all these machines were opposed to him. They continued to sneer at him after he was elected and he continued to snipe at them. He directed Farley, for instance, to fight the nomination of Ed Kelly for mayor of Chicago. In New York he committed against the Democratic organization which had helped elect him the unpardonable political offense of promoting the candidacy of LaGuardia for mayor, who was elected on a Republican ticket supported by disaffected New Deal Democrats.

When Roosevelt became President, as we have seen he began spending vast sums of money on relief and public works. Into a Tammany district, for instance, now flowed not a few thousand dollars passed around in the methodical and economical manner of the

boss, but hundreds of thousands, even millions, of dollars for all kinds of aid including jobs for those who wanted work and generous handouts from relief agencies. The handouts, of course, were coming from New Deal agents. The Tammany chieftain in the district could no longer compete with the extravagant hand of Roosevelt's dispensers of bounty. The only hope of the Tammany leader to hold his place in the district was to do business with the man in Washington who commanded these golden streams. He had to be the agent in the district for controlling the flow of this money or he was out, because the national government could install in every district a benefactor who could out-spend the boss not ten to one but a hundred to one.

Roosevelt did not do business with leaders directly. They had to do business with Roosevelt's man in Tammany and, as it turned out, he was probably the worst of all the leaders in that organization. Tammany men knew all about him and he became after that the model and pattern to which Tammany conformed. He was Jimmy Hines, the leader of the Eleventh District.

Prohibition in its way had done something to Tammany as it had to everything in America. It had brought the speakeasy, the illegal liquor business and the criminals and gangsters who preyed on them. With the appearance of Jimmy Walker as mayor of New York the organization began to sink back again into its old frailties. Graft upon all sorts of commercialized vice got to be big business again. More than one district fell into the hands and under the control of men who were leagued with these enterprises. Jimmy Hines was the worst of them all. He had a partnership with Dutch Schultz, a notorious gangster and murderer.

How he became Roosevelt's right-hand man in New York is not difficult to understand. Years before a young man out of law school, wishing to get along, decided to become a Democrat. His name was Samuel I. Rosenman. After he graduated from Columbia, he went to Mr. Hines and told him of his ambitions—he wanted to go to the legislature. Hines sent him to one of his trusted advisers, an old Tammany judge, for examination. The judge found that Sammy knew his lessons and so Rosenman went to the legislature and in

good time wormed his way into the good graces of Franklin Roosevelt as governor and became the first member and the last survivor of his Brain Trust. He remained always one of the close political friends of his sponsor, Jimmy Hines, while he lived in the spotlight of the purity and holiness of the New Deal, and he was able to make Hines Roosevelt's right-hand man among the bosses of Tammany.

In 1933, LaGuardia came into power in New York City and for the next ten years Tammany lost its hold upon the political machinery of New York save through some of the borough governments and by 1942 lost its hold in the state when Dewey became governor. Tammany was now strictly on the outside. It had lost the jobs and the rich perquisites of office. Many of the club houses were closed or became the cold and dreary haunts of men who no longer attracted the hungry, the poor and the dispossessed in search of help. Tammany had sold its famous old hall in 14th Street and had built a new Tammany Hall on Union Square near 14th, but after a few years of struggle it was no longer able to maintain itself there or pay the interest on the mortgage and had to sell out. Old Tammany sachems and other devout members of that dwindling congregation took refuge in tears over at Luchow's Restaurant the day Jimmy Walker, representing Tammany Hall, stood on the stage of the Hall and handed the deeds to the new purchaser—David Dubinsky, head of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, a socialist-dominated labor organization that strung along with Roosevelt.

Little by little the Tammany leaders who were growing older were being succeeded by newcomers who were ready to scream their heads off for Roosevelt and the New Deal. There is no vast sum of money in holding office. The riches are in the perquisites, the graft, legal and illegal, often collected by men who do not hold office but who do business with those who do. Some Democratic chieftains of the newer stripe began to drift into vice rackets of various sorts. Frank Costello, the most notorious racket manager in the country, became the most powerful factor in that once proud organization. Many district leaders were running night clubs and

hot spots and little by little large sections of Tammany fell into the hands of criminal or near-criminal elements.

It was this Tammany at its lowest level which surrendered to the New Deal and became finally the political tool of Mr. Roosevelt in New York. From an old-fashioned political district machine interested in jobs and patronage, living on the public payroll and on various auxiliary grafts, some times giving a reasonably good physical administration of the city government, some times a pretty bad one, some times very corrupt, some times reasonably honest, it became a quasi-criminal organization flying the banner of the Free World and the Free Man.

In 1932, Illinois sent a delegation to the Democratic convention headed by Tony Cermak, a crude political genius who had emigrated from Bohemia, started with a pushcart, became a precinct captain, grew rich on graft, organized the Poles, Czechs, Lithuanians and Slovenes in Chicago into a powerful racial bloc called the United Societies, became boss of the Twelfth Ward, rounded up the underworld for Brennan when he was boss and when Brennan died, succeeded him as Democratic leader and became mayor of Chicago.

Cermak fought Roosevelt's nomination at Chicago, and went to Miami in February, 1933 to make his peace with Roosevelt where the bullet intended for Roosevelt killed him. Ed Kelly, Cermak's chief aide and the chief engineer of the Sanitary District in Chicago, became mayor and thereafter Ed Kelly and old Pat Nash became the twin bosses of Chicago and of Illinois Democrats.

The story of the next eight years was an incredible one. The Capone gang, robbed of their Prohibition racket, had gone into business—horse parlors, gambling houses, bawdy houses, with special rackets in barber shops and other places. The Capone rackets were operated by Jack Gusik, Chew Tobacco Ryan, Loudmouth Levin, Harry Greasy-Thumb Gusik, Frank Diamond (Capone's brother-in-law), Charles and Rocco Fischetti (Capone's cousins), Eddie Vogel, slot-machine czar and Billy Skidmore with whom everybody had to do business in Chicago to keep out of jail. There

were crooked labor rackets on an unbelievable scale. At one point a rumor got around that some important person had been nailed for a \$100,000 income tax evasion. It turned out to be Kelly, the mayor. Roosevelt had tried to prevent his nomination but didn't succeed. In the three years that Kelly had been Sanitary District commissioner he had failed to report \$450,000 in income. The Treasury went after him but allowed him to settle. He refused, however, to divulge where the income came from. He settled for \$105,000.

Like the Tammany Hall machine, the Kelly-Nash machine was subdued to the Roosevelt power and the countless millions it dispensed in Illinois. And as the time for the third-term movement came along, Ed Kelly was one of its principal leaders, beating the drum for "Roosevelt and Humanity."²⁷

Nowhere in America was there a political ring more widely known for its brash defiance of law, decency and principle than the notorious machine of Frank Hague in northern New Jersey. Hague ran up his career from janitor of the city hall to mayor in ten years. In 1932 he had been mayor for 14 years. He was the undisputed boss of the state and he carried its national convention delegates around in his pocket, all of which he was able to do because of a reliable 100,000 plurality he could run up in Hudson County—enough to swamp any hostile majority for his candidates in the rest of the state. Hague grew in arrogance. He bullied, bellowed and bawled out his critics as well as his opponents at the polls. He didn't like Roosevelt. He didn't like the New Dealers around Roosevelt and above all he hated the pinks and the Reds.

The year 1938 was, as we have seen, a disastrous one for the Roosevelt New Deal. The national convention was only a year and a half away. In this year Judge William C. Clark, an authentic New Dealer, became the subject of Hague's concern. Clark had put the brakes on some of Hague's more blatant and offensive attacks on freedom of speech in his bailiwick. In 1938, Clark was the judge of the U. S. District Court in Hague's district and in that year was elevated to the U. S. Court of Appeals in New Jersey. That suited Hague fine. He had a candidate for the place left vacant by Clark

and the appointment was in Roosevelt's hands. His candidate was T. G. Walker who had been elevated from a seat in the assembly to be a judge of the highest court in the state—the State Court of Errors and Appeals. Hague wanted Walker appointed to succeed Clark in order to make room for his son in Walker's place. It took a good deal of maneuvering but Hague, with Roosevelt's aid, worked it out. He got his enemy Clark from the spot where he was most offensive, put Walker into that place and young Hague, who had failed to graduate from law school, on the highest court in the state.

Hague had got what he wanted from Roosevelt. Later Roosevelt wanted something from Hague. Secretary of the Navy Claude Swanson, who had held that post since 1933, had for years been in a state of great feebleness. Charles Edison was Assistant Secretary of the Navy and because of Swanson's illness, actual Secretary. When Swanson died, Edison rated the promotion but Roosevelt for some reason didn't want him. He urged Hague to make Edison governor or senator from New Jersey. Hague agreed to do so. Then Roosevelt appointed Edison Secretary of the Navy and later Hague nominated him for governor of New Jersey. It was a bad day's work for Hague, as Edison after election got the notion that he and not Hague was governor, which precipitated a long and bitter fight between these two men, one representing bossism, machine politics and political corruption at its lowest level, the other representing the spirit of rational and democratic reform and honesty in elections and government. In this battle, which came after the election of 1940, Roosevelt threw his influence and power on the side of Hague.

These were three of the most notorious of the big city bosses, but there were similar smaller bosses of the same type all over the country. In 1939, although most of them hated Roosevelt, they had been completely subjugated to his will by the great sums of money which he was able to either spend or withhold from them in their respective districts. And they continued to play an increasingly important role in this righteous thing known as the New Deal. By 1940 they were among the most ardent Roosevelt men.

2. SIDNEY HILLMAN

Beginning with the second term, events began their work on the cast of characters of the New Deal. One after another power was slipping out of the hands of one set of men and dropping into the hands of others. Up out of the leadership of labor the head of Sidney Hillman began to rise higher and higher and his shadow grew longer around the White House. This would go on until Hillman would become one of the two or three most powerful men in America. By the beginning of 1937 the new labor movement, the CIO, under the leadership of Lewis, Hillman, Dubinsky and Murray, was marching forward. As Roosevelt was inaugurated, the big strike against the General Motors plants was under way with 113,000 men out. It was a bitter struggle marked by violence on both sides, but chiefly by the famous sit-down strikes.

On March 1, John L. Lewis and Myron Taylor startled the world with an agreement between U. S. Steel and the Association of Iron and Tin Workers and in two months 260 steel companies followed suit. By 1938 almost 450 firms had signed up with over 450,000 workers. But the CIO lost its fight with Little Steel. The big fight between Ford and the unions became the bitterest of these struggles. The CIO spread its activities over the white collar groups—the Newspaper Guild, even the lawyers, salespeople, retail clerks, architects, chemists, technicians and government workers. In the early part of 1938, over three million workers had been organized.

When the NRA was scrapped by the Supreme Court, Congress passed the Wagner Labor Relations Act to take the place of Section 7a, but with many more teeth in it and then began not merely the war between capital and labor but the war within labor, between the AFL and the CIO for jurisdiction over 30 million American laborers. Under the Wagner Act elections were held in plants to determine what union would be the spokesman for the workers and in the warfare between the AFL and CIO the workers in some places actually met in armed conflict with each other. But in addition to the war between capital and labor and the war between the CIO and AFL, there was another war within the CIO. It grew out

of several elements of discord. One of them was the extent to which the Communists had penetrated the CIO. The other was the extent to which the CIO was being used in politics for the interests of Roosevelt. The third grew out of differences about policy and methods and the inevitable clash of strong personalities.

From the point of view of labor and the public, however, the most serious of these elements of discord was the penetration of the CIO by the Communists. On August 13, 1938, John P. Frey, president of the Metal Trades Department of the AFL, appeared before the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities. Frey, in a presentation lasting several days, laid before the Committee a completely documented account of the penetration of the CIO by the Communist Party. He gave the names of 280 organizers in CIO unions under salary who were members of the Communist Party. He charged that John Brophy who was the director of the CIO, was expelled by the United Mine Workers some years before for disloyal activities and while he was not directly a member of the Communist Party, he was assisted in his work by two active members of the Party. He had gone to Russia as a member of a delegation sponsored by the Party and approved by Moscow and when he returned the UMW accused him of being a paid agent of the Soviet government. Brophy at a meeting said that the condition of workers in the Soviet Union "should be a source of inspiration to workers in America."

Frey named union after union in the CIO, giving the names of the Communists who were holding positions of leadership and trust. He charged, for instance, that they dominated the United Office and Professional Workers Union, that the president of that organization was a member of the Communist Party and through that organization they had infiltrated the government with numerous Party members in almost all the bureaus in Washington.

At the time of his testimony Frey, an old and highly respected labor leader, became the object of one of the most brutal and angry blasts of denunciation at the hands of all the New Deal writers and organs all over the country. The day after Frey's first appearance before the Committee, Martin Dies, the chairman, went to the

White House in connection with some matter in which Texas was interested. When he got there the President treated him with studied discourtesy. He said sharply to Dies: "What is your idea of letting this thing turn into a denunciation of the CIO?" And he wanted Dies to put an end to Frey's testimony.

Dies explained the Committee had summoned all sorts of people to give their views on the subject of subversive activities. Dies had invited the CIO and the AFL to send representatives. The CIO refused, but the AFL sent John Frey. However, this did not satisfy the President, who became very angry. He said to Dies: "Well, there's no one interested in Communism, no one at all. I've heard it all my life. There is no menace here in Communism. The great menace in this country is in Nazism and fascism. That's where you can do a good job. As far as labor leaders are concerned, I've known both these groups. The AFL is tory and reactionary, but John L. Lewis is the most progressive, liberal labor leader I've known in my life." Of course, no one had charged Lewis with being a Communist. At that time the split between Lewis and the CIO was already in progress. It was not John L. Lewis who was harboring the Communists. The studious reader might be interested to go back to the report of the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1938 and read the testimony of John P. Frey who was saying in 1938 what the Attorney-General of the United States was saying ten years later and what the whole country came to recognize not merely as a fact but one of the gravest facts in the structure of our economic life.

It was the Communists who were engineering the sit-down strikes and who instigated and organized the Lansing Holiday when a mob of 15,000 blockaded the state capitol and 2,000 of them, armed with clubs, were ordered to march on the university and bring part of it back with them. At the *Herald Tribune* forum in New York City about this time the President delivered one of the bitterest attacks he had ever made on a government official. It was against Martin Dies for investigating these Communist influences in the sit-down strikes.

Before this ended, Dubinsky and Lewis would be out of the CIO

and Sidney Hillman would become not only its dominating mind but Roosevelt's closest adviser in the labor movement and in the end, though not himself a Democrat, the most powerful man in the Democratic party.

Sidney Hillman²⁸ was born in Zargare, Lithuania, then part of Russia, in 1887. He arrived here in 1907 after a brief sojourn in England. Hillman never worked as a laborer or mechanic of any kind. Ben Stolberg says he was the only outstanding labor leader who never was a worker. He began his labor career as one of the organizers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and at 27 became its first president. He held that post to the day of his death and during that time was the unquestioned czar of this union.

Hillman was never a member of the Communist Party. He never permitted Communists to get into the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Far more than John L. Lewis he understood the Communist Party and its methods and he was far too astute a man ever to permit his own union to harbor groups that would take their orders from other sources.

But what Sidney Hillman's precise political and economic philosophy was is not easy to say. The membership of his union was overwhelmingly Socialist but his union members were the employees of a very large number of small and a few large garment manufacturers who were themselves little capitalist employers. They lived within and on the fruits of the capitalist system and Hillman, as an intelligent labor leader, accepted that situation and sought to get for his own membership as large a share of the revenues of the garment industry as possible. Outside of that, however, it is entirely probable that Hillman, while not a Communist, was at all times sympathetic to the Communist philosophy. He was a revolutionist and it is probable that if a revolutionary mood were to have taken hold of America at any given moment, Hillman would have been among the ablest and most vigorous of its leaders.

Whether a man is a Communist or not is a difficult thing to determine if he is not a member of the Party. First of all, there are all kinds of Communists, just as there are all kinds of Socialists. There are the Stalinists and Trotskyites and Lovestoneites. The Trotsky-

ites and the Lovestoneites are as violently anti-Stalinist as the Socialists and because of their war on Stalin they got a good deal of tolerance amongst anti-Communist groups in this country of which they formed no rational part.

It is certain that the Russian revolution set off a very vigorous flame in Hillman's bosom. In 1922 he hurried over to Russia with a plan. He had organized here what he called the Russian-American Industrial Corporation with himself as president. Its aim was to operate the "textile and clothing industry of Russia." Hillman's corporation sold to labor organizations at \$10 a share a quarter of a million dollars of stock. The circular letter of the corporation soliciting stock sales among labor unions said: "It is our paramount moral obligation to help struggling Russia get on her feet." Hillman went to Russia to sell the idea to Lenin. He cabled back from Moscow: "Signed contract guarantees investment and minimum 8 per cent dividend. Also banking contract permitting to take charge of delivery of money at lowest rate. Make immediate arrangements for transmission of money. Had long conference with Lenin who guaranteed Soviet support."

When the Amalgamated Clothing Workers met in Chicago on May 8, 1922, a message was sent from Moscow by W. Z. Foster, then national chairman of the Communist Party. It read: "The defeat of the employers is the natural result of the splendid spirit of the Amalgamated. Many times in my present tour speaking to your unions I marveled at this growing spirit but since coming to this country I marvel no longer. It is the spirit of the Russian revolution, the spirit that will lead the workers to emancipation." This was read to Hillman's convention and printed in its proceedings. The message sent back to Russia read: "We thank you heartily for your inspiring message."

When the Congress of Industrial Organizations was formed all the leaders were aware, as already pointed out, that certain Communist unions were moving in. But no man among the top leaders was as aware of the full meaning of this as Sidney Hillman. Before the New Deal, the bulk of the Communist unionism was in New York and its environs. Lewis, whose unions operated in the coal

fields, was very little troubled by the Communist influence. To labor leaders around the country generally it was a minor feature, but this was not so in the case of Hillman and those labor leaders in New York, particularly the unions dominated by Socialist memberships, who were keenly aware of the pro-Communist labor movement and the men who were its leaders. Hillman was in no doubt about Michael Quill and Joseph Curran and Harry Bridges and Ben Gold and Abram Flaxner and numerous others who had moved into the CIO. And Sidney Hillman knew as well as any man that Communists in labor unions are interested not in the welfare of the members but in the use of the labor union apparatus for revolutionary activities. He knew, too, that they take their orders from the Communist Party and not from the membership of the union.

Hillman was never an outright exponent of Communist objectives. He was, however, deeply sympathetic to the Communist cause in Russia and to the extreme left-wing ideal in America, but he was an extremely practical man who never moved upon any trench that he did not think could be taken. He never pressed his personal philosophy into his union and his political activities any further than practical considerations made wise.

He was a resolute man who shrank from no instrument that could be used in his plans. He was a cocksure, self-opinionated man and he was a bitter man, relentless in his hatreds. He had perhaps one of the best minds in the labor movement—sharp, ceaselessly active and richly stored with the history and philosophy of the labor struggle and of revolutionary movements in general. When Lewis and Dubinsky at a later date would leave the CIO, Hillman would be supreme and would reveal somewhat more clearly the deep roots of his revolutionary yearnings that had been smothered for a while under the necessities of practical labor leadership.

There is no doubt that Hillman was one of the first labor leaders to use the goon as part of his enforcement machinery. In 1931 a garment manufacturer in Brooklyn named Guido Fererri got into a bitter quarrel with Hillman's Amalgamated and was threatened by one of its officials. A few days later Fererri was found shot to

death on the street. At the time a notorious character named Louis Buckhalter, known as Lepke, was officiating as slugger and goon for a labor union and Lepke was suspected of this crime. Some time later a Brooklyn jury found this same Lepke guilty of murder in the first degree for killing Joseph Rosen in a Brooklyn candy store on November 30, 1936. He was sentenced to be electrocuted but Lepke was in Leavenworth Penitentiary serving a term of 14 years as the master-mind behind a ten-million-dollar narcotics ring and another term of 30 years for labor racketeering, both of which would keep him in Leavenworth until 1980. Governor Dewey of New York demanded delivery of Lepke in order to execute him for the Rosen murder. He demanded delivery four times but each time Attorney-General Biddle refused. Thus, by insisting Lepke serve his long prison term for comparatively minor offenses, he was saved, for a long time, from execution for the more serious offense of murder. Why? On the night Fererri was killed, Lepke was seen by a policeman on the streets in that neighborhood in Brooklyn. He told Lepke: "You're too close to where a murder has been committed, so you better come with me." The officer took Lepke to the police station. Lepke telephoned from the station to Hillman, who shortly after arrived at the station house with Fiorello LaGuardia, his lawyer. Nothing more was ever heard of this nor was anyone indicted for the Fererri murder.

As matters stood in December, 1941, Lepke was in Leavenworth and Governor Dewey was trying to get hold of him. William O'Dwyer later Mayor of New York was the district attorney of Brooklyn and full of ambition. He was investigating every phase of the murder ring of which Lepke was the head. His chief investigator was a captain of the Police Department and stories were leaking out that he was making progress. But this time, Hillman's counsel, Fiorello LaGuardia, was Mayor of New York. He was the commander-in-chief of the Police Department and hence the superior of O'Dwyer's investigator. At LaGuardia's order he was told to give to his superiors a complete report on the activities of every member of his staff for every hour of the day for the preceding eight months and thereafter was to continue to report hourly on their

activities. LaGuardia was clearly trying to find out what O'Dwyer was investigating. O'Dwyer ordered his chief investigator to refuse to comply with the order, and he did refuse, which made it practically necessary for him to resign from the police force. It created a sensation in New York.

Why did the Mayor want to know what was being investigated? The papers began to speculate and the very cautious New York *Times* reported that it was admitted O'Dwyer was investigating the Fererri case and that the investigation involved a high-ranking New York political leader and a labor leader of national reputation and had to do with Lepke's activities as a goon for a labor union. O'Dwyer denounced LaGuardia for trying to scuttle the investigation and there the matter stood when the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor and it all disappeared into the blackout of almost everything that followed. O'Dwyer also disappeared into the Army as a general.

Why should LaGuardia want to scuttle the investigation of a notorious murder? Why should the President of the United States refuse to deliver Lepke to Dewey and thus save him from going to the chair? Why save the life of a man convicted as the leader of a murder syndicate? Who was the leading politician supposed to be involved? Who was the nationally known labor leader?

The murder for which Lepke was convicted and wanted for execution by Dewey and shielded by Roosevelt was, as we have seen, that of Joseph Rosen. Rosen was a trucking contractor who was hauling to non-union factories in other states for finishing, clothing cut under union conditions in New York. He was put out of business by Lepke in the interest of a local of Hillman's Amalgamated and Rosen was threatening to go to the district attorney and tell how this was done. To silence him, Lepke got him small jobs and in 1936 he opened a small candy store and the members of the local were ordered to spend some money in the store. This local was controlled by Lepke and a vice-president of the Amalgamated. Apparently Lepke never trusted Rosen while he was alive and decided to murder him. The highest court in New York State, in its decision on the Rosen case, said that Lepke had supported the faction which gained

control of the local and that Paul Berger, the finger-man in the Rosen murder, was an intermediary between Lepke and the Amalgamated. In the end, Rosen, like Fererri, was murdered.

It was undoubtedly the belief of Governor Dewey that if Lepke was delivered to him he might, in the hope of saving his life, tell the whole story of the Fererri and Rosen murders. Finally in 1944 the federal government surrendered Lepke, who was questioned by the district attorney of New York and Governor Dewey, but Lepke never "sang" and went to his death faithful to the gangster's code of not revealing his story.

It is necessary to observe here that there is no intention of making any connection between the President of the United States and the gangster Lepke. The whole purpose is to reveal the connection between Lepke and Hillman. There is, in fact, no intention to charge that Hillman ever hired Lepke or anybody else for the purpose of murder. But Hillman did do business with Lepke and Lepke was a gangster, a ruffian and a murderer. The purpose is to throw some light upon the character of those groups which made up the strength and support of the New Deal, which was appearing before the public in the light of a great, noble and righteous army in the cause of justice and the common man. There is no intention, either, of implying that labor leaders and their unions are lawless organizations run by gangsters and murderers. The mass of labor union membership had no more knowledge of these things than anyone else and the great majority of labor leaders were generally honest, hard-working and modestly paid agents of their unions. But for some reason there rose to the surface at this time a lawless element, some of them criminal, some of them lawless in the excess of their revolutionary zeal, some of them just plain grafters. And these elements constituted the most powerful section of those groups that were supporting the President. This was in no sense the Army of the Lord, as it was so widely advertised.

3. RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

A new element now made its appearance upon the political map. In America, particularly in the more populous states, are large

masses of people who were born in Europe or whose parents were born in Europe and who were still touched deeply by their old racial and religious origins. This has always been true and it is perfectly natural. We have always recognized in this country that men could be perfectly good Americans without divesting themselves of their sentimental attachment to the lands from which they or their forebears came. In elections these groups could be found voting for all kinds of candidates and all parties. Here and there they might be corraled under the leadership of some able and adroit politician as in the case of the Czechs under Cermak in Chicago. But it could hardly be said that any one party had any sort of definite claim upon the affections of any of these groups as a whole.

However, from 1938 on and particularly around the beginning of 1939 the ambitions of Hitler and the treatment received by the various races and religions inside Germany produced powerful and fevered reactions in this country among the peoples most affected. Certainly all Americans were aroused at the performances of Hitler—at his persecutions of the Jews, his invasions of the rights of other churches, his aggression in Austria and his clearly planned aggression against the Czechs and the Poles, the Lithuanians and other Baltic peoples, to say nothing of the peoples in the Balkan countries. Most Americans, with few exceptions, sympathized with these peoples and shared with them the emotional excitement they experienced. But here was a perfect mass of inflammable material ready to the hand of any politician unscrupulous enough to use it.

Every politician in America had now to concern himself with the problem of the approaching war. Every politician knew too that no man in his trade could become at this point an advocate of entering into any war that might break out in Europe. On the other hand, they were aware of the votes that might be picked up by assuming the role of the uncompromising enemy of Hitler. How far they could go to get votes and yet resist resolutely all efforts at involvement in the approaching war was a delicate problem. As it happened, the votes of those groups most seriously affected by the war were to be found congregated in limited areas. Thus, for instance, the Polish people were to be found mostly in six or seven

northern states, particularly in New York. Roosevelt had spoken out against getting into a European war more vocally and positively than any other man in public life. He had been among the first to warn the people against all attempts to involve them and he had warned them to have an eye upon either politicians or business men who, when the war drums sounded in Europe, would attempt first to make money out of the war and then to draw us one step at a time, through small day-to-day decisions, into the war.

But Roosevelt was above all things else a politician and he had not the slightest intention of surrendering into the hands of whoever might be his adversary the support of these numerous groups who were the special target of Hitler's oppression. From that moment in March, 1939, when Hitler moved into Czechoslovakia and began thundering against the Poles, Roosevelt stepped out in front as the champion, above all others, of the threatened victims of Hitler's aggressions.

During the campaign he directed his aides to have speeches made by the ministers and ambassadors of the oppressed nations who were still in this country. He thought they could speak out effectively in cities where were congregated a goodly number of inhabitants of the countries from which they came. He wanted ambassadors from their own countries to tell them that other governments were "looking to Roosevelt as the savior of the world," as he put it himself. Farley admits this was done and says it was a mistake and that he said so at the time.

Roosevelt also had told his national chairman to organize a Committee of Twelve, and said that there should be five clergymen on it—a Catholic, a Presbyterian, an Episcopalian, a Baptist and a Jewish rabbi. Farley noted the omission of the Methodists. Roosevelt suggested they put on a Methodist and drop the Jew and then corrected himself by saying there are more Jews than Episcopalians, so keep the Jew and drop the Episcopalian.²⁹ Thus racial and religious minorities became mere pawns to be moved about on the chessboard of politics. Their fears and hopes were to be exacerbated. To Roosevelt they were just so many votes.

4. THE PAYROLLEES

Back in the days before the New Deal the employees of government in the United States were chiefly on the payrolls of the states, counties and cities. It was the local organizations and machines with what was then considered their large payrolls which enjoyed this element of power in elections. The federal payroll was small and the number of persons affected by it quite insignificant. With the rise of the New Deal, however, a vast army of persons appeared on the payroll of the federal government and because some of the payrolls were flexible and had no connection whatever with the Civil Service, it was a simple matter for the government to use this ancient but now enormously enhanced tool to control votes in particular localities. Benefits paid to farmers, subsidies of all kinds could be timed in their delivery to correspond with the moment when farmers were making up their minds how to vote. Relief rolls could be expanded in doubtful counties and doubtful districts and this was done, as we have seen in the story of Hopkins' activities in the Democratic primaries of 1938.

Thus Roosevelt did not doubt his ability to get himself nominated, despite the long tradition of his party and the country against a third term. There remained the problem of getting himself elected, which seemed simple enough. After all, there were 531 electoral votes. All he had to get was a majority—266. He could count on 157 from the South (including Oklahoma and Arizona). He would need only 109 more from the North. The North had 374 electoral votes. He would need, therefore, only a little over one-third of the northern votes and four states could supply this—New York, New Jersey, Illinois and Massachusetts. He made up his mind that with the support of the Southern states which were congenitally Democratic, the city bosses in the big industrial centers who had been brought under his thumb, the labor vote which had been mobilized under unions that were predominantly political, the votes of the disturbed racial and religious groups affected by the war, and that immense and vital and active army of payrollees, he could hurdle over the difficulties of a third-term election. The story of the third-

term campaign which we shall now see is the story of dealing with all these groups, and the feasibility of doing so successfully was enormously enhanced by the fact that in September, 1939, just about the time the active work for the coming convention was under way, Hitler marched into Poland.

9 } *Roosevelt Breaks with the Past*

ON JULY 17, 1940, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT WAS NOMINATED FOR the presidency for the third time. The prologue to this event was supplied by Europe.

After months of raging at the Poles and while Britain and France were negotiating with Molotov for an alliance against Hitler, on August 23, 1939 the whole western world was shocked by the news that Hitler and Stalin had made a deal. A week later, on September 1, Hitler sent his panzer divisions and his motorized infantry into Poland in a new kind of war. While Hitler was taking western Poland, Stalin was occupying eastern Poland in accordance with the agreement they had made. Stalin took the three Baltic states into "protective custody." Two days later Great Britain and France declared war on Germany. French armies moved to the German border and an English army appeared in France. There were skirmishes and minor actions. But the Maginot Line was supposed to be impregnable and the hostile armies settled down on both sides of it for that long stretch of inactivity which was called the "phony war."

Then on April 9, 1940, out of the quiet of this sleepy western front, the German army erupted into Denmark, while the German navy seized Norway. A month later the Nazis took Luxemburg

in a day, the Netherlands in four days and Belgium in 18 days. The attack on France was launched with terrifying fury. The British were driven swiftly into a corner at Dunkirk from whence their entire army was forced out of France—335,000 men, leaving all their equipment on the beaches of Dunkirk. The Nazi panzers were thundering along various French routes, past the Maginot Line and into Paris by June 14. The French cabinet resigned and on June 21, French officials went through the melancholy ceremony of meeting Hitler and his marshals in the Compiègne Forest in that same military dining car in which Marshal Foch had received the surrender of the Kaiser's army in 1918. Having witnessed this, Hitler ordered the historic car sent to Germany. At that moment the delegates to the Republican Convention were arriving in Philadelphia.

As the convention assembled, therefore, the war was the supreme issue. The government had already appropriated billions for defense. Business was surging upward. The war contractors were crowding into Washington. There was no longer a question of unemployment, low prices or depression. The great question was: Are we going into the war or not? The Gallup poll showed an overwhelming vote against going in; but almost as big a vote for aiding the allies short of war.

The leading candidates before the Republican Convention which met on June 24 were Governor Dewey, Senator Robert A. Taft, Senator Arthur Vandenberg and Wendell Willkie. When the convention met, Willkie seemed the most unlikely of these candidates, but his strength grew. Dewey was eliminated on the fourth ballot and on the sixth, in a contest between Taft and Willkie, the latter was nominated in one of the most amazing upsets in convention history.

The Democrats believed that Willkie would make a formidable opponent. But from the moment he was nominated the result of the election could no longer be in doubt. Charles McNary, Republican leader in the Senate, was nominated for the vice-presidency. The joining of these two men—Willkie and McNary—was so impossible, they constituted so incongruous a pair that before the cam-

paign ended McNary seriously considered withdrawing from the race.

There was a moment in that convention when one voice was lifted in solemn warning, the full meaning of which was utterly lost upon the ears of the delegates. Former President Hoover, in a carefully prepared address, talked about the "weakening of the structure of liberty in our nation." He talked of Europe's hundred-year struggle for liberty and then how Europe in less than 20 years surrendered freedom for bondage. This was not due to Communism or fascism. These were the effects. "Liberty," he said, "had been weakened long before the dictators rose." Then he named the cause:

"In every single case before the rise of totalitarian governments there had been a period *dominated by economic planners*. Each of these nations had an era under starry-eyed men who believed that they could plan and force the economic life of the people. They believed that was the way to correct abuse or to meet emergencies in systems of free enterprise. They exalted the State as the solvent of all economic problems.

"These men thought they were liberals. But they also thought they could have economic dictatorship by bureaucracy and at the same time preserve free speech, orderly justice and free government. They might be called the totalitarian liberals. They were the spiritual fathers of the New Deal.

"These men are not Communists or Fascists. But they mixed these ideas into free systems. It is true that Communists and Fascists were round about. They formed popular fronts and gave the applause. These men shifted the relation of government to free enterprise from that of *umpire* to *controller*. Directly or indirectly they politically controlled credit, prices, production of industry, farmer and laborer. They devalued, pump-primed and deflated. They controlled private business by government competition, by regulation and by taxes. They met every failure with demands for more and more power and control . . . When it was too late they discovered that every time they stretched the arm of government into private enterprise, except to correct abuse, then somehow, somewhere, men's minds became confused. At once men became fearful and hesitant. Initiative slackened, industry slowed down production.

"Then came chronic unemployment and frantic government spending in an effort to support the unemployed. Government debts mounted and finally government credit was undermined. Out of the miseries of their people there grew pressure groups—business, labor, farmers demanding relief or special privilege. Class hate poisoned cooperation."

That was a perfect description of Europe in the years immediately preceding and following the First World War. And out of these vexations and dislocations came Communism in one place, fascism in others and social-democracies, so-called, in others, which were really societies one-fourth socialist, three-fourths capitalist, administered by socialist ministries winding the chains of bureaucratic planning around the strong limbs of private enterprise.

Mr. Hoover then undertook to describe the progress of this baleful idea here in a series of headlines: Vast Powers to President, Vast Extension of Bureaucracy, Supreme Court Decides Against New Deal, Attack on Supreme Court, Court Loaded with Totalitarian Liberals, Congress Surrenders Power of Purse by Blank Checks to President, Will of Legislators Weakened by Patronage and Pie, Attacks on Business, Stirring Class Hate, Pressure Groups Stimulated, Men's Rights Disregarded by Boards and Investigations, Resentment at Free Opposition, Attempts to Discredit Free Press.

This, of course, was the great problem before the country. The onset of fascist governments in Europe as described by Mr. Hoover corresponded precisely with the schemes of the Tugwells and Hansens and Hendersons and Hillmans and Wallaces and Hopkinses which had now become the motif of the Third New Deal—not Communist, not fascist, but a common program on which for the moment Communists and fascists and various grades of pinks could unite under the great goal of the State Planned and Managed Capitalism for abundance. But nobody was interested in this now. The billions were flowing again, everything was going up—wages, prices, sales and—*government debt*. But it didn't matter because now we had learned from the Harvard and Tufts economists that government debt is a mere nothing—something we "owe to ourselves." We were all off on a grand crusade to save the liberties and the "democracy"

of Europe, now caught in the great final disaster which marked the climax of all those crazy ideas that had bred fascism and Communism in Europe and which were now being introduced into America by the same kind of minds that had given them to Europe.

The Republican party platform denounced Roosevelt for fanning the flames of class hatreds, bringing the judiciary into disrepute, fomenting war between capital and labor and for the mounting taxes and debt and the expanding regimentation. There were in the Republican convention, however, a number of delegates, chiefly from the East, whose position on the war was not very different from that of Roosevelt. And they made an all-night fight in the resolutions committee for a strong plank committing the party to a course similar to Roosevelt's. This was defeated. The war plank adopted read:

"The Republican Party is firmly opposed to involving this nation in foreign war.

"We are still suffering from the ill effects of the last world war, a war which cost us a 24 billion dollar increase in our national debt, billions of uncollectable foreign debts and complete upset of our economic system in addition to loss of human life and irreparable damage to the health of thousands of our boys."

The Roosevelt administration was denounced for the poor use it had made of the vast sums appropriated for national defense and then the platform declared:

"We declare for prompt, orderly and realistic building of our national defense to the point at which we shall be able not only to defend the United States, its possessions and essential outposts from foreign attack but also efficiently to uphold in war the Monroe Doctrine . . . In the meantime we shall support all necessary and proper defense measures proposed by the administration in its belated effort to make up for lost time; *but we deplore explosive utterances by the President directed at other governments which serve to peril our peace and we condemn all executive action and proceedings which might lead to war without the authorization of the Congress of the United States.*"

The plank expressed sympathy for all unoffending nations whose ideas most closely resembled our own and favored the extension to all peoples fighting for liberty or whose liberty is threatened "of such aid as shall not be in violation of international law or inconsistent with the requirements of our own national defense."

Before the convention assembled, Roosevelt executed a political maneuver that beyond doubt caused great embarrassment to the Republicans. He announced the appointment of Henry L. Stimson, who had been Secretary of State under President Hoover, as Secretary of War, and Frank Knox, candidate for vice-president with Landon in 1936, as Secretary of the Navy. Both Stimson and Knox were eager and ardent supporters of Roosevelt's war policy. There were some features of this curious episode which, so far as I know, have never been fully told. We will come to them in the events of a few weeks hence.

On July 15, the Democratic National Convention opened in Chicago to name a "successor" to President Roosevelt. The great question before this convention, of course, was the nomination of the President for a third term. Some years later many of those who played leading roles in that noisy and truculent comedy told their several stories of what happened so that now it is possible to tell how the business was managed.

In a previous chapter we have seen how Roosevelt, in the summer of 1939, had confided in the deepest secrecy to Jim Farley at Hyde Park that he would not run for a third term. Nevertheless, Farley had begun to gather that Roosevelt would run and that he was laying his plans in that direction without taking Farley, Garner or any of the other leaders into his confidence. He was laying his plans cunningly to have himself "drafted." The movement began some time in 1939 and the leaders in it were Ed Kelly of Chicago and Frank Hague of New Jersey. Some time later, Harold Ickes and Harry Hopkins uttered public demands for Roosevelt's nomination and later Attorney-General Jackson and Senator Joe Guffey joined in the public clamor. Guffey, Hopkins and Tommy Corcoran began contacting the state leaders. It is entirely probable that Roosevelt did not confide fully in any of these people save perhaps Hopkins,

but Ickes, Hopkins, Wallace, Corcoran and Jackson were a part of the White House political entourage and they carried on the campaign without hindrance from the President and knew, without being told, that they were operating in accordance with his wishes.

In August, 1939, at a meeting of the Young Democrats, Roosevelt said that if the nominee were a conservative or one who just gave lip-service to the New Deal on a "straddle-bug" platform he could not offer active support to the ticket and indicated what kind of candidate he would support. Arthur Krock in the *New York Times* said "his description of the ideal candidate seemed like a self-portrait." And a day or two later Mayor Kelly told the Young Democrats "they must not take 'no' from Roosevelt." By December, 1939, Vice-President Garner had decided that Roosevelt would be a candidate. He had declared himself unalterably opposed to the third term and he announced his own candidacy as a public protest against that idea. Curiously enough, Garner's announcement did not bring him an offer of support from a single party leader. In Illinois, Ed Kelly after talking with Roosevelt, entered the President's name in the Illinois primary. Roosevelt did not withdraw it. And then on March 23, 1940, Farley declared that he had consented to have his own name entered in the Massachusetts Democratic primary.

On July 1, 1940, two weeks before the convention was to meet, Roosevelt asked Farley to visit him at Hyde Park. When Farley reached the house he was greeted by the President's mother. The morning papers had a story that Jim was going to resign from the national committee chairmanship and go into business. The old lady greeted him cordially and wanted to know if there was any truth in these stories. "You know," she said, "I would hate to think of Franklin running for the presidency if you were not around. I would like you to be sure to help my boy." Inside the house, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt met Farley and said she was shocked at the thought of him not directing things in the coming campaign. There was no doubt in Roosevelt's home who the candidate would be.

After luncheon, Farley sat down with the President in his study. Roosevelt began by explaining that he had not written a letter indicating that he would not be a candidate around February 1, as he

had promised the preceding summer. He said the war had started and to have issued the statement would have nullified his position in the world and handicapped the efforts of this country to be of constructive service in the world crisis. As we shall see, Roosevelt was putting on a carefully studied act with Farley. He shook his head dolefully and said: "I still don't want to run for the Presidency."

He repeated: "I don't want to run, *and I am going to tell the convention so.*" He suggested various ways in which he would do this, but the implacable Farley, who apparently was not falling for the little comedy, told him he should not have waited so long, that he had, by his own maneuvers, killed off every other candidate and that the leaders were afraid to be against him lest they suffer punishment and that if he didn't want to run he should do what General Sherman did many years ago—issue a statement saying: "I will not run if nominated and will not serve if elected." Plainly Roosevelt did not expect this reply. He fell into a reverie for a moment, explained to Farley that if nominated and elected he could not in these times refuse to take the inaugural oath even if he knew he would be dead in thirty days. That ended the subject so far as Farley was concerned. He knew that Roosevelt was going to be nominated and run. He told the President he had made up his mind he was going to allow his own name to go before the convention.

After this the conversation proceeded in the most singular manner with literally three persons present—Farley for one, Roosevelt the man who was not going to run as the second and Roosevelt the man who had decided to run as the third. In one breath he began to discuss vice-presidential candidates. He dismissed Lucas and Stark. He dismissed Bankhead because he was too old and not in good health—because the man running with him must be in good health because there was no telling how long he could hold out. "You know, Jim," he said, "a man with paralysis can have a break-up any time." He seemed to think it was all right for a presidential candidate with a strong expectancy of death to be elected, but that the vice-presidential candidate had to have good health. He dismissed Maloney of Connecticut and Jesse Jones because his health was not too good

either. He was against Rayburn or James Byrnes or Garner. Thus having discussed who would run for vice-president on the ticket with him, he then began to outline the letter he would write to the convention telling them he didn't want to run and at what point he should send the letter. Then having gone into details about how he would eliminate himself he said "Undoubtedly I will accept the nomination by radio and will arrange to talk to the delegates before they leave the convention hall."³⁰

Miss Perkins says that she was never sure just when Roosevelt made up his mind to run, but that Frank Walker and others responsible for the campaign knew around March or April that he would be willing "if it could be handled properly" but they were pledged to absolute secrecy. She said that Harry Hopkins had been selected to take charge of Roosevelt's headquarters because he had got acquainted with a lot of Democratic politicians while administering relief.³¹ He was to make all the decisions in Chicago and have a private wire to the White House.

Cordell Hull³² says that Roosevelt, during all this time, had been urging him to run for the presidency. But Hull had insisted that he did not wish it. We must keep in mind that Miss Perkins said Walker and some others knew of the President's plans as early as March. Jim Farley had seen through the President's comedy a long while before this. Then on July 1, Roosevelt told Farley he didn't want to run and was going to tell the convention so, mixing up with all this talk a discussion of his plans to run, who his vice-presidential candidate would be and how he would accept the nomination by radio. On June 20 Hull saw the President who again urged him to run. And then on July 3, two days after he told Farley how he would accept the nomination when it was made, Roosevelt invited Hull to lunch. He told Hull how he was going to tell the convention he did not desire to run, whereupon, said Roosevelt, "they will nominate you." He asked Hull's opinion of the letter he proposed to write. Hull said such a letter would not delay Roosevelt's nomination more than a minute. Whereupon Roosevelt began immediately to discuss his own chances of being elected and there ensued a bizarre conversation in which he talked alternately of who would run for vice-

president with Hull and of his own plans to run. Hull says he now knew the President had made up his mind to be a candidate.³³ Hull did not know that Roosevelt had said to more than one that Hull wouldn't do, that he was "too much of a free trader" and that "he was too old and too slow."

Roosevelt fooled no one. But why did he try? He was building up the "draft" illusion and seeking to create witnesses to that pretension.

The convention opened in a somewhat somber mood. Jim Farley was there, still chairman of the national committee, calling the convention to order. The delegates, with few exceptions, were mere pawns in the hands of the leaders and the leaders mere puppets in the hands of the President. Nevertheless, most of the delegates did not know what the intention was. They didn't know for whom they were supposed to vote. And they didn't like the situation. Miss Perkins was shocked when she got to Chicago at the bitterness around the corridors as the prospective candidates for the Presidency and the delegates who were for them began to believe that the President was really going to run. The leaders, she says, didn't know what was going on. They were angry about the purge. Many of them were deeply disturbed about the Supreme Court fight. Many thought that we had had more than enough of the New Deal. The delegates knew that John Garner had refused to run for a third term as vice-president. He wasn't even in Chicago.

Edward J. Flynn, who would succeed Farley as national chairman, said "The convention in Chicago was not a very cheerful gathering," and that "the political leaders thought a mistake was being made, that never before had the third-term issue really been brought to a test." They didn't know how it would go. They thought the "President's ambition for a third term was being supported largely by the political machines." He described the organization leaders as bitter. "I think it is only fair to say," he said, "that the majority of the delegates in Chicago were not enthusiastic for the renomination of the President although they felt that if they did not go along the Party would be so hopelessly divided that no candidate

would have a chance of winning." Looking back over the events, he felt sure that the leaders "did not support Roosevelt because of any motive of affection or because of any political issue involved but rather because they knew that opposing him would be harmful to their local organizations." ³⁴

Harry Hopkins, of course, was present but not very much in sight. His headquarters were in Rooms 308-309 of the Blackstone Hotel, with a direct wire to Roosevelt. He was in constant communication with the President on every move that was made. With him were such ill-assorted collaborators as Boss Ed Kelly and Boss Frank Hague and David K. Niles, a White House attache and long-time left-wing hater of people like Kelly and Hague. To Hopkins' rooms went a steady stream of state leaders to find out what they were expected to do. According to Miss Perkins, the job of contacting the leaders and communicating to them the President's intentions was in charge of Frank Walker. The President was not a candidate but was to be "drafted," which of course all the delegates knew was a pure comedy.

As the convention opened with the band playing and Farley pounding the gavel, most of the delegates' seats were empty. A lone voice yelled "We Want Roosevelt." Farley presented Mayor Ed Kelly of Chicago who would welcome the delegates officially. The mayor ended on the words "Our beloved President, Franklin D. Roosevelt." A delegate in a white suit from Oklahoma jumped to his feet, waved his straw hat and about half the delegates stood and cheered.

The following day the real fireworks began. Senator Alben Barkley, named permanent chairman of the convention, delivered his address. When he finished the formal speech, he cleared his throat and said: "And now my friends, I have an additional statement to make on behalf of the President of the United States." A hush fell over the convention. Farley knew what was coming. The President had telephoned him the night before and said: "I wanted to tell you that Alben has the statement we talked about. I decided it was best to release it after the permanent organization was set up."

Barkley continued:

"I and other close friends of the President have long known that he had no wish to be a candidate again. We know too that in no way whatsoever has he exerted any influence in the selection of the delegates or upon the opinions of the delegates to this convention. Tonight at the specific request and authorization of your President I am making this simple fact clear to this convention.

"The President has never had and has not today any desire or purpose to continue in the office of the President, to be a candidate for that office or to be nominated by the convention for that office.

"He wishes in all earnestness and sincerity to make it clear that all the delegates to this convention are free to vote for any candidate. That is the message which I bring to you tonight from the President of the United States by the authority of his word."

Not a syllable about *not being willing* to run, not a line telling the delegates to *select another candidate* and taking *himself completely out of the race*; merely that he has not "any desire to continue in office or to be nominated." The delegates were all set free to vote for any candidate while every man in the convention knew that Harry Hopkins, a resident of the White House and the President's alter ego, Frank Walker and members of his cabinet present were all assuring the leaders that if the President were nominated he would run. There were 1094 delegates to the convention, that is there were 1094 politicians who understood the language of politics when they heard it. It was not necessary for anybody to translate for them. Just as Jim Farley knew on July 1 when Roosevelt told him he didn't want to run that he had really decided to run, so all these delegates en masse, some of them instantly and others after a moment's reflection, knew precisely what the President meant and what they were supposed to do.

However, the managers had taken no chances. Ed Kelly had been entrusted with the job of managing the demonstrations. On the floor, of course, over the heads of each delegation, stood the standards of the states with the states' names on them. Kelly had prepared a collection of duplicate standards and a bunch of choice spirits,

well-muscled, from the stockyards and other districts of Chicago, were mobilized off in the shadows. Loud speakers were distributed around the hall, the wires of which led down into the bowels of the Chicago Stadium under the earth where there was stationed Chicago's Commissioner of Sewers. As Barkley finished the message, it took a moment for the delegates to get it, but only a moment. In that moment, the Voice of the Sewers went into action and from out the loud speakers all over the floor burst the voice "We Want Roosevelt." It continued: "Pennsylvania Wants Roosevelt! Virginia Wants Roosevelt! New York Wants Roosevelt! Massachusetts Wants Roosevelt!" and so on through the states. And as the Voice boomed, the goons emerged from the shadows with the fake standards of the states and began parading around the hall. The delegates, now shouting and cheering, fell in, except certain delegations which resented the appearance of the fraudulent standards of their own states marching around the floor. A number of fights were set off as attempts were made to grab these standards, but the marching goons with their spurious banners started filing by the platform in front of the smiling Senator Barkley who had really just nominated Roosevelt for the presidency, and as each standard went by Barkley leaned over and kissed it. It was really all over then and the delegates, by their quick translation of Roosevelt's false disclaimer, registered their understanding of the man perfectly.

The next problem confronting the managers of the "draft" was how to put it over. They didn't want to have Roosevelt formally nominated. That might present him with the necessity of refusing. Their first scheme was to have some delegate rise on the first roll-call, when Alabama was called, and move to dispense with the roll-call and nominate Roosevelt by acclamation. But Farley ruled that out on the ground that it would be a violation of the rules and furthermore, looking rather significantly at the proposers, he said "If you do that it won't be necessary to have an election." Various other plans were suggested. Finally they were compelled to have a formal nomination which was made by Senator Lister Hill of Alabama.

Senator Wheeler had a headquarters as a candidate for the presidency but Wheeler's chief purpose was to get a plank in the plat-

form which would give some hope of keeping out of the war and he did get a plank which satisfied him, whereupon he withdrew. Farley, however, went through to the bitter end. He was nominated by Carter Glass, now a venerable patriarch of the party, who was hooted and booed as he made the nominating speech. Ed Flynn had tried to get Farley to withdraw. Farley refused. He said: "Don't get the impression that I am running for the presidency. Everyone knows the President has the votes but what they are trying to do is to put on an act to make it appear to the world that this is a unanimous draft. I am determined to let the people know I am opposed to a third term and this is the only way I can do it."

Roosevelt, of course, was nominated. On the roll-call the vote was 946½ for Roosevelt, 72½ for Farley, 61 for Garner, 9½ for Tydings and 6 for Hull. Farley, at the end of the roll-call, and before the vote was announced, moved to make it unanimous. Thus was the President "drafted" by his party.

But now came the most disturbing feature of all—the selection of a vice-presidential candidate. There were a number of hopefuls—Senator Bankhead, Speaker Rayburn, Paul McNutt, Jesse Jones, Governor Lloyd Stark of Missouri and others. The delegates thought this at least was an open race. Before Miss Perkins³⁵ left Washington she had discussed the subject of the vice-presidency with Roosevelt and after various names had been dismissed, she asked Roosevelt if he thought Henry Wallace would do. Roosevelt thought it over and said he thought Wallace might strengthen the ticket and that he would be a good man if anything happened to the President because he was not an isolationist.

However, at the convention nobody seemed to know who Roosevelt wanted for vice-president. The battle royal between the vice-presidential candidates got to be pretty bitter. Coming on top of the nomination, in which the delegates felt they had been used as mere pawns, the disaffection of Garner, the withdrawal of Jim Farley, they were in a black mood. Miss Perkins says the feeling was sour, which is putting it mildly. She said that Bob Allen (of the columnist team of Pearson and Allen) came to her in great excitement to say that the situation was terrible. It will end in a terrific rise

of Roosevelt haters in the Democratic party, he said, and he wanted her to call Roosevelt and urge him to come out to the convention.

She called Roosevelt, told him about the bitterness, the confusion, the near fights and urged him to come to Chicago and address the delegates. He refused but suggested that Eleanor might come, which she did. He asked about the vice-presidential race. She told him of the confusion and ill-feeling there and urged him to make up his mind and settle the fight. He said he hadn't made up his mind and asked about Wallace. There was no sign of a Wallace campaign around but she urged him to try it. He began talking it over, more or less to himself and ended by saying: "Yes, I think it had better be Wallace. Yes, it will be Wallace. I think I'll stick to that," and he told her to give the news to Harry Hopkins. Hopkins was surprised when he heard it. He called the President for verification and then told the newspaper men it would probably be Wallace. On the morning of July 18, Roosevelt called Farley and gave him the news. When this got around it set off another conflagration. Ickes said it was a damned outrage. Jesse Jones was sore. The other candidates were indignant. The delegates didn't want Wallace and they were very ugly about it. Ed Kelly called the White House and urged the nomination of Byrnes but the President objected. A lot of the leaders wanted to fight it out but one by one the candidates withdrew in disgust. As Wallace was nominated the delegates booed and they booed every time his name was mentioned. Ed Flynn took the floor and told the delegates that the President wanted Wallace. Senator Lucas said the same thing in a speech and both were greeted with boos.

About this time Mrs. Roosevelt arrived by plane and Farley introduced her to the convention. She made a gracious speech very generously expressing her deep gratitude to Farley for all he had done—something Farley said he had never heard from the lips of Roosevelt. When Mrs. Roosevelt arrived, however, she agreed that the nomination of Wallace was a mistake. Elliott Roosevelt put in an appearance to protest against the nomination and told Farley that if Farley would nominate Jones he would make a seconding speech. Mrs. Roosevelt telephoned her husband. She told him she agreed with

Farley that Henry Wallace just wouldn't do. Roosevelt told her to put Jim on the telephone. He said to Farley: "I've given my word to Wallace. What do you do when you give your word?" That was a terrible question for Roosevelt to put to Farley. Farley snapped back like a blow in the face: "I keep it!"³⁶

This convention was now on the edge of rebellion. It had not yet heard from Roosevelt whether he would "consent" to be "drafted." Back in Washington, at the White House, with Sam Rosenman Roosevelt was preparing the draft of the speech he would deliver over the radio accepting the nomination. Through Steve Early, it was announced at the White House that the President would not make any statement or deliver any address until the convention's work finished and by that, Early admitted, he meant not until Wallace was nominated.³⁷

The voting started in a uproar. The delegates and spectators got out of hand. The ballot was conducted in the midst of boos and catcalls. But in the end the lash of the Boss did its work. Wallace got 627 7/10 votes, Bankhead 327 4/15. There were scattered votes for Farley, Lucas, Jones, Barkley and others. Wallace had prepared a speech of acceptance but the feeling was so bad he never delivered it. He kept away from the convention.

Apparently Roosevelt's decision on Wallace was really an eleventh hour one. There is good reason for supposing that he wanted Hull for vice-president. This would have served a double purpose. He would have liked to have been rid of Hull as Secretary of State but would be glad to have him as vice-president in the Senate, where he could serve his political use more effectively in keeping the Southern senators in line. But Hull thought he ought to be President or nothing. Hull told Farley that he believed he "was unfairly treated by that fellow in his not letting my name go before the convention." Hull said: "He tried everything he could think of to get me to take the vice-presidency. He argued and smiled. Then he smiled and argued. I said No, by God and by God, no and that's all there was to it. I felt he was trying to kick me upstairs."³⁸

As for Farley, Ed Flynn and others tried to get him to stay on as national chairman but he resolutely refused and quit both as

national chairman and as Postmaster General. Ed Flynn was made national chairman and Frank Walker got the cabinet post.

Roosevelt was elected. To the uninitiated the Republicans seemed to have a golden opportunity—the Democrats divided, many leaders declaring they would “take a walk,” still others supporting the Republican candidate, the natural resistance to a third term, the failure of all the Roosevelt policies, his violation of every promise, his taxes and debt along with the anxieties created by his labor policies to say nothing of the split in labor itself, with John L. Lewis urging his miners to vote for Willkie. But all this ignored the new line-up. Roosevelt had the South and he needed to get only 109 electoral votes out of 374 in the North. And he could get this in four states and in these states were those numerous minorities who had been captured completely by Roosevelt on the war issue. This, with the payroll vote and the big city machines in those states was enough to do the job. Roosevelt got 449, Willkie only 82 electoral votes. For all that, the election was closer than appears in the electoral vote. Many big states were carried for Roosevelt by modest or even small majorities. There will always be a question as to what might have happened had someone other than Willkie been nominated.

There was one incident in this fight which illustrates with startling vividness how far a man who is under the influence of an overdose of ambition and power may go and how near he can come to succeeding in a seemingly preposterous objective. When Hitler struck at Poland in September, 1939, Roosevelt summoned the Democratic and Republican congressional leaders to the White House to consider legislation and he invited Alfred Landon and Frank Knox, the Republican nominees in 1936, to attend. While in Washington, Landon learned that Roosevelt was planning to invite him and Knox into his cabinet. A few days later Landon issued a statement saying Roosevelt should take himself out of the third-term race in the interest of national unity. Shortly after Knox was offered a cabinet post, but the invitation to Landon was not made. Knox said he would not go into Roosevelt's cabinet without Landon but he continued to visit with Roosevelt.

On May 13, 1940, three weeks before the Republican conven-

tion, Frank Altschul, brother-in-law of Governor Lehman, called Landon and asked him if he would accept an invitation to the White House to talk with the President. Landon agreed and next day General "Pa" Watson, Roosevelt's military aide, wired an invitation to Landon to lunch with the President on May 22. Landon told Watson, however, he was sending him a copy of a speech he was about to make criticizing the President's foreign policy and he felt the President ought to see it. He sent the speech. Frank Knox was shown a copy of it. He phoned Landon. He said you will ruin yourself and your party if you make that speech: *you should not criticize the President*. However, Landon made the speech and got another wire from Watson confirming the luncheon. He left for Washington, stopping first in New York. There he dined with four well-known political reporters. They said: "We don't know whether you know it or not, but the Republican party is facing a debacle." The debacle was the plan Roosevelt was engineering to literally put the party out of business by inducing its leaders not to contest his election. Commentators like Dorothy Thompson and H. V. Kaltenborn and other pro-war writers were calling on the Republicans not to contest the election. And Roosevelt schemed to induce the presidential candidates of the party in 1936 to become Secretaries of War and Navy respectively in his cabinet. This he believed would so completely demoralize the more aggressive party leaders that those who were plugging for an all-out war would be able to force the party to let the election go by default. The idea had undoubtedly been sold to Frank Knox. He was in frequent touch with Roosevelt and was using all his influence to persuade Landon to go into the cabinet and he told Landon he should not criticise the President.

As this situation dawned on Landon he prepared a statement for the newspapers at once that at all hazards an election must be held. The reporters said: "You know this will end your luncheon appointment." And when Landon got to Washington next day he got a telephone call from Mr. Altschul saying General Watson had called him and asked him to get in touch with Landon and request to cancel his luncheon appointment with the President. He wanted Landon to take the responsibility of cancelling the luncheon. Watson had sug-

gested that Landon could say he was taken suddenly ill and leave at once for home. Landon replied: "I won't do any such damn thing." And he gave Arthur Evans of the *Chicago Tribune* a statement saying: "I came here at the invitation of my President and I am going back home at his invitation. I will come again when my President wants me." He then called a press conference for 10 A.M. As that got under way, a telephone call came from the President. Roosevelt said: "Alf, between Altschul and Watson, they have got us all bawled up." He told Landon to come over to lunch. Roosevelt, of course, did not offer Landon the cabinet post, but he talked about making new appointments. Then Landon had lunch with Knox. Knox talked about the terrible Nazi threat to our institutions. Landon said: "I think a third term for the President is a greater threat to our institutions than anything from the outside. If we go into the cabinet we might as well call off the elections. But there should be a *quid pro quo*. NO THIRD TERM." Knox said, "Alf, he can't run again. He's in a terrible shape physically. The President said to me last week: 'Look at me, Frank, I couldn't run for a third term if I wanted to.' " And Knox held out his hand to illustrate how Roosevelt's hand shook.³⁹

However, Roosevelt did not give up his plan. But the idea of getting an uncontested election had to be abandoned. With their 1936 candidates for President and Vice-President gone over to the President's camp the Republicans would have been in a very embarrassing position. But just as the Republican convention was about to assemble Roosevelt announced the appointment of Stimson and Knox as Secretaries of the War and Navy. To do this Roosevelt had to use some high-handed methods in his official family. Around June 16 he sent Watson to Woodring to say he wanted Woodring to get together with Morgenthau to sell or transfer a number of army planes to Britain. Woodring said he could not do this unless it could be done without affecting our defenses. Woodring discussed it with the Department and the generals and he promised them he would stand his ground. When Watson's request was repeated, Woodring refused to see Morgenthau. About the same time, at a cabinet meeting the President proposed to transfer 50 destroyers to

Great Britain. Roosevelt told the cabinet he had cleared the subject with the Attorney-General. At the cabinet meeting, Secretary of the Navy Edison protested, to the great annoyance of the President. John Garner, describing the incident afterward, said Attorney-General Jackson came to him (Garner) after the meeting and said that "in spite of the statement made that he had approved the sale and held it to be legal he had not made such a decision." Garner told him he should have spoken up.

However, Woodring's refusal to approve the plane transfer and Edison's protest at the destroyer sale sealed the fate of both. Watson wrote Woodring a letter saying the President would like to have his resignation. Woodring sent the resignation and a long letter, the contents of which have since been carefully guarded. Roosevelt, disturbed by the letter, offered Woodring an ambassadorship, which Woodring refused. Roosevelt wrote him again and Woodring never answered that letter. The President got Hague to nominate Edison for governor of New Jersey. This cleared the way for naming Stimson and Knox.

10 } Henry Wallace

WHAT OF THE MAN WHO HAD JUST BEEN MADE VICE-PRESIDENT OF the United States, second in line for the presidency held by a man whose health was a matter of question even to himself? About the only thing Henry had that qualified him for Vice-President and President was his health.

Where did the pressure for Wallace originate? Miss Perkins thinks she first proposed him. Edward J. Flynn says the matter was

discussed before they left Washington and agreed on. Miss Perkins, who is truthful, cannot be wrong when she says she telephoned the President from Chicago and that he had not yet made up his mind about Wallace. Her whole account leaves the impression that he was not too sure and many other things strengthen the suspicion that the pressure had come from other sources and that Roosevelt was yielding with some misgiving. We might conclude from Hull's testimony that Roosevelt's real candidate was Hull, who says the President literally harried him to run. Hull was a natural. This would get him out of the State Department where he was a nuisance and put him in the Senate where he would be useful. Doubtless Roosevelt settled on Wallace when Hull said no.

Wallace was a being who took himself very seriously. And yet there was a good deal of the element of stage comedy in him—wide, queer streaks in his make-up that would excite laughter in the theater but which do not originate in any merry or comic sense in his own character and which cannot by any stretch of the imagination be regarded as funny against the dark background of the events of the time. He has been pictured as a vague and impractical mystic, half scientist, half philosopher, with other ingredients that approach the pictures in the comic strips of the professor with the butterfly net.

Wallace was born in 1888 on an Iowa farm, but it was the farm of a wealthy farmer who had a house in town as well as another in the corn fields. He went to the State Agricultural College, came out at the age of 22 and worked on the staff of *Wallace's Farmer*, which had been founded by his grandfather. His father went to Washington in 1921 as Secretary of Agriculture and Henry became editor of *Wallace's Farmer*, a rich editorial property. He remained editor until 1931 when the paper, overloaded with debt, passed out of the family's hands, leaving Henry without a job. Two years later he was made Secretary of Agriculture by Roosevelt. Thus he began his political career at the top. He had no standing in the country, had given no evidence of eminence as an editor, a writer, a business man or a politician which gave him any claim on this strange appointment—which is all the stranger from the fact that he was a registered

Republican. When he went to Washington he was looked upon as an impractical person who had been something of a failure, given to strange ideas and there was a rather general agreement with the opinion of the *Baltimore Sun* that he "was one of the most admirable and ridiculous figures of the New Deal."

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration—the AAA—was peculiarly Wallace's child and it contributed as much as the NRA to bringing discredit and even laughter down upon the Roosevelt administration. It would not be true to say that Wallace, at this time, was a left-winger. The man was almost without strong political opinions. He was certainly not a Republican or a Democrat of the orthodox school. His Republicanism was a mere inheritance from his father and grandfather. A distinction must be drawn between the philosophy of many men who rush to strange and bizarre experiments in economic life and the philosophy of the modern Communist or Socialist. But Wallace brought men like Tugwell into the Department as his Under-Secretary of Agriculture. One thing about Wallace which is quite definite is his laborious pose of intellectualism. And with Tugwell he had now come into contact with a mind that was keen, busy, and widely enriched with economic and social history and dead sure of itself. It is very clear that Wallace's mind, wandering around in uncertainties, became slowly infected by the far abler Tugwell with the theory of State Planning for the well-being of all the people. It is equally clear that he did not perceive at this time the essential affinity between state planning, fascism and Communism; did not realize that all belong to one great generic philosophy. Having once taken this position, Wallace moved slowly and gropingly, little by little, toward the philosophy of the planners without, I think, giving himself up to it wholly until just before his nomination as Vice-President, and without realizing at the time the full implication of that drift. Farley says that Wallace, just before the 1940 convention, expressed some fears that Roosevelt was going too far to the left. This was probably due to the fact that Wallace did not realize that the advocates of state planning were so seriously to the left. But from here he was to move fast. Given to rapid changes in philosophies, Wallace could catch

a new one like an acrobat leaping on a flying trapeze in mid-air and swinging with it full tilt from the moment he grasped it.

To understand what made this thoroughly dangerous man tick it is necessary to look at another widely advertised side of his nature—his interest in mysticism. There is a broad streak of the religious in Wallace. His early life had run through the Presbyterian church, but at college he became for a while somewhat skeptical—but only for a brief interval—and turned again to what he called “the necessity of believing in God, imminent as well as transcendental.” He thought the severely logical and critical Presbyterianism was unsuited to his yearnings and he began attending the Roman Catholic Church, attracted by its rich ritual and the devotional attitude of the congregation. He liked the genuflecting, the kneeling, the sign of the cross, the silent adoration and he began to look into the dogmas. These repelled him after a while and, interestingly enough, it was what he called the scholastic method of reasoning, with its unyielding insistence upon the severe processes of logic, that repelled him and so he made one more move to the High Episcopal church where he found the warm, seemingly ritualistic atmosphere without the hard and fast insistence on the dogmas behind the ritual.

It is quite certain that his soul did not by any means come to rest in the pleasant and assured comfort of the High Church either and so he began wandering around from cult to cult, sampling them all, looking for some sort of god he could get close to and commune with and feel. In fact, he is supposed to have come upon the ever-normal granary plan while studying the economic principles of Confucius. Several journalists who have written about him say that he had probed into Buddhism, Confucianism and the mysteries and beliefs of the Orient, and that he had studied astrology and knew how horoscopes were drawn.

In the meantime, he was fiddling around on the edges and surfaces of economics. Mordecai Ezekiel, who believed in state planning as thoroughly as Adolf Hitler did and who had a plan for \$2500-a-year for everybody, jobs for all and security from the cradle to the grave, was his economic adviser in the Agricultural Department. It

was not surprising, therefore, that after Wallace had been Secretary of Agriculture for a while, exposed to the Tugwells and Ezekiels and to the inner urges of his own mystic hunger, he should have told the Federal Council of Churches on December 7, 1933 that perhaps the thing we should be moving towards was something like the theocracies of old. He thought, however, that the times would have to get more difficult in order to soften the hearts of the people and move them "sufficiently so they will be willing to join together in the modern adaptation of the theocracy of old." The thing he didn't like about Socialism and Communism was their spiritual dryness. "The economic and business machines," he said, "should be subjected more and more to the religious and artistic and the deeper scientific needs of man" and apparently the end of this development would be some version of the ancient theocracy. Undoubtedly Wallace believed this at the moment he was uttering it to a religious meeting. Whether he really believed it or not, whether it came out of any really studied conviction or was nothing more than a passing oratorical fancy, we cannot say.

Some time in the 'twenties, a gentleman by the name of Nicholas Constantin Roerich appeared on the American scene. Roerich was a highly self-advertised great philosopher on the Eastern Asiatic model. He gathered around himself a collection of admirers and disciples who addressed him as their "Guru"—a spiritual and religious person or teacher. He dispensed to them a philosophic hash compounded of pseudo-Yogism and other Oriental occult teachings that certain superior beings are commissioned to guide the affairs of mankind. Roerich wrote a long string of books—"In Himalaya," "Fiery Stronghold," "Gates Into the Future," "The Art of Asia," "Flame in Chalice," "Realm of Light." He founded the Himalayan Research Institute of the Roerich Museum at Nagara, India and was the founder of the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace, signed by 22 countries in 1935. This ceremony took place in the White House. Wallace arranged for the presentation and was named the American plenipotentiary to sign the pact. At the ceremony Wallace said: "I am deeply grateful to have been named by President Roosevelt to sign for the United States this important document *in which*

I have been interested for many years and which I regard as an inevitable step in international relations. The Roerich Pact which forms this treaty provides that all museums, cathedrals, universities and libraries be registered by the nations and marked by a banner—known as the Banner of Peace—which designates them as neutral territory respected by all signatory nations.” And on this occasion Wallace described Roerich as “a great versatile genius” and “one of the greatest figures and true leaders of contemporary culture.”

When Roerich, with his long white beard, got going here, a wealthy broker named Louis L. Horch became the most ardent and reverential disciple of the Guru Roerich. He raised the money, putting up much of it himself, to erect a beautiful building worth several million dollars at 105th Street and Riverside Drive in New York City, called the Roerich Museum, which Westbrook Pegler, who has brought much of this material to light, refers to as Roerich's Lamasery or Joss House. Roerich was a prolific painter of obscure and symbolic canvases and the first floor of the Roerich Museum was given over to the exhibition of these canvases. The remaining stories of this building served as apartments and offices for the elect or for friendly or useful souls.

Roerich's pictures were believed to possess a peculiar power over the minds of those who would sit quietly before them and contemplate them. Many disciples of his cult visited the building and did precisely that, in search of some kind of “world awareness” hidden away in these obscure daubings. Those who followed Roerich looked upon him as a great spiritual leader. Horch in addressing him, spoke of him as “our beloved master” and ended his letters “in love, beauty and action forever united, your Logvan.” Logvan and Logdomor were the names by which Horch was known in this mystic circle.

Horch put \$1,100,000 into the Roerich program and he said “it was our joy to give without a thought of ever receiving back the principal or interest.” After Wallace became Secretary of Agriculture, at some point Horch went to the Department as the senior marketing specialist of the Surplus Commodity Corporation. This queer bureau was precisely the place for Horch. It was organized

and directed by a gentleman named Milo Perkins from Houston, Texas, an ex-theosophist preacher who would grow to enormous dimensions in the New Deal before the whole comedy ended.

Roerich had decided that he wished to lead an expedition into Asia. Horch says that he expected to set up a new state in Siberia of which he would be the head. To make this possible, Wallace commissioned Roerich to go to China to collect wild grass seed. But stories in English-language newspapers in China indicated that Roerich applied to the 15th U. S. Infantry in Tientsin for rifles and ammunition and that the expedition had mysterious purposes. Of course, Roerich was not a botanist, and had no special qualifications for hunting wild grass seeds. Horch was now out \$1,100,000 and began to lose faith in his teacher. Wallace apparently backslid at the same time and fired Roerich incontinently while he was in Asia. Subsequently Horch filed suit to recover his unhappy investment in the future and got possession of the building. In 1942 Horch was transferred from the Department of Agriculture to the Board of Economic Warfare of which Wallace was the head and of which Milo Perkins was executive director, and when Wallace became Secretary of Commerce he made Horch chief of the supply division in the New York office of the Foreign Economic Administration.

A controversy about this whole subject has been raging for some time between Westbrook Pegler, columnist, and Henry Wallace, with all the raging being done by Pegler. Pegler has in his possession a batch of letters written by someone to Roerich in which Roerich is addressed as "My dear Guru." The contents of these letters are silly to the point of being imbecilic. Pegler has charged that some of these letters, which are in handwriting on Department of Agriculture stationery have been submitted by him to three of the leading handwriting experts in the United States whose names he gives and that these experts have declared and are willing to take the stand and testify under oath that the letters were written by the same person who wrote two letters in Pegler's possession addressed to him by Henry Wallace and signed by Wallace. Pegler has hammered on this subject for several years. He has presented the testimony in the case in the most elaborate manner and in great detail.

He has called upon Wallace to either affirm or deny the authenticity of the letters and his connection with them and to this day Wallace has refused to make any reply. Pegler's point is that the man who wrote these letters was unfit to be the Secretary of Agriculture or the Secretary of Commerce and that it was nothing short of a crime against the nation to make him Vice-President of the United States, and that Roosevelt knew when he did this of the Roerich incident. Pegler finally published a batch of these incredible letters, challenging Wallace to deny them. Wallace ignored that challenge.

Wallace was indeed as odd a bird as had ever perched upon a cabinet post. He loved to exhibit himself primarily as a deep thinker. Hugh Johnson said of him: "It is a pleasure and wonder to listen to the naive and somewhat sweet but superficial simplicity of Henry's scholarship. He will tackle almost any subject on either the scientific or literary side. He once uttered a dissertation on great books and their influence on human destiny. At the same time, with his usual frankness, he conceded that he had read very few of them." At first he was a specialist on his own soul, his health and the corn farmer. Even this limited group of interests took him off into numerous far flights into the airy world of the cultist. He made a kind of tourist trip through the various religions; he tackled corn somewhat more realistically; tried on himself all sorts of diets settling down as a vegetarian, and experimenting with all sorts of odd athletic pastimes such as boomerang throwing and Indian wrestling. But once in the Department of Agriculture the circle of his interests expanded. There was no national problem which did not excite his interest—and once interested he became concerned, and once concerned he became embattled. In all these questions, however esoteric, there had to be a cast of characters of good people against bad people. However, he was still a nationalist and he was certainly not a Socialist. In the Department in his first big battle he took sides with those who were called reactionaries—George Peek, *et al.*—against the soldiers of the Lord—Jerome Frank, Gardner Jackson, Lee Pressman and Rex Tugwell—on the plight of the sharecroppers as against the landowners. He staged the first purge of the radicals

in Washington, driving Frank, Pressman and Jackson out of the AAA.

But by the time the war got under way, Wallace's range of interests had expanded. And it continued to expand until it encompassed the cosmos. Now he could give full rein to his flair for thinking. He liked to tackle something big—like the world, for instance. It is, after all, one of the smaller planets, yet it was big enough to start with. As someone observed, he set himself up "as the conscience of the world." He was now in a medium where his soul was at home—the vast, immaterial, boundless field of world morals. Down on the ground where there are men, trees, buildings, organizations and machines to clutter up the landscape so that a man had to do a little careful navigating to keep from getting crushed, life was difficult. But once Wallace spread his pinions and took off into the vast circumambient spaces of world morals he was happy.

He cried out in an ecstasy in a speech: "The people's revolution is on the march and the devil and all his angels cannot prevail against it. They cannot prevail because on the side of the people is the Lord." Now he was fighting not George Peek and Hugh Johnson and Harold Ickes. He was fighting the devil and the bad angels. And he had on his side the lord, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the good angels—the Democrats and the CIO and, in good time, he would be joined by Joe Stalin and Glen Taylor, the singing Senator from Idaho. He would begin making world blueprints—filling all the continents with TVAs, globe-circling six-lane highways, world AAAs, World Recovery Administrations, World Parliaments and International Policemen.

This was the man chosen for Vice-President by Roosevelt who had warned that his health was not too good and who forced this strange bird upon his party in the face of a storm of angry protest.

BOOK
THREE



BETRAYAL

1 } A New Show Opens

ON JANUARY 20, 1941, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, ON THE FRONT steps of the Capitol in keeping with tradition since the early days of the Republic, was sworn in as President of the United States for the third time—in defiance of a far more important tradition. The President addressed himself to those who doubt democracy. He pointed out how under his leadership democracy had survived a crisis at home here in America. And then he said: "No! Democracy is not dying . . . We sense it still spreading on every continent." At that very moment it was dying on every continent and had been profoundly weakened in America. The address was couched on a high spiritual note intended to be a document for the ages. Who wrote it is not known. Certainly Roosevelt did not. It bears none of the stigmata of Roosevelt's own style save perhaps in the last four brief sentences, and was worlds below the quality of his first inaugural. Actually it said nothing and did not mention the war. Already men were being called into the military services by conscription. Eighteen billion dollars for national defense had been appropriated. The *Times* noted that the federal debt apparently had been forgotten. Men were moving in great numbers into the factories all over the land. There were no victory balls, no marching groups, but the index of business activity was marching up week after week until for the first time it would top the great peak of the highest prosperity in 1929. Millions of men were already in jobs or moving into jobs who had not worked in years. Two hundred and twenty-five flying fortresses and pursuit planes staged a great show over the White House. The soldiers who marched in the inaugural parade were real soldiers now. General Marshall, as chief

of staff, rode at the head of the parade. Over in England, Harry Hopkins was being presented to crowds of workers who yelled: "Harry, Harry, Harry!"

All the important issues that had been agitating the people's minds were now buried under the rush of the war. The day before the inauguration, Roosevelt received Wendell Willkie, gave him a letter to Churchill and off he went to England. Roosevelt wished him godspeed and this began the movement to take Willkie into Roosevelt's camp, as Stimson and Knox and other Republicans had been taken.

At the moment, on the war front Hitler's forces were poised for what they hoped would be the final knockout blow, while in America Congress was debating the Lend-Lease bill. The House Committee on Foreign Affairs was preparing to hold hearings. The headlines in the newspapers were of the most alarming character. Four days before the inauguration the *New York Times* carried a headline in big black type: "HULL URGES FULLEST AID TO BRITAIN LEST WE MEET FATE OF NORWAY." Next day it was: "STIMSON SEES DANGER OF INVASION IF BRITISH NAVY BE BEATEN OR TAKEN." The following day: "CHURCHILL CALLS FOR U.S. WEAPONS, NOT BIG U.S. ARMY IN '41"; "STIMSON SEES CRISIS IN 90 DAYS." On Sunday, the 19th, the headlines read: "KNUDSEN URGES FULL AID TO BRITAIN"; "WILLKIE SEES PARTY RUIN IN ISOLATION." And the next day Willkie left as a kind of unofficial envoy of Franklin Roosevelt to Churchill. In a little over ten months the blow would come at Pearl Harbor and the United States would be in the war. What followed in the next three years would be the story of America at war. All other issues—the issues of taxation, of debt, of labor, of the struggle between the federal and the state powers, the powers of Congress and the President, the bureaucracy—all became merely subsidiary questions to the question of the war.

The great theatrical success—the New Deal—was to be taken from the boards. The President himself would say he was slaying his popular hero. "It will be no longer Dr. New Deal," he said. "It will be Dr. Win-the-War."¹ It was to be an even more grandiose production—the great drama of the salvation of the world.

2 } The White House Goes into Business

IT IS NOW NECESSARY TO PAUSE FOR A MOMENT TO HAVE A LOOK AT the White House and its tenants. The result of this inspection cannot possibly be very agreeable to Americans. As men rise the steep ascent of public life the people instinctively expect from them a progressively more exacting code of public and private conduct. At the top, the White House is held to the highest standard of all. It must be so. The standards of conduct of the President and his family will inevitably shape the conduct of all the orders and levels of public office below them. The nation elects the President. It does not elect his wife or his children. But an unwritten law, rooted deeply in the mores of the people, demands of the President's wife the same high ethical standards as it does of him. There can be no such thing as the President putting his conscience in his wife's name. This canon of *noblesse oblige* extends its reasonable requirements over the President's whole immediate family. And it must be said for the long line of men and women who have lived in the White House that, so far as their immediate families were concerned, they have sustained the high tradition.

The Roosevelt family entered the White House under the universal assumption that they represented the very best in the traditions of an American family. They were descended from a long line of supposedly fine stock. They were wealthy. The President himself had inherited from his father and step-brother around \$600,000. He was an only son and his mother was worth more than a million.

He was supposed to be a reformer. While he was Governor of New York the country was seemingly shocked by a long series of

petty corruptions among various Tammany leaders. Sheriff Tom Farley was exposed by Samuel Seabury as having kept a good deal of cash in a secret "tin box." The "tin boxes" of leaders got a sudden serio-comic fame. Sheriff Farley was put on trial before Governor Roosevelt, who removed him from office. In doing so he made the following statement:

"Passive acquiescence by unthinking people in the actions of those *who shrewdly turn to personal advantage the opportunities offered by public office* is out of step with modern ideals of government and with political morality. Such personal gain is not to be excused because it is accompanied by the respondent's popularity of person and great public generosity. Public office should inspire private financial integrity.

*"The stewardship of public officers is a serious and sacred trust. They are so close to the means for private gain that in a sense not at all true of private citizens their personal possessions are invested with a public importance in the event that their stewardship is questioned. One of their deep obligations is to recognize this not reluctantly or with resistance but freely. It is in the true spirit of public trust to give when personally called upon, public proof of the nature, source and extent of their financial affairs."*²

This declaration, doubtless written for the President by Raymond Moley, his adviser in the trial, was hailed as a great moral trumpet blast representing a sane standard of public morality. It may not be so well known, but it is a fact that it is a standard followed by thousands of men in public life, in high and low positions—fortunately for this country. There is not much profit in the salaries of public office. The profit is in the graft. Graft is a slang term to describe "preying on the public either against the law or under it." It consists in "advancing one's position or wealth by dishonest or unfair means as *by utilizing the advantages of an official position for one's gain.*" Those who make most money out of politics are, usually, those who hold no public office. Contractors, insurance brokers, lawyers, gamblers and such are able, through their official connections, to feather their nests handsomely, not necessarily by dishonest, but by unfair means—unfair to the public. On a few oc-

casions, presidents have been embarrassed by some distant relative seeking to use his relationship for profit. And in only two or three cases have cabinet officers been involved. In Grant's administration and in Harding's, friends used their connection with the President for their own profit. But the Presidents' immediate families remained unscathed. When the Roosevelt family moved into the White House they had before them the example of a long line of predecessors and the code of honor the President himself had proclaimed.

I.

While Roosevelt was yet governor of New York, his oldest son James, still a student in Boston, was offered a job by an insurance company at \$15,000 a year. Jimmy, in a magazine article³ wrote later: "I wasn't being kidded. I knew perfectly well they were paying me for my name. I . . . needed the money." His duties, as he described them, were to sit at a big desk and do nothing. Herbert Hoover's son, during his father's presidency, was offered a job with a big salary. He, like Jimmy, wasn't being kidded either. But he refused the job, saying: "My father's name is not for sale." Jimmy made \$19,000 in 1932 and \$21,000 in 1933, his first years at work, which he received for the use of his father's name.

About this time a gentleman named John A. Sargent, in Boston, who was making \$7500 a year—the hard way—as an insurance salesman, saw the possibilities in Jimmy. He managed the formation of an insurance firm called Roosevelt and Sargent. Sargent knew how to capitalize on it to the limit. Jimmy's first big account was the American Tobacco Company of which George Washington Hill was chairman. Hill wanted some favor and the President invited him to Warm Springs. Jimmy sent a telegram to Warm Springs: "Tell father to be nice to Mr. Hill."

Jimmy got business from or through the following, among others: the Port of New York Authority, Columbia Broadcasting System, subject to control of the government, Ames Baldwin Wyoming Shovel Co., Transcontinental and Western Airlines, West Indian Sugar Company, National Distillers Products, Associated Gas and

Electric Co., Armour and Co., National Shawmut Bank of Boston, First National Bank of Boston, Eastern Steamship Co., Pennsylvania Dixie Cement Co., New England Power Association, Ritz-Carlton Hotel of Boston, Roxy Theatre in New York, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York, the Boston Braves, Stone and Webster, Detroit Edison Co., Pressed Steel Car Corporation, Federal Office Building at Vesey St., New York.⁴

Why should Roosevelt and Sargent, a Boston insurance agency, get all this business, from all over the country? William Gibbs McAdoo was made \$25,000-a-year head of the American President Lines. The United States government owned 90 per cent of the Lines. The RFC granted these lines a loan of several million. The Maritime Commission agreed to give an annual subsidy of three million for five years. After that the insurance on this firm was transferred to Roosevelt and Sargent.⁵

In 1938, the government forced Southern sugar planters to plow under sugar cane. The American growers fought this. The Cuban planters favored it because they were allowed to plant four times as much as the Southern planters. The West Indies Sugar Company was the big beneficiary. Its profits were enormous. This one company exported to the United States as much sugar as all growers in Louisiana and Florida together produced. And Jimmy got the West Indies Sugar Company insurance.⁶ Fifty million dollars' worth of cotton was shipped to China through an RFC-government loan. And Jimmy got the insurance. The clipper ships of the Pan American Airways had to be insured. Admiral Land of the United States Maritime Commission said the Commission "was diverting more and more insurance to American firms." Plenty of this insurance was going to the youthful Jimmy. The Columbia Broadcasting Company was subject to a federal commission. Jimmy got its insurance. Walter Horne, an insurance broker, owned property on which the Fox West Coast Theatre building stands and the lease provided that he should have the insurance. At the time Joe Schenck, the movie magnate whose concern was interested in this theater was in jail and applying for a federal pardon. Horne was told that the \$315,000 policy on this property had to be shifted to Jimmy.

This young man did well for himself. Alva Johnston wrote in a *Saturday Evening Post* article that he had made a million dollars out of this business. Jimmy replied in *Collier's* that this was untrue. He hadn't made a million. But he confessed what he made. In 1934 his insurance earnings were *only* \$37,215. His total earnings for the year were \$49,167. They were \$44,668 in 1936. By 1937 they were \$61,000 for the year. And in 1939 they were \$100,000, or \$25,000 more than his father got as President of the United States.⁷ The Roosevelts were satisfied with the defense that Jimmy had made not a million but only a quarter of a million.

This was graft. Let us be honest about it. That is the name for it. It was graft fully known to the President. Dudley Field Malone, Assistant Secretary of State under Wilson, called on Roosevelt to investigate his son's insurance business. The President's answer was that he would do nothing to prevent his son earning a living.

Roosevelt had a very different attitude towards others earning a living. Arthur Mullen, national committeeman from Nebraska, was floor manager for Roosevelt in the 1932 Democratic convention. In 1932 when Mullen told Roosevelt he was going to open a Washington law office, Roosevelt approved and said "he might let it be known that he had the friendliness of the administration." Early in 1934, Senator James F. Byrnes on the radio criticized national committeemen who practiced law in Washington. Roosevelt told Mullen it would be bad for him (Roosevelt) if national committeemen practiced before the courts in Washington.⁸ And this at the same time that he approved his son's soliciting insurance from firms all over the country which had business with the government. Oddly enough, Jimmy would himself become a national committeeman from California without in any way relaxing his business activities. And around 1937 Jimmy became his father's private secretary. He solved the delicate ethical problem which this presented by resigning from the board of directors of Roosevelt and Sargent, without, of course, withdrawing from the firm, and substituted his mother on the board. Here was something really brand new in American political commercial adventure. And as the war arrived, with the vast business of the government running into countless

millions with big corporations all over America, the insurance business of Roosevelt and Sargent grew by leaps and bounds. What its earnings were no one knows.

After all, suppose you were the head of a big corporation with millions in contracts from the government and a score of government bureaucrats continually prowling around your plants and over your books and then one day the telephone were to ring and a voice were to say: "This is the White House" or "This is James Roosevelt of Roosevelt and Sargent" and then proceeded to solicit your insurance? What would you do? You might tell young Mr. Roosevelt you were shocked or that you would bring the matter to the attention of his father or that you would publicly denounce him. But you would know that his father's government was on your neck through a dozen New Deal bureaus, that life under these restraints and directives was almost intolerable anyhow. It is not a pretty picture and it is a little difficult to believe and is literally impossible for many honest Americans to credit who have been fed upon the story of the purity and nobility of the Roosevelt regime.

Jimmy did not confine his operations to insurance. In July, 1935 he became president of the National Grain Yeast Corporation, which was organized during Prohibition. In 1929 this company was refused a permit to make alcohol because its backers were not revealed. Jimmy later referred to a Frank J. Hale as president of the company. Hale had been a prohibition agent. Before Hale became an agent, his bank deposits ran around \$300 but after his appointment he deposited more than \$155,000 in two banks in a year—all of it, save \$5000, in cash. Why did this company hire the President's son, then only 28 years old, with no experience in this business, and pay him \$25,000 a year? ⁹

Around the latter part of 1938, the Department of Justice was preparing its case against the movie companies under the anti-trust laws. Jimmy resigned his job as his father's aide to take a job with Samuel Goldwyn. In thus becoming an officer of one of the indicted companies, Jimmy's name had to be added to the list of defendants under the indictment. He was given \$50,000 a year. Later he went into producing on his own account.

Jimmy was thus an extremely busy man and it is not surprising that his health should be impaired. In 1938 he went to the Mayo Clinic and after being there a short time he fell in love with his nurse. In 1940 his wife asked for a divorce, saying that in 1938 Jimmy had asked her for a divorce and demanded that she leave California with their two children. She refused and he deserted her. She got her divorce in 1940 and a settlement involving a very large sum of money for so young a man. The divorce was granted in March and in April Jimmy married his nurse. This was in 1940 and by that time the country had gotten used to the marital adventures of the Roosevelts.

2.

Among this flock of Roosevelt lambs, Elliott was quite the darkest. His brother Jimmy could not make the grade at law school. Elliott had no interest in school and didn't even bother to go to college. He grew up a little on the weed model. And when his father became President, and with the example of his older brother before him, Elliott clearly considered his relationship to the White House a franchise to get rich quick as fast as he could.

He made for Texas in 1933, where he remained for seven years in which time he had earnings larger than his father's as President. Although still a very young man, he started his career in Texas with a new wife. He was divorced from his first in Nevada four months after he landed in Texas and five days later he married a Texas girl by whom he was to have three children before he changed his base of commercial and marital operations.

Elliott was a schematic business man and his mind turned to deals and promotions. One of Roosevelt's early acts in foreign affairs was to recognize Soviet Russia. Three months later—February 28, 1934—Elliott went into a deal with Anthony Fokker to sell the Soviet government 50 military planes for a price which would leave a commission of half a million dollars for Elliott and the same for Fokker, who told a Senate committee the price was excessive but that Elliott had enough influence with the Export-Import Bank and

the Russian Purchasing Commission in this country to swing the deal at this price. Elliott was only 23 at the time.¹⁰

The next year he moved into radio. A Texas business man owned five stations. He gave Elliott a job as vice-president at \$30,000 a year. Elliott sold four of these stations to William Randolph Hearst. But Mr. Hearst was *persona non grata* with the New Deal, and of course the Federal Communications Commission was not going to allow him to get these stations. In May, 1936, Elliott Roosevelt arrived at the White House from Texas and promptly applied to the Federal Communications Commission to have these four stations transferred to Mr. Hearst. One Commission member objected but the two Democratic members were for instant approval without a hearing. The objecting member didn't like the idea of the President's son appearing before the Commission which his father had appointed. Then in a month or two the summer arrived and the objecting member left on his vacation. As soon as he was out of town and on only an hour's notice the remaining two called a snap meeting and approved the transfer. A member of the President's family called from the White House to urge the transfer "because it meant so much to Elliott." It did indeed. He got a large sum for each of the stations transferred and was engaged as vice-president of the operating company at a large salary.¹¹ Thus Elliott began his radio career. His subsequent adventures in this field are such that we shall defer looking at them until a little later.

Elliott got himself involved in all sorts of deals. His name was constantly bobbing up in connection with some unsavory promotion or other. For instance, there was an electric transmission cooperative in Texas on the Brazos River. Harry Slattery, the Rural Electrification Administrator, refused to approve a contract for the sale of power and its operations were held up for three months, resulting in a \$180,000 loss. Elliott wrote a letter to Steve Early, his father's secretary, to delay action on the project. That letter is in evidence and is attributed to Elliott's connection with a private electric power company which paid him \$12,000 a year as its advertising agent—a mere side issue.¹²

As the war got under way Elliott leaped into the army as a cap-

tain and he was sent, of all places, into the procurement division at Dayton, Ohio. In quick succession he rose to be a major, a colonel and then a brigadier-general, while able officers who were colonels when the war started, who began at West Point and had long and honorable careers were kept at that grade throughout the war. While he was in the army he deserted his second wife and her children as he had his first and married after a brief acquaintance a young actress who promptly entered the White House circle and proceeded to capitalize on that. The wedding was staged under circumstances which might be said, by now, to be in the best Rooseveltian manner. Elliott by this time was hobnobbing with Howard Hughes, the military plane builder, who had contracts from the army. Elliott "plighted his troth" at a resort on the rim of the Grand Canyon. Johnny Meyers, the notorious publicity man for Hughes, gave the bride away and Jack Frye, of the Hughes Airplane Company was the best man. The bills for this shindig were paid by the Hughes company. Hughes got a \$22,000,000 photo reconnaissance plane contract from the government on the recommendation of Elliott after two major-generals charged with passing on this contract had rejected it. Hughes' publicity man testified under oath that in a period of two years he had spent over \$5000 entertaining Elliott, that Elliott had borrowed \$1000 from him—but paid it back—and that at the very time Elliott was in California on the subject of this contract, his hotel bills were paid by Hughes.¹³

Did President Roosevelt know of the activities of his sons? We know that men high in the party warned him and it is not to be believed that the numerous newspaper attacks on both Elliott and Jimmy never reached White House ears. However, the President had more direct information than that. While Elliott was still in Texas his father made a trip to Fort Worth. At the time a number of "hot oil" indictments were pending. The President eluded the newspaper reporters at Fort Worth and made a trip to a fabulous island in the Gulf of Mexico. There he met a numerous party, chiefly oil men and among them several who were under indictment in the "hot oil" cases. Within a week after this the hot oil indictments were settled after the defendants pleaded *nolo con-*

tendere. From one of the men interested in these cases and present at that island party, Elliott borrowed \$40,000. This man asked Elliott if he could do anything with Henry Morgenthau and Elliott assured him he could not, but he did better. He got an appointment with his father at the White House, summoning the oil man as a counsellor on the problems of the independent oil operators. Elliott got in pretty bad with all these people before his career in Texas ended and, in the final settlement, this \$40,000 loan was paid.¹⁴

What had become of that code of public official honesty which Roosevelt had set up when he was governor and running for the presidency? What about the public official who allows a member of his family to obtain favors or benefits through his political connections? These words are not used idly. They are Franklin D. Roosevelt's own words. When he dismissed Sheriff Farley, he said: "*What of a public official who allows a member of his family to obtain favors or benefits through his political connections?*"

The Chicago *Tribune* estimated that Elliott's earnings from 1933 to 1944 inclusive amounted to \$1,175,000 or roughly \$100,000 a year and practically every dollar was made on the strength of his White House connection.

3.

One of the most curious of all the phenomena of the New Deal was the wife of the President. She had this quality: that she was something quite new. The people elect a president. In the nature of things, presidents have wives and children. The President's life history, his personality, habits and opinions are all legitimate subjects, usually fully explored during the campaign. But the President's wife and children are thrown in with the package and it is rare indeed that the people have any suspicion of what they are getting. The White House is the President's home and his place of business and the President's wife is its general manager. The family lives, in a sense, upon a hill and the hill belongs to the people, so that the President's wife and his immediate family have a definite official status during his incumbency. Besides, the wife gets

elected, by virtue of his election, to a life-time annuity of \$5000 for being the President's wife if she should survive him.

Obviously it would be a violation of the proprieties were Congress to pass a law requiring that the President's wife and his children should behave themselves. A hundred and fifty years of history have proved that, save in a single administration, such a law would be quite unnecessary. Presidents and presidents' wives could be counted on to preserve the proprieties governing this peculiar half-private, half-official status and to obey these proprieties and to exact from their children some respect for them.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was born in 1884. She was the daughter of Elliott Roosevelt, a younger brother of Theodore. He apparently was a gay, carefree, happy sort of man who had done little in his life save to follow his inclinations. He left St. Paul's School when a boy without going to college, went West for his health, took part of his inheritance and went around the world, hunted big game, came back to America and married Anna Hall, whose father lived entirely on what his mother and father gave him. Thus on her mother's and father's side she came from two old New York families who lived wholly on their inheritance and had never done a day's work for pay.

The facts about her early family life are such that I would leave them severely alone save for the fact that Mrs. Roosevelt has written a book telling all about these unhappy maladjustments. She writes that her father was a drunkard and died in a sanitarium. I do not rake up this family scandal. I note it only for the light it throws on his daughter who saw fit to rake it up in order to portray the bleakness of her girlhood out of which she emerged into so much light. The father spent most of his time away from the family home, either in Europe or in Virginia in a sanitarium. Her mother died when she was a small child. After this she and two other younger children were turned over to their maternal grandmother Hall, where she lived under a regime of the most solemn and exacting discipline. Until she was 15 years old she had no schooling save for a brief period when she was about six in a convent in France.

She described herself as a dour, homely child, with a lack of manners and an inordinate desire for affection and praise which she never got. She left the school in France, as she says, in disgrace because she told some childish fairy story about having swallowed a penny in order to get some attention. The Mother Superior insisted that she go "because they could not believe her." She had very few companions of her own age. Finally in 1899 when she was 15 years old she was sent to a school called Allenwood, outside of London. It was a French school kept by an old pedagogist named Madame Souvestre who had taught Eleanor's aunt in Paris before the Franco-Prussian war and was now, in her declining years, running this small school for girls of high-school age from well-to-do American and English families. Save for a summer vacation in Long Island, she spent the next three years in London at Miss Souvestre's school, with occasional travels on the continent. She was 18 when she came home, with literally no knowledge of America or her country or what it was all about and scarcely no acquaintances of her own age. All these facts are revealed by her in one of her own books.¹⁵

She returned to the home of her aging grandmother and to a house where she was kept, by reason of unfortunate circumstances, in great isolation. She herself is authority in this curious book for the cause of this. Her mother's brother was also a drunkard. Young people were not asked to the house. Once when two of her friends were invited to remain for a few days, Eleanor lived in such terror lest some unfortunate incident occur that none was ever invited again unless she felt free to explain to her visitors that they might have an uncomfortable time. Later she moved with an unmarried aunt to a town house in 37th Street, undoubtedly to be away from the atmosphere of this isolated and disturbed home.

This is all she knew of life when a year later she married young Franklin D. Roosevelt, a cousin, after a very brief acquaintance and courtship while he was still in Harvard College. She herself says that she scarcely knew what marriage meant. As she put it herself, her grandmother asked her if she was sure she was really in love and she answered: "I solemnly answered yes; yet it was years later

before I knew what love was or what loving really meant." Why this singular woman should choose the moment when she had just become the mistress of the White House to write and sell these accounts to the American people I do not of course know. But her record of these early years makes it abundantly clear that one of the guiding urges of her life, once she was emancipated from the isolations and constrictions and bewilderment of her first 20 years, was an insatiable craving for attention. It amounted to little less than a phobia, as Americans now know.

Mrs. Roosevelt had not been in the White House very long when she appeared on the radio on a commercial program for which she was paid a large sum of money. It was a little startling to have the President's wife gushing over the air for toilet preparations, mattresses and other products. She was getting from \$1000 to \$4000 an appearance not because she was Eleanor Roosevelt but because she was the wife of the President. The Manhattan Soap Company, makers of Sweetheart Soap, began a campaign in 80 newspapers offering three cakes of soap for the price of one cake plus a penny and the campaign was built around the broadcasts of Mrs. Roosevelt and Jack Burch.

The Pan-American Coffee Bureau was supported by eight Latin American countries. It looked out for the interests of their coffee exporters. Some of the countries paid the bills out of their treasuries, others out of a tax paid on every bag of coffee exported to America. An advertising agency in which Harry Hopkins' son was employed offered Mrs. Roosevelt as an "attraction" to this coffee bureau and the offer was accepted. Here was the wife of the President getting \$1000 a week from a group of foreign countries. One of the countries involved assumed that the President was in on it. The proposal to hire the First Lady to ballyhoo coffee for eight South American republics was submitted to the State Department. There, it is said, Sumner Welles, who had held the lady's train when she married, objected. He said it would not look good to our southern neighbors. But Mrs. Roosevelt said yes and the advertising account of the coffee bureau was taken away from one advertising company and given to the one in which Hopkins' son was interested.

During the war the candy manufacturers were fearful that candy might be classed as "non-essential." They organized the Council on Candy as Food in the War Effort. They wanted names on their radio program. They got Wallace, McNutt, some generals and admirals who broadcast without pay. They also got the President's wife but she charged \$1500 each for the first two and \$2500 for the third appearance. What else than this could Franklin D. Roosevelt have been referring to when as governor he talked about the families and wives of officials using their positions to make money? It had seemed pretty serious in the relatives of little Tammany officials. It apparently had become all right in the wife of the President.¹⁶

This versatile lady took a fling at the movies, making a series of shorts with Dave Ellman, the Hobby Lobby man. With Ellman she appeared painted up like a Cherokee Indian and told about the hobbies of her husband and her children. And, as the world knows, she has been a prolific writer for magazines and newspapers and of books. She wrote a daily column called "My Day" which was syndicated to numerous daily papers and which seldom rose in literary form or intellectual content above the level of a high-school composition. She has written a monthly magazine department and all in all has written for magazines over 160 articles on almost every subject under the sun. She has lectured in almost every city in the United States, getting \$1000 or \$1500 per lecture, depending on what the traffic would bear. It is estimated that she has received during the 15 years since she entered the White House at least *three million dollars*—which is not very bad for a lady who had no earning power whatever before she moved her desk into the Executive Mansion, a lady whose husband spent a good deal of time denouncing the greed of men who made less for directing some of the greatest enterprises in America.¹⁷

At first it was said in extenuation of Mrs. Roosevelt's sudden burst of prosperity that she gave a great deal to charity. So does every ward boss. The point at issue is not what use she makes of the money but what canons of public decency she has fractured in earn-

ing it. Besides, the defense that she pours it out to charity has been pretty well exploded.

Nevertheless, in spite of these defiances of all the amenities, all the laws imposed by decency, all the traditional proprieties and all that body of rules which high-minded people impose upon themselves, the Roosevelt family, through a carefully cultivated propaganda technique not unlike that which is applied to the sale of quack medicines, imposed upon the American people the belief that they were probably the most high-minded beings that ever lived in the White House. Behind this curtain of moral grandeur they were able to carry on in the field of public policy the most incredible programs which our people, unaccustomed to this sort of thing, accepted because they believed these plans came out of the minds of very noble and righteous beings.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, while he was governor and was judging the conduct not of a president or his wife, but of a Tammany politician, made this further statement: "As a matter of general sound public policy I am very certain that there is a requirement that where a public official is under inquiry or investigation, especially an elected public official, and it appears that his scale of living or the total of his bank deposits far exceeds the public salary which he is known to receive he, the elected public official, owes a positive public duty to the community to give a reasonable or credible explanation of the sources of the deposits or the source which enables him to maintain a scale of living beyond the amount of his salary." ¹⁸

Of course there has been no investigation of the President's earnings but the moral formula which Governor Roosevelt proposed here must apply to President Roosevelt far more than to a Tammany county sheriff. It cannot be escaped because his wife rather than he himself is the instrument of making these vast sums—his wife who until he became president earned nothing. The President specifically closed this loophole when he insisted that the rule noted above applied not merely to the public official himself but to his family who profited out of his trust. And he said again: "The state

must expect compliance with these standards because if popular government is to continue to exist, it must hold its stewards to a stern and uncompromising rectitude. It must be a stern but a just master."

I think it is a fair statement that the history of public office in the federal government in the higher levels exhibits no such instance of a president's or a cabinet officer's wife suddenly blossoming forth as one of the largest earners of money in the country. As an example to future chief executives—and we cannot know what kind of men will come to power in troubled times—there must be a full and complete investigation of the earnings of every member of the Roosevelt family which can be traced by any stretch to the political influence of that family while Roosevelt was President of the United States.

Why did the President permit his wife to carry on in this fantastic manner and why did the Democratic leaders allow her to do it without a protest? You may be sure that whenever you behold a phenomenon of this character there is a reason for it. The reason for it in this case was that Mrs. Roosevelt was performing an important service to her husband's political plans. We have already seen the unusual conditions out of which Mr. Roosevelt's majorities were fashioned. We must remember that the New Deal, by which I mean that collection of policies we call the New Deal, was as far removed from the political philosophy of the Southern Democrats as it was possible to be. There were never enough people in the country belonging to the more or less orthodox Democratic fold to elect Mr. Roosevelt. It was necessary for him to get the support of groups outside this Democratic fold. One of these groups, of course, was the radical element in the large cities, particularly in New York. For instance, in the 1940 election, Mr. Roosevelt was the candidate of the Democratic Party but he did not get enough votes on the Democratic ticket to carry New York State. He was also the candidate of the American Labor Party which provided the necessary votes to overcome the Republican lead over the Democrats. The American Labor Party at first was a conglomeration of radicals of all kinds ranging from light pink to deep red. But by 1944 the Com-

munists had taken over the American Labor Party completely. In the election of 1944, Governor Dewey got nearly half a million votes more on the Republican ticket than Roosevelt got on the Democratic ticket, but Roosevelt was the candidate of two other parties—the American Labor Party of the Communists and the Liberal Party which was a collection of parlor pinks, technocrats, pious fascists and American non-Stalinist Communists. These two parties gave him over 800,000 votes and it was this that made up his majority in New York. The same thing was true in Illinois, in New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and other large industrial states, although the fact was not so obvious because the radicals operated inside the Democratic party where they could not be so easily identified.

It was in this field that Mrs. Roosevelt performed her indispensable services to the President. It was she who fraternized with the Reds and the pinks, with the Red-fascists and the technocrats and the crackpot fringe generally, gave them a sense of association with the White House, invited their leaders and their pets to the White House and to her apartment in New York, went to their meetings, endorsed their numerous front organizations and generally made herself a thorn in the side of the Democratic organization when it confronted its orthodox members, but did her part in holding in line the Red faction without which Roosevelt could not have been elected after the second term. Bizarre as her performances were, offensive as they were to so-called sound Democrats almost to the point of nausea, they were indispensable and this is why she was tolerated, even though in carrying out this mission she violated all of the proprieties and shocked even some of the least sensitive persons in the Democratic party.

Let us see just how she did this job and let us be fair in passing judgment on her. We have to remember that she was a woman of very limited intelligence and of literally no information about the philosophy of the various groups she toyed with.

After Roosevelt was stricken with infantile paralysis in 1921, she suddenly found herself for the first time in her life in a position approaching power on her own feet. While she, with her rather

stern sense of formal responsibility, made every effort to bring about her husband's recovery, she also saw the necessity of keeping alive his interest in public affairs and his contacts and she set herself about that job. She had already fallen into acquaintance with left-wing labor agitators and she brought these people as frequently as she could to her imprisoned husband where they proceeded to work upon a mind practically empty so far as labor and economic problems were concerned. The moment a person of Mrs. Roosevelt's type exposes herself to these infections, the word gets around radical circles, whose denizens are quick to see the possibilities in an instrument of this kind. During Roosevelt's term in Albany she was extensively cultivated by these groups, so that when she went to Washington in 1933 they had easy and friendly access to her.

I think it must be said for her that at this point—in 1933—the country, including its public men, were not too well-informed about the peculiar perils involved in Red propaganda activities. The Reds seized upon three or four very popular American democratic cults—(1) freedom of speech, (2) the defense of the downtrodden laborer—the forgotten man, (3) the succor of the poor. They also began to penetrate the colleges in both the teaching staffs and the student bodies through their various front organizations dominated by Reds. The first attempt to expose these designs was made by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The attacks upon Martin Dies and the Dies Committee, as it was known, were engineered and carried out almost entirely by the Communist Party. But the Communist Party itself was powerless to do anything effective and it used some of the most powerful and prominent persons in the country to do its dirty work. All through the first and second terms of the President, Mrs. Roosevelt was industriously cultivated by the Communists and their various front organizations. There is no room here to go into the whole story. But she served their purposes well, while at the same time keeping them in the New Deal fold.

Throughout 1939 the President was busy laying plans for his third-term nomination, while pretending to be adverse to a third term. And all through 1939 Mrs. Roosevelt was tireless in promoting

the friendships of these Communist groups. One of the Communist outfits was the American Youth Congress. It was dominated by Communists through the Young Communist League and a group of workers including William W. Hinckley, Joseph Cadden who succeeded him as executive secretary and Joseph P. Lash, one of the leaders of the movement. The Dies Committee began investigating these organizations, although the President had sent for Martin Dies and ordered him to quit investigating the Communists.

When the Un-American Activities Committee was investigating the American Youth Congress, a crowd of adolescent pinks marched into the committee room. They were headed by the wife of the President of the United States, and there they put on a three-ring circus, hopping about, distributing pamphlets, buttonholing congressmen and making themselves generally a disgraceful nuisance. Joseph P. Lash, who was the executive secretary of the American Student Union, put on a show. He sang a little song for the benefit of the committee from a skit which the little pinks had put on in New York. It ran:

"If you see an un-American come lurking your way
Why, alkalize with Martin Dies and he will disappear."

This was delivered to little squeals of joy from the assembled pinks and pinklets in attendance and to the smiling approval of their impresario, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. At this very moment, Joe Lash was living in the White House as Mrs. Roosevelt's guest, while Joe Cadden and Abbot Simon were occasional boarders there. When the show was over, Mrs. Roosevelt led all of her young guests into two White House cars and carted them back to the White House for entertainment. The next day in her newspaper column she gave the Dies Committee a good going over. She went so far as to send for one of the members of the committee privately and ask him to see that the American Youth Congress was not branded as a Communist-front organization. Here was the wife of the President of the United States, a separate department of the government, using the White House as a lobbying ground for a

crowd of young Commies and Pinkies against a committee of Congress.¹⁹

Things were happening in the world about this time. Hitler had invaded Poland and at the same time Russia had jolted its American stooges by joining with Hitler in the invasion of Poland. Joe Lash had been the leader of the movement in the American Student Union inspired by the Communists to keep America on the pacifist side. Lash had been a member of the Socialist party. He resigned in 1937 and published his letter of resignation in the Communist *New Masses* where he extolled the vigorous leadership of the Soviet Union. Lash worked in collaboration with the Communist Party. After this, the American Student Union became a mere tool of the Red organization in America.

Following the pact between Hitler and Stalin, the American Student Union, after an address by Earl Browder, then head of the Communist Party, denounced the war between England and France on one hand and Germany on the other as an imperialist war and they pledged themselves "to mobilize the American campus to defeat every effort to involve this country in war between Britain, France and Germany or against the Soviet Union." However, when Hitler invaded Russia, they repudiated that position and pledged themselves wholeheartedly to the defense of Russia.

The war in Europe had already begun when Mrs. Roosevelt made a spectacle of herself with her adolescent revolutionists in the House office building. In the Spring of 1941, the American Youth Congress held a convention in Washington where Justice Jackson and other officials addressed them. They ended with a get-together on the White House lawn. Germany and Russia were still allies at this time. The President, from the White House porch, addressed these young philosophers spread out on the lawn. Referring to Germany and Russia he asked them to condemn all forms of dictatorship and at this point, to his amazement, the assembled young philosophers gave the President and Mrs. Roosevelt a hearty Bronx cheer. And now, of course, Mrs. Roosevelt felt they were Communists, although she had rejected all of the overwhelming evi-

dence before that. Booming the President suddenly turned them into Communists.

Her protegee, Joe Lash, was now in a terrible position. Obviously he could not continue with an organization that had booed his host and hostess for he was living rather regularly in the White House. Mrs. Roosevelt therefore sponsored a new organization called the International Students Service. Joe Lash, the Commie stooge, turned up under her sponsorship as the secretary of that at \$4200 a year. A member of Congress, an ardent New Dealer, visited the White House one morning. While there he saw Abbot Simon of the national board of the American Youth Congress, come out of one of the bedrooms. He couldn't believe his eyes. He asked the White House usher if he was mistaken. The usher assured him he was not, that this little Commie tool had been occupying that room for two weeks and sleeping in the bed Lincoln had slept in.

Lash still continued in the White House as a guest and as a symbol to every Red in America. Some time later the American Peace Mobilization, another Communist-front organization, began to picket the White House. Joe Cadden, who had been sleeping in the White House only a short time before, was now parading with the picketeers outside his old boarding house while Joe Lash, parted from his old buddies, looked out at the pink peace mobilizers and his friend Cadden from the security of the White House windows.

This whole subject is a little complicated. When we speak of Communists in American politics the word has to be explained. There is the Communist who is a member of the Communist Party and who admits he is a Communist and glories in it. These are probably not more than 80,000 or 90,000 in number, if that. But there are several hundred thousand, perhaps half a million, men and women in America, but chiefly in New York and the large eastern industrial states, who string along with the Communists without being members of the party. Most of them are confused. They are generally agreed on two things only—first that the capitalist system and the democratic form of political life are done for and ought to be abolished and, second, that the Socialist party headed by its old democratic Socialists is impossible, hopelessly weak and

outmoded. At that point they branch out into a variety of groups, some being 100 per cent Communists without being Stalinists—that is, they believe that an American Communist ought to be an American and fight for American Communist revolution regardless of Russian interests.

They then fade off into varying shades of red down to a sickly pink. While the official Communist Party was compelled by its Stalinist master to support Russia after the Hitler-Stalin pact the greater number of Commies and pinks outside the party refused to go along with the Stalinist line. Most of them believed that the Hitler-Stalin pact was purely temporary and that as soon as Hitler had knocked off France he would turn against Russia. They were confused but they were still Red and pink and they were still good for votes around the polls in 1940 and it was Mrs. Roosevelt's job to keep them in line. After Hitler's invasion of Russia in 1941 of course the situation cleared up beautifully for them and she was then able to resume on a still larger scale her White House liaison with her Red friends. How much she realized the gravity of what she was doing must be open to question but she did realize that she was making votes for Franklin D. Roosevelt and as this automatically included herself and all the rich pickings of the White House, she worked at this job seven days a week.

Mrs. Roosevelt's long residence in the White House and the long indulgence of the people toward the numerous journeys by the family across the borderline of good conduct had badly confused her sense of the proprieties. The unwritten law for Presidents and their families is that they shall be more meticulous than any in the observance of the ethical and social restraints enforced upon the population in times of stress. But Mrs. Roosevelt felt that her position in the White House entitled her to an exemption from these restraints.

While American citizens were being deprived of gasoline save for the most essential purposes, Mrs. Roosevelt was running around the country lecturing and pursuing her money-making activities, her politics and her personal diversions regardless of the law. The OPA announced that gasoline ration books would be taken up if

automobiles were found near places of amusement. Mrs. Roosevelt used her car freely to go to such places and got publicly pilloried for this when she drove from the White House to a Marian Anderson concert in Washington.

She allowed her housekeeper to drive back and forth to her home in Maryland every day in a White House car when she might have traveled as other private citizens did. She made a 26,000-mile junket in an Army transport plane to the Pacific and came back in a specially fitted Army plane. She went out in a big four-engined bomber manned by two captains, three master sergeants and a staff sergeant and attended by a Washington journalist—a major in the Air Transport Command. She dressed herself up as a field service worker of the Red Cross for the duration of this trip—all this in spite of the fact that Roosevelt had warned the people that a flying fortress consumed enough gas in a single bombardment to drive your car five times across the continent. Her trip consumed the equivalent of 138,000 A coupons or 185 trips across the continent in your car. The plane was remodeled inside and fitted with a comfortable bed for the lady and while she was in the Pacific she made a special trip to an island to visit her political protegee, Joe Lash. About this time the Office of Defense Transportation put on a big campaign for a renewed check on civilian travel and the government had actually cut down deliveries of milk to save gas. Mrs. Roosevelt, commenting on this, said "we must learn how we can go get things ourselves instead of having them delivered."

She accepted the most expensive gifts from private concerns and from foreign governments seeking favors—a \$10,000 mink coat from Canadian fur breeders, a gold bracelet from Emperor Haile Selassie, a gold crown from the Sultan of Morocco, and gifts from various American trade organizations. She said flippantly: "The President cannot take a present from a foreign government, but I can accept a present from anybody." No law should be necessary to restrain a President's wife. Theodore Roosevelt had a standing rule that presents of food to him should be sent to charitable institutions and all others returned to the senders. But with the Franklin D. Roosevelts the rule seemed to be to "get while the getting is good."²⁰

3 } *What Manner of Man?*

I.

WHAT SORT OF MAN WAS THIS WHO PERMITTED HIS FAMILY TO make the White House into a headquarters for their commercial operations? The picture as it was does not resemble even remotely the vision of the statesman who stood upon a moral plateau far above the time-serving lesser men in Congress.

In good time someone will undertake an inquiry into the early personal life of Roosevelt sufficiently objective to enable us to form some opinion of the origins of the mental and moral urges that drove him along the course he took in the Presidency. All we have now is a handful of surface facts gathered chiefly from his mother, his wife and family. These are meager and pathetically distorted.

Part of the Roosevelt legend is the concept of a fine old aristocratic family that became the friend of the common man. It is unimportant, perhaps, but it serves to illustrate the glittering crust of fable which overlays this whole Roosevelt story. The President's father was a sixth generation Roosevelt who played out decently the role of a Hudson River squire. He was a dull, formal and respectable person moving very narrowly within the orbit set by custom for such a man. By 1900, however, the name Roosevelt had become a good one for promotional purposes, because it had become illustrious by reason of Theodore Roosevelt who belonged to a very different branch of the family.

On Franklin D. Roosevelt's mother's side there was certainly nothing distinguished in the blood. Her father was a crusty old China Sea trader and opium smuggler. The family had much of its

fortune in soft coal mines in West Virginia and Frederic Delano, brother of the senior Mrs. Roosevelt, headed that enterprise, with as dark a social history and as harsh and grinding a labor policy as any in the region. This, so far as Franklin Roosevelt is concerned, is sufficiently unimportant, save as it contradicts the spurious legend that has been fabricated by his extravagant shirt-stuffers. His mother was, however, a woman of great beauty and force of character and whatever of good looks and positiveness there was in Roosevelt's make-up came from her.

Roosevelt was born and grew up in the midst of a baronial estate, surrounded by numerous acres and many servants and hemmed about with an elaborate seclusion. What sort of boy he was we do not know, save that he was carefully guarded from other boys and grew up without that kind of boyhood association usual in America. A sample of the mass of fraudulent "history" which is being served up about him is found in one of the few formal biographies published so far. It is by Alden Hatch²¹ and though it is widely quoted, is as silly a performance as has ever come from any pen since old Parson Weems wrote his book about Washington. Referring to his childhood, Hatch says, explaining "his understanding of people—not just Americans but people everywhere" that "he played with English children on the lawns of English castles or the streets of London" and that he knew "German boys in the *Volkschule* at Bad Nauheim and French ones in the parks of Paris." As a matter of fact, Roosevelt as a boy was severely isolated from other children. His first schooling was at the age of seven when he and the Rogers boy formed a class for a brief time at the Rogers' home adjoining Hyde Park, with the Rogers' governess as teacher. He was taken abroad on summer tours by his parents from the time he was three years old. He went along in the care of a governess as the parents traveled to France and London and Berlin, following the usual track of American visitors of that day. In London his parents made visits to various people. When the boy was around 12 years old he made a bicycle trip of a few weeks around German cities with his tutor. He spent a few weeks, perhaps something over a month at most, in a small German school while his parents were at Bad Nau-

heim. This was all the schooling he got save from a governess until he was 14, when he went to Groton.²² We are asked to attribute part of his wide understanding of Americans and Europeans to the story that this summer wayfarer between the ages of three and 12 "played in the London streets and Paris parks," which of course he did not do, and with a couple of boys on a neighboring estate under a governess.

At Groton, a severely exclusive school, the boy was an indifferent student and at Harvard later the same was true. He wore a Phi Beta Kappa key on his chain in later life, but this was a purely honorary one presented to him by a small women's college when he was governor.²³ He was interested in sports and was active on the Harvard *Crimson* of which in his final year he was editor. His career as a student was without distinction. After leaving Harvard he studied law at Columbia University where he failed to graduate. This record must not be taken as evidence that he was not very bright. But it is evidence of what everyone knew of him, and that is that he was not a student.

He had little interest in books. Friendly biographers say, as if it were some sort of special genius, that what he knew he "absorbed from others" rather than from books. However, one does not "absorb" history or economics from others in chats. They must be patiently studied over long periods out of the only sources that are available—the appropriate books. Miss Perkins, who knew him from his early manhood up to his death, says he was not a student, that he knew nothing of economics and that he admitted he had never read a book on the subject.²⁴ Edward J. Flynn, his campaign manager in the 1940 election and closely associated with him as a friend and as Secretary of State of New York while he was governor, says he never saw him reading a book.²⁵ Three men who worked closely with him in the White House and one of them previously in Albany, also say they never saw him interested in a book, save an occasional detective story. The only books that really interested him were books on the Navy, particularly old books such as appeal to a collector. He did amass a considerable library in this field. It is to be assumed he read many of them. But the history of the Navy

and its battles is not the history of the United States or of Europe or of their tremendous and complex political and social movements.

His career as a lawyer was extremely sketchy. He began as a law clerk with Carter, Ledyard and Milburn. Later a junior in that firm found an old memo addressed to the office manager and signed by Mr. Ledyard directing him "under no circumstances to put any serious piece of litigation" in the hands of "young Mr. Roosevelt."

In 1910 he was elected to the State Senate from Dutchess County. He had taken no part in politics and was scarcely known there. The Democrats usually named a candidate for the Senate from among the county families and got a good contribution. They never elected anybody. They offered the nomination to young Roosevelt and he took it reluctantly. But this was an auspicious year for the New York Democrats. Theodore Roosevelt and President Taft were at war. Charlie Murphy made his famous deal with big Bill Barnes, State Republican boss who wanted to defeat Theodore Roosevelt. Thus the Democrats elected their candidate for governor, John A. Dix, and swept in the Dutchess County Democrats with him, including young Roosevelt.

Charlie Murphy tried to force the legislature to name William Sheehan for the United States Senate. As the stories now go the youthful Roosevelt rose in revolt against the selection of the notorious "Blue-eyed" Billy Sheehan and led a movement of insurgent Democrats to thwart the will of the great Tammany boss. Actually there was a revolt even inside Tammany against the nomination. Edward M. Sheppard, a distinguished lawyer, Thomas Mott Osborne and William Church Osborne led the Democratic revolt with Sheppard as the candidate for the Senate. One of Murphy's closest friends, J. Sargeant Cram, openly denounced the Sheehan candidacy. The young senator from Dutchess County, bearing the illustrious name of Roosevelt, was interested in the fight because the party leaders from that county, led by Lewis Stuyvesant Chandler, were against Sheehan. There was, of course, good newspaper copy in the presence of the young Democratic Roosevelt, rich, handsome, lined up in the successful fight against the Boss. His name was thrust more and more to the front. He took an active and quite

honorable part in the fight, but the legend as it is told is quite far from the facts.

In 1912, with the Republicans split in the great Taft-Roosevelt feud, the Democrats swept the country and Roosevelt, though in bed throughout the campaign with typhoid, was reelected State Senator. When Wilson entered the White House and someone suggested it would be a good idea to have a Democratic Roosevelt in the administration, Franklin Roosevelt was offered the post of Assistant Secretary of the Navy, a distinction on which he had no claim save that he bore the name of Roosevelt. He was then 31 years old. He had done nothing, had failed in his law examinations and had failed in practice. When the First World War ended he was 36. Apparently his service in the Department was satisfactory, though I have never seen anywhere any authentic evidence about it one way or the other. He did boast later that during the war he "threw money around like water" which may well be believed.

But his name had earned for him a great deal of publicity. He had announced himself a candidate for the nomination for the United States Senate in New York in the Democratic primary in 1914 but was badly defeated by James W. Gerard who in turn was defeated by the Republicans. In 1920, when James M. Cox was nominated for the Presidency and when a Republican victory loomed ahead as a certainty, Roosevelt was nominated for Vice-President. Actually he was not very well-known and had absolutely no record of his own to justify the nomination. But luck dogged his heels. Governor Cox chose Roosevelt for his running mate, banking on the value of the name. He told Charlie Murphy, Tammany leader, he wanted Roosevelt. No one expected Murphy to agree. But he said: "Cox is the first presidential candidate to do me the courtesy to consult me on anything, and so I am going to agree."

The Republicans swept New York State and the country and Mr. Roosevelt went back to New York. His friend Van Lear Black, a yachting companion, was president of the Fidelity and Casualty Company. He offered Roosevelt a job as a vice-president at \$25,000 a year, again to use the name as a means of attracting business. Then in August, 1921 Roosevelt was stricken with infantile paraly-

sis, which put an end to his career in politics for the next seven years.

At this point Roosevelt could not be tagged as a man with any indispensable qualifications in any field of life. He was 40 years old. He had the reputation of being a snob. In the legislature, says his devoted follower Frances Perkins "he didn't like people very much . . . he had a youthful lack of humility, a streak of self-righteousness and deafness to the hopes, fears and aspirations which are the common lot." Democrats like Bob Wagner and Al Smith and others "thought him impossible and said so."²⁶ He had traveled very little around the United States until he went to the Navy Department when he made little trips to inspect ship launchings amid crowds. He had never really seen America. While he was in Washington he hobnobbed with a very small and exclusive set of the "right" people. He had never made a speech or uttered a word that anyone remembered.

During his Harvard days, shortly after his marriage, he and his bride took a trip to Europe—a regular tourist's wandering from city to city. He had not been in Europe since save twice when he went as Assistant Secretary during the war on a naval inspection tour for about a month, and at the end of the war on another tour in connection with the demobilization of naval forces in Europe. He was never to set foot in Europe again until he went to Casablanca, 23 years later. Yet somehow his promotion managers whipped up the myth that he possessed some kind of intimate and close knowledge of the American people and that he also had, by reason of his childhood trips to Europe, his visit with his bride and his two trips during the war, some vast and comprehensive and deep insight into the lives and ideologies and ways of the people of the world. It is a simple fact beyond denial that when Roosevelt went to Washington in 1933 there were few men in the Senate who did not have a larger knowledge of European economic and political issues than the new President. Certainly alongside Herbert Hoover he was a child in arms. Roosevelt was a stamp collector all his life and like all stamp collectors he got to know the location on the map of all the countries whose stamps he owned. He loved to display this special knowledge.

But this simple and rudimentary subject of geography is not to be confused with the far more formidable subject of European and Asiatic economic, social and political movements.

In setting all this down, I am not accusing Roosevelt of being a wicked man because he was not a good student, did not read books on economic or social science or law or politics and knew less about foreign affairs than William Borah or Herbert Hoover or Key Pittman or Carter Glass. I merely seek to set the picture straight and to frame Mr. Roosevelt within the more or less narrow limits which bound his intellectual energies and interests.

However, he did believe that he knew a great deal about these subjects, although occasionally he admitted he did not understand financial and economic questions too well. But he had a way of doing a little bragging about his intellectual equipment, about which he was secretly a little sensitive. For instance, he wore the purely honorary Phi Beta Kappa key given him while he was governor by William Smith-Hobart College, a girls' school in New York State, leaving visitors to suppose he had got it at Harvard. He used to tell a story about how he humiliated a legal antagonist before a jury. The weakness in the story was that it was an old courtroom joke told about lawyers time out of mind, that he took credit for it personally and that he had never tried a jury case in his life. Another time he explained to Emil Ludwig some course he had just taken by saying he had learned that technique "when he was a teacher" and his superior had taught him how to handle pupils. Of course he had never been a teacher. When he was President he told a room full of senators, all of whom had gone through World War I while he was in civilian clothes, that he had "seen more of war than any man in the room." And in one of his speeches when he was assuring the audience of his horror of war, he explained it by the terrible things he had seen on the battlefield, describing the regiment he had seen wiped out, the thousands of young soldiers he had seen choked with blood in the mud of France, although he had never been in a battle in his life. And though he had never served in the Army or Navy, he got some local post to make him a member of the

American Legion, after which he went around on occasion wearing a Legion cap.

Roosevelt, long before he became governor, had occasion to exhibit to Robert Moses a side of his character which caused the New York State park commissioner to administer to him a reprimand he never forgot or forgave. Governor Smith appointed Roosevelt a member of the Taconic Park Commission, an honorary post. The Commission, however, is entitled to an executive secretary at \$5000 a year. Roosevelt asked Moses to appoint Louis Howe, Roosevelt's personal secretary, to that job. Moses was willing until Howe told him that Roosevelt's personal affairs took all of his time and he could not give more than a few hours a week to the job. This incensed Moses, who wrote Roosevelt sharply reproving him for attempting to put his own secretary on the state's payroll. This sort of thing is not uncommon in the down-on-the-ground level of practical politics. It is a kind of permissive graft, if kept quiet. It is not the kind of thing one looks for in the conduct of a wealthy man who poses as a dweller in the upper stories of political morality.

However, a change had taken place in Roosevelt. His affliction had done something to him and for him. The bitter experience he had endured in the long period of recovery from his attack of infantile paralysis had certainly softened and warmed and mellowed his personality. In his efforts at recovery he had gone to Warm Springs, Ga., and spent several years there. There he found himself sitting about talking to many other sufferers like himself, including many children. He swam in the pool with his fellow patients, sat around talking with them and getting for the first time in his life a look into the minds and hearts of other human beings in distress. He experienced this sort of human comradeship upon a level he had never touched before. Life up to this had been a long succession of gifts from Lady Luck, whose attendance he had come to think of as a settled and dependable affair. And she had failed him. The visitation of the terrible sickness had perhaps effaced from his character the assumption of superior fortune that made him hold his head so high—actually physically high so that people commented on it. His

head had been brought down and, if the disease crippled his limbs, it set something free in his spirit. For the first time in his life he felt an urge to do something in the field of purely human effort for other human beings.

But Warm Springs became the subject of one of the most curious deals in the nomination of a man to high office. When Al Smith was nominated for the Presidency in 1928 he was anxious to get a candidate for governor in New York who could be elected. There were three or four men qualified. But the upstate and Tammany leaders could not agree on any of them for purely political reasons. Smith insisted that under the circumstances Roosevelt would be the best candidate, solving the problem because he was the only one the leaders could agree on. It was generally believed that Smith's amazing record as governor would make it possible for any Democrat to carry the state ticket provided the party was united on him. The Tammany leaders objected strenuously to Roosevelt. They said he was unreliable, flighty, and without any experience as a political administrator. Smith, however, convinced them that, despite these shortcomings, he had the indispensable qualification of having no enemies and hence of avoiding a split in the party. He had no enemies because since 1920 he had had no political career.

During the summer months, Smith asked Ed Flynn to put the matter up to Roosevelt. Roosevelt and Smith were friendly, but only in politics. There was little other relationship between them. The much publicized story of the "beautiful friendship between the Hudson River aristocrat and the boy from the sidewalks of New York" was a pure newspaper fable.²⁷ Roosevelt admired Smith. He had nominated him for the Presidency in the 1924 Democratic convention in a speech that still was quoted, in which he had called Smith the "Happy Warrior." Because of that speech, Smith knew that Roosevelt had political ambitions. Roosevelt had gone to Smith and asked to be permitted to make the nominating speech.²⁸ He wanted to begin his return to politics and he felt that would give him a place in the spotlight. Smith was not eager to yield but he did so, and Roosevelt made the speech which had been written for

someone else to deliver, including the "Happy Warrior" phrase for which Roosevelt got a good deal of notice.

Smith told Flynn that as he was a mere political friend, while Flynn was a close personal friend, he, Flynn, would probably have more effect in persuading Roosevelt to run for governor. Flynn pressed the nomination on Roosevelt in a number of telephone talks to Warm Springs. At first he was adamant against it. But after several talks Flynn began to feel that Roosevelt was weakening. Roosevelt gave as his reason his need to continue for at least another year the Warm Springs treatments to regain the use of his legs. However, in one conversation he said "one of the reasons he could not stand for governor was because he had put a great deal of his personal fortune into Warm Springs, and felt he should stay and manage the enterprise so that *it would eventually become a paying proposition.*"²⁹ (Italics supplied.)

The Democratic State Convention was to meet in Rochester on October 1. On September 26, from Milwaukee, Smith telephoned Roosevelt at Warm Springs to emphasize the importance of his candidacy. Smith argued with him. He got the impression Roosevelt was weakening. Finally he said: "If the convention nominates you, will you refuse to run?" Whatever answer Roosevelt made, Smith was convinced he would accept if nominated. When Smith got to Rochester he told the leaders Roosevelt would run.³⁰ Roosevelt must have had a feeling that he had not been definite about "not accepting" if nominated, because he later sent Smith a wire to Rochester. This Smith got after he reached Rochester and the convention had assembled. It read: "Confirming my telephone message I wish much that I might consider the possibility of running for governor." Roosevelt then gave two reasons why he could not: (1) "Your own record in New York is so clear that you will carry the state no matter who is nominated" and (2) "My doctors are definite that the continued improvement in my condition is dependent on avoidance of a cold climate" and "daily exercise in Warm Springs during the winter months." He added: "As I am only 46 years old I owe it to my family and myself to give the present constant im-

provement a chance to continue. . . . I must therefore with great regret confirm my decision not to accept the nomination."³¹

Mrs. Roosevelt was in Rochester as a member of the Women's Committee for Al Smith. So were Ed Flynn and John J. Raskob, recently named chairman of the National Democratic Committee to manage Al Smith's campaign for the presidency. The situation was very bad. Roosevelt's wire definitely saying he would not accept restored the bitter split between Tammany and the upstate leaders, who could agree on no other candidate. His telegram seemed final. But Flynn told Smith that he believed Roosevelt could be induced to accept, that his health treatments were not the real reason for his refusal, that the real reason was the financial obligations he had outstanding at Warm Springs, that he was facing a heavy personal loss but that if this could be gotten out of the way he might yield. Smith told Flynn to tell Roosevelt they would take care of his financial problem. "I don't know how the hell we can do it, but we'll do it some way," he said.³² Flynn suggested that the problem be put up to Raskob. This was done. Smith asked Raskob to telephone Roosevelt. Raskob thought it over but decided to talk to Mrs. Roosevelt about it.

He went to her sitting room in the hotel and told her that Governor Smith wanted him to telephone her husband. He said he felt greatly disturbed about it. Roosevelt had up to now been giving as his reason for refusing the nomination the condition of his health. Now, however, Smith had been told that it was because of the obligations he had at Warm Springs which was in the red and into which he had sunk a good part of his fortune. Raskob told Mrs. Roosevelt that he could not escape the feeling that these financial troubles were not the real reason, that the real reason after all was the advice of his doctors. If that were so Raskob felt he ought not to press her husband to run. If anything were to happen to Roosevelt as a result of a strenuous campaign or the labors of the governorship, perhaps endangering his life, he, Raskob, would feel he was responsible. But if the financial problem was the real reason then he would telephone Roosevelt. He asked Mrs. Roosevelt for her frank opinion. She replied that if her husband were to say his

health would permit him to run then Raskob could rely on it and that the real reason was the financial problem at Warm Springs. Everybody got the impression that Mrs. Roosevelt wanted her husband to run.

At Raskob's request, Mrs. Roosevelt then tried to get in touch with her husband. Roosevelt suspected what it was about and tried to duck the call: It was late at night and he was at a picnic at Manchester, not far from Warm Springs, making an address. He went to the telephone only after he got back to Warm Springs. Mrs. Roosevelt put Raskob on the wire. The evidence seems to agree that Smith was there also. Roosevelt explained to Raskob that he had certain obligations in connection with Warm Springs, that they amounted to a great deal of money and that he was planning to launch a drive to raise funds to cover them and that he had to remain on the job at Warm Springs for that purpose. After some discussion, Raskob asked "if these obligations were out of the way" would he feel the road would be clear for him to accept the nomination. Roosevelt answered that he would but that he did not know how they could be taken out of the way. Raskob then asked him to say frankly what they amounted to. Roosevelt replied: "Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars." Raskob then brought the whole matter to a head by saying: "All right. Your nomination is important in New York State. I am in this fight to get rid of Prohibition which I believe to be a terrible social curse and I think the only way to do it is to elect Al Smith. I am willing therefore to underwrite the whole sum of \$250,000. You can take the nomination and forget about these obligations. You can have a fund-raising effort and if it falls short of the total I will make up the difference." Roosevelt was a little flabbergasted at this offer. He said he felt it was very generous. Raskob then asked: "Now does this take care of the financial objection and will you run?" Roosevelt replied laughing: "Well, that offer knocks all the props from under me. You can say I will accept the nomination."

That night, immediately after this conversation, Raskob sat down in Al Smith's rooms, wrote out a personal check for \$250,000 and mailed it to Roosevelt. The next day, October 2, Roosevelt

was nominated for governor and Herbert Lehman for lieutenant-governor. Raskob got no reply to his letter until a week or more later when Roosevelt arrived in New York to arrange for his campaign. Then he met Raskob. After a cordial greeting he took Raskob's check from his pocket and put it on the table in front of Raskob. He said: "I can't take this check, John. You didn't promise to give me the money. All you did was to promise to underwrite it and I am satisfied with that." Shortly after this a committee was formed to raise the fund promised. Will Woodin was made chairman. A meeting of some men of wealth was called and the whole purpose explained. Raskob subscribed \$50,000. Others made subscriptions but the contributions fell far short of the mark. Subsequently, however, Raskob subscribed another \$50,000, and other wealthy men made large contributions. The \$250,000 was raised and handed over to Roosevelt.³³

A little history is necessary to complete the full significance of this story. Merriwether Inn was a large, rambling summer hotel at Warm Springs, Ga. George Foster Peabody, the philanthropist, had heard that the warm waters of its springs had a peculiarly beneficial effect upon infantile paralysis patients. He bought the Springs and later told Roosevelt he ought to try them. Roosevelt, then eagerly seeking recovery, visited Warm Springs in 1924. He spent some time there and repeated his visits for several years and convinced himself that by swimming in the warm waters of the pool, polio patients had been aided greatly in regaining at least partial use of their limbs. He sought some professional advice and then bought the Inn and 1,200 acres from Peabody and converted it into a hospital for polio patients. He believed that polio sufferers would be willing to pay for these benefits and that the institution could be built up into a paying proposition. He assumed general direction of the enterprise and in the course of several years ran it at a heavy loss. He said later he had sunk a large part of his fortune in it. He may have sunk some, but actually he had incurred heavy debts for which he was responsible. To whom this money was owed cannot be said with definiteness. But the obligation was pressing. He was thinking of starting a fund-raising drive to cover this debt. But as

it was really a drive to raise money to pay himself off, to get him personally out of a hole it was not a very easy one to manage. This is why he could not accept the nomination in New York. Raskob's offer not only made it possible for him to run, but it bailed him out of a very difficult hole. The meaning of it all is that Roosevelt did not agree to run for governor until Raskob guaranteed \$250,000 in order to get him out of debt.

After Roosevelt was elected governor many improvements were made at Warm Springs. But they sprang from the generosity of various private donors. Mr. and Mrs. Edsel Ford built a beautiful glass-enclosed pool. In 1930 patients raised \$40,000 to build a small infirmary and in 1935 Georgia Hall, the administration building, was erected by contributions from citizens of Georgia. In 1935 two dormitories were built with funds contributed by Samuel, Rush and Claude Kress and another hall with funds donated by friends of the builders, Hageman and Harris.³⁴ The funds raised and turned over to Roosevelt were not used for any of these improvements. Roosevelt never publicly acknowledged the funds given him by Raskob and his associates. Compton Mackenzie and Emil Ludwig, both of whom wrote florid and adulatory biographies of Roosevelt and got most of their material from him, tell of the great Warm Springs enterprise in human welfare but never mention the fact that it was a group of rich men interested in Al Smith who put up the money to pay the debts incurred by Roosevelt in the enterprise.

We may now return to the money-making adventures of the family promoted from the White House. We have seen how Roosevelt lent his aid when Elliott was attempting to get a big loan from two Texas oil men at the moment when the hot oil indictments were pending in Texas. There is, however, a more direct connection between the President and some of Elliott's and Jimmy's commercial designs. In 1939, the late Congressman William I. Sirovich, of New York, telephoned Mr. Carruthers Ewing, the general counsel of the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company and told him that the President had asked him to help his son Elliott borrow \$200,000. At Sirovich's request, Ewing introduced Elliott to John Hartford, head of the A & P Company and Elliott explained to Hartford that he wanted

to borrow \$200,000 to purchase a new radio station for his Texas network and that the station would soon be worth a million dollars. Hartford was a little disturbed. He told Elliott such a transaction might embarrass his father, the President. At the time, New Deal Congressman Wright Patman was making war on the chain stores and had a plan to tax them in such a way as to hit the A & P a crushing blow. Hartford was just about to launch a big national advertising campaign in an effort to beat these plans. Under the circumstances, therefore, the presence of the President's son had a suspicious aspect.

Elliott took the most direct method of answering Hartford's objection. He picked up the telephone and called his father at the White House and introduced Hartford to him over the phone. Hartford asked the President if he was familiar with his son's request. The President replied that he knew all about it and that the proposition was a perfectly sound one and that he would appreciate very much whatever Mr. Hartford might do to favor his son. Hartford was very much surprised to be addressed by the President as "John" and to be invited to visit him at the White House, since he had had no personal acquaintance with him before. Hartford sent the check for \$200,000 to Elliott next day and got the Texas network stock as collateral. This was certainly an extraordinary performance up to this point—the President intervening to get a loan of \$200,000 for his son, whose irregular behavior he was familiar with, from a man neither of them knew and whose firm was under attack by a New Deal congressman at the time. However, the most astonishing part is yet to come.

This loan was made in 1939. By 1942, Hartford had heard nothing from Elliott by way of payment on either principal or interest. He did not expect to, in fact. He figured, as he told a congressional committee, that by making the loan he "was being taken off the hook." However, in 1942 the President sent for Jesse Jones and asked him to try to straighten out Elliott's financial problems. Jones called on Hartford, told him he was acting in behalf of the Roosevelt family and suggested that Hartford accept \$4000 in settlement of Elliott's \$200,000 note—and of course return the stock. This

stock, Jones assured Hartford, was worthless. This is what Jones had been told by the Roosevelts. Hartford accepted the proposal and on receipt of Jones' check for \$4000 he returned the Texas network stock. His loss of \$196,000 he wrote off in his income tax returns, so that the United States Treasury took the greater part of that loss. It was learned later that the stock was worth around a million dollars. Jones turned it over to the President and he sent it to Elliott's divorced second wife, half for her and half in trust for the children. It is probable that in all the history of the government this was the first time such a trick was turned by an American president and by one who exhibited himself before the people as the most righteous paragon of moral and political excellence that had ever occupied that office.³⁵

There was much more to this story. Elliott, piloted by the late Hall Roosevelt, Mrs. Roosevelt's brother, made a loan of \$25,000 from Charles Harwood, a New Deal faithful in New York who was ambitious to become a federal judge. He, too, got Texas network stock as collateral. He didn't get the judgeship but he was appointed governor of the Virgin Islands. But unlike Hartford, when Jones offered him \$1000 for his note and the stock held as collateral, he observed that it made no difference whether he gambled on a 100 per cent loss or a 96 per cent loss and he held his stock and saved his money. There were three or four other loans which were settled at varying percentages of their face value by Jones at the same time. Altogether, Elliott had some \$800,000 of this kind of paper out. The record is long and sordid. Business men were invited to the White House, from which issued so many angry blasts against the corrupt business man. Their names have been published. They were invited to make loans to or take insurance in the enterprises of the President's sons. Some of them had the good sense to refuse.*

* The business adventures of the Roosevelt family have been explored with the greatest thoroughness by Westbrook Pegler and the results have appeared in numerous of his syndicated columns. Roosevelt's apologists have tried to dismiss Pegler's charges, not by refuting the facts, but by calling

him a Roosevelt-hater. But Pegler cannot be dismissed that way. Those who attempted to do so know little of Pegler or his methods. They are wholly unaware that he is one of the most painstaking and scrupulous reporters writing for American newspapers. No effort is too laborious to discourage his tireless

There was a wide streak of egotism in Roosevelt which made it impossible for him in some circumstances to perceive the fine line that divides correct from improper conduct in public office—particularly in so exalted an office as the presidency. For instance, Roosevelt had been all his life an ardent stamp collector. He had never indulged himself in the more expensive fields of this hobby. An intimate says that he seldom paid more than \$10 for a stamp. However, he knew all about the hobby and its business side. When he became President he found himself the actual head of the Post Office and of the Bureau of Printing and Engraving. Very early in the game he got Jim Farley, his Postmaster-General, who knew nothing of this seemingly harmless pastime, to get for him the imperforate first sheets (that is, sheets minus the usual perforations) of a number of new stamp issues. Farley got the sheets, paid face value for them, gave one sheet of each issue to the President, one to Mrs. Roosevelt, one to Louis Howe and a few others.

Shortly after, an authority in the field called on Farley and explained to him that these imperforate sheets were great rarities, because so difficult to get, that they would have immense commer-

pursuit of facts. He is as far removed from that type of gossip columnist so much courted and extolled by New Deal propagandists as are the two poles. The imputation in the criticism is that Pegler prints these charges against Roosevelt because he hates him. The notion that he hates the Roosevelt clan because he has made these unpleasant discoveries about them does not seem to occur to Pegler's critics. As a matter of fact, Pegler started out in 1932 as a very generous supporter and admirer of the Roosevelts and was often a partaker of Mrs. Roosevelt's hamburger fries at Hyde Park. He was also an earnest supporter of the whole program to aid the Allies. But Pegler, like a good many other men, experienced first a pained sensation of surprise, then of impatience and finally of anger when he discovered that people he had respected had deceived him. No one permits him-

self such a luxurious sensation of righteous wrath as a New Dealer who discovers a minor city employee or a little business man in some grafting adventure. Pegler thinks himself as much entitled to grow angry at graft when he finds it in the White House as they do when they find it in a courthouse or a city hall. Pegler's charges are endlessly documented with facts—names, dates, sums of money, names of witnesses, official testimony, etc. Pegler would have been in jail or bankrupt long ago if his victims had the slightest reason to suppose they could make good a libel charge in court. Most of the material printed with reference to Elliott's operations are based on Pegler's extensively documented and particularized reports. Such as I have used I have, for the most part, checked, save such as were so completely proved or admitted to require no further proof.

cial value and this was an act of dubious ethical value. Farley assured him that the sheets would not get into commerce, that they were merely given to the President for his personal collection, etc. Shortly after a sheet turned up in Virginia. The man who had warned Farley wrote to the owner and asked a price on it. He wanted \$20,000. The story leaked into Congress and Huey Long was about to blast Roosevelt when the Post Office Department ordered a large number of the imperforate sheets run off and distributed in order to destroy the scarcity value of the one which had gotten out into trade.

However, the President had enriched his personal collection of stamps upon a very large scale. But this is not all. When a new stamp is made the first proof from the original dye has an especially great market value, merely because it is so scarce. After a stamp is issued the design is revised from time to time—a change in the lettering, the insertion of a little flag, a decorative curlycue here or there. The original dye proof thus becomes more and more valuable, and in stamp collecting it is the scarcity feature of an article that makes the market value. It was a custom at one time when a new commemorative stamp was issued to permit some person—perhaps the senator or governor of the state involved in the commemoration or some other person connected with it—to have the dye proof. But there were some abuses in which others got them. They became very choice articles on the stamp market, worth a great deal of money. Hence when Theodore Roosevelt was President he issued an order forbidding the delivery of these dye proofs to any person. When Franklin Roosevelt became President, knowing of the value of these items and being the boss of the Bureau of Printing and Engraving, he issued an order to have delivered to him a large number of dye proofs going all the way back to 1896. Under this new rule they could be delivered only to him. These he put into his personal stamp collection. When he died these dye proofs alone, the result of this mass raid by the President, sold for \$59,000 which went into his estate. The whole stamp collection, including the dye proofs and the imperforate sheets, plus his otherwise modest collection, sold for \$275,000.³⁶

There remains an incident unique in national political history. It is the singular story of the Roosevelt estate and the schemes he personally managed to create a shrine for himself with government money and funds extorted from federal officeholders. So far as I know our political annals reveal no comparable example of personal vanity completely unrestrained by any sense of shame.

Statues are built by the hundreds to all grades of celebrities. But shrines are reserved for those few whose records, strained through the sieve of history, provide the evidences of greatness which merit this extraordinary tribute. In good time the candidate for such honors will have his claim recognized. The greatest of our shrines—Washington's home at Mount Vernon—was restored and is maintained by a private group, the Mt. Vernon Ladies Association. After Jefferson's death, his estate was saved for his heirs by some friends and his home—Monticello—is operated by the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, a private organization. The State of Illinois provides the funds—about \$15,000 a year—for the care of Lincoln's tomb in Springfield. The imposing tomb of Grant was built by popular subscription and is controlled by the Grant Monument Association. The annual expenses are about \$15,000 a year—\$6000 of which is paid by the City of New York and the balance from the Grant Endowment Fund. Franklin D. Roosevelt took no chances on being neglected. He personally conceived the idea of a shrine for himself, organized and promoted the movement himself and personally pushed it through. And he did this long before the war—before he had been enlarged by events and propaganda for good or evil into a world figure.

The idea took form in Roosevelt's mind in 1938. By this time the depression had returned to his doorstep. Over 11,000,000 people were unemployed. He had just told Henry Morgenthau that the best course for them was to rock along for the next two years on a two or three billion dollar a year deficit and then go out of office, turn the mess over to the Republicans and wait for the people to call them back to power in 1944. It is incredible but true that it was at this moment of frustration he should have cooked up this plan for a national shrine for himself. In its inception it was mixed

up with another more pragmatic objective. Roosevelt planned, when he went out of office, to turn to account his name and position to make some money as an author. Roosevelt's idea of authorship was a comfortable one. A staff to do research and a facile penman at his side to do the writing, while his name supplied the money value to what was turned out. We know that shortly after this he began negotiations with *Collier's Magazine* for a \$75,000-a-year post writing or sponsoring a weekly column. He now conceived the plan of having built on his Hyde Park estate a library and workshop which he would use as his place of business when he left the White House. The next stage in this scheme was to make it a "memorial library," the funds for which would be put up by the thousands of party workers who held office in his administration. And so it turned out in this first stage—a Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Library. He would give the land out of his mother's estate. The Democratic officeholders would pay the bills to build and furnish it. As a "memorial library" it would be exempt from taxation. And there he and his staff would work, as later proposed, for *Collier's* at \$75,000 for himself, plus three or four of his staff on the *Collier* payroll. All this was managed by a committee to raise the money and complete the project consisting of his law partner, Basil O'Connor, Joseph Schenck, later sent to jail by the government, Ben Smith, a Wall Street operator and several others. They raised \$400,000 from those elements of the "common man" who held Democratic jobs. They spent \$300,000 on the building, \$15,000 for furniture, \$10,000 for cases, \$15,000 for administrative expenses.

By the time it was finished the idea had expanded. In July, 1939, Roosevelt deeded 16 acres of the Hyde Park estate on which the Library stood to the government. The United States, through the National Archives, became the owner and *maintainer* of the "library," thus taking that burden off his hands. The "library" was to house his papers and collection of ship models, etc., as well as provide him with a completely free workshop for the rest of his life and become a monument after his death.

If Roosevelt in retreat, harried by the return of the depression in 1938, repudiated by the country on the Court fight and by his party

in the purge fight and faced with a grave revolt and split in his party, could envisage himself as the only American president to have a government-built and supported shrine, to what dimensions would the emanations of his ego swell after America got into the war, when, like a Roman emperor, he was throwing around unimaginable billions all over the world, when ministers, kings, dictators and emperors from everywhere were covering him with flattery as they begged millions at his hands? By the end of 1943, flattery, applause, sycophancy had literally rotted the nature of Franklin Roosevelt. In December of that year he decided, like an Egyptian Pharaoh, to transform his home into a great historic shrine—a Yankee pyramid—where his family might live in a kind of imperial dignity, where he might retire if he survived the war as a kind of World Elder Statesman and Dictator Emeritus, and where he would be entombed. In December, 1943, he deeded to the government “as a national historic site” his Hyde Park estate, with the proviso that he and the members of his family would have the right to live in it as long as they lived, provided they paid the state and local taxes while in residence. Secretary Ickes asked Congress for \$50,000 a year for maintenance of the estate. An admission fee is now charged and it is estimated that the maintenance cost will be around \$100,000 a year.

Thus Roosevelt is not merely the only president whose home and grave are maintained by the government as a national shrine, but the government was doing this even before he passed away and all in accordance with a project he thought up all by himself and put over before he died.

I know the inveterate New Dealer will say: what is the point in raking up all this unpleasant stuff about Roosevelt? What was the point in raking up all that unpleasant stuff about Sheriff Farley, a mere Tammany sheriff, whose modest tin box was used by Roosevelt to preach a sermon on official virtue? Can it be that the performances such as we have beheld in Roosevelt and his family are to be denounced in a mere \$60-a-week policeman or an obscure city official but that they are not even to be mentioned with respect to

an American President? Can it be that there is a ceiling on public and personal morals and that a president may be permitted to flourish above that ceiling where different rules control? Is there anyone who really believes this? Is there anyone who will insist that there is a point in the salary scale in public life at which the Ten Commandments cease to follow the rising personage; that the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Commandments drop out of the picture as the officeholder moves let us say from the \$10,000 bracket into the \$12,000 bracket, or as he moves up through the Cabinet, the Supreme Court and finally to the Presidency. Or can it be that the moral law applies to all presidents save those who love the Common Man or Left-Wing Presidents, while Right-Wing Presidents are still held to old rules.

Roosevelt was built by propaganda, before the war on a small scale and after the war upon an incredible scale, into a wholly fictitious character—a great magnanimous lover of the world, a mighty statesman before whom lesser rulers bowed in humility, a great thinker, a great orator—one of the greatest in history—an enemy of evil in all its forms. In his first administration someone was responsible for a very effective job of selling Roosevelt to the public. His good looks, his purely physical vitality coupled with his physical misfortune, his buoyant spirits which he exhibited profusely, the role he instantly assumed as warm-hearted brother of the needy, the rich enemy of the “malefactors of great wealth” and of course the dispenser of those fabulous billions which Congress had put into his hands—all this, combined with the dramatic performance he put on in the first term, exhibited him before the people in an exceptionally favorable light. People who supposed he wrote his own speeches acclaimed him as a great orator. People who knew nothing of finance and economics extolled him as a great economic statesman. But over and above this some cunning techniques were industriously used to enhance the picture. For instance, Mrs. Roosevelt took over the job of buttering the press and radio reporters and commentators. They were hailed up to Hyde Park for hamburger and hot dog picnics. They went swimming in the pool with the

Great Man. They were invited to the White House. And, not to be overlooked, it was the simplest thing in the world for them to find jobs in the New Deal for the members of their families.

After the war in Europe got under way and Roosevelt began to assume the role of friend not merely of the common man but of the whole human race, after he began to finger tens of billions, after he finally put on the shining armor of the plumed knight and lifted his great sword against the forces of evil on the whole planet—then the propaganda took on formidable proportions. The most powerful propaganda agencies yet conceived by mankind are the radio and the moving pictures. Practically all of the radio networks and all of the moving picture companies moved into the great task of pouring upon the minds of the American people daily—indeed hourly, ceaselessly—the story of the greatest American who ever lived, breathing fire and destruction against his critics who were effectually silenced, while filling the pockets of the people with billions of dollars of war money. The radio was busy not only with commentators and news reporters, but with crooners, actors, screen stars, soap opera, blackfaced comedians, fan dancers, monologists, putting over on the American mind not only the greatness of our Leader but the infamy of his critics, the nobility of his glamorous objectives and the sinister nature of the scurvy plots of his political enemies. The people were sold first the proposition that Franklin D. Roosevelt was the only man who could keep us out of war; second that he was the only man who could fight successfully the war which he alone could keep us out of; and finally that he was the only man who was capable of facing such leaders as Churchill and Stalin on equal terms and above all the only man who could cope successfully with the ruthless Stalin in the arrangements for the post-war world.

The ordinary man did not realize that Hitler and Mussolini were made to seem as brave, as strong, as wise and noble to the people of Germany and Italy as Roosevelt was seen here. Hitler was not pictured to the people of Germany as he was presented here. He was exhibited in noble proportions and with most of those heroic virtues which were attributed to Roosevelt here and to Mussolini in Italy and, of course, to Stalin in Russia. I do not compare Roosevelt to

Hitler. I merely insist that the picture of Roosevelt sold to our people and which still lingers upon the screen of their imaginations was an utterly false picture, was the work of false propaganda and that, among the evils against which America must protect herself one of the most destructive is the evil of modern propaganda techniques applied to the problem of government.

2.

What manner of man, therefore, was this highly advertised and promoted President? To put all the emphasis upon the aspects of his career which make up this chapter is, of course, to exhibit only one side of his character. It gives a picture quite as one-sided as that other picture that has been presented by his promoters. It has been necessary to introduce these other characteristics in order to complete the otherwise distorted portrait that has been given to the world.

Roosevelt, as the world saw him, was a man of unusual personal charm. He was large, broad-shouldered, handsome; he exuded physical vitality and there was a warm, genial, exuberant flow of spirits. There was the suggestion of personal force—a certain positive and resolute manner greatly enhanced by his physical appearance. People liked him quickly. The remote, somewhat lofty bearing of his earlier days had vanished. Amongst people he was easy, gracious, hearty and friendly.

The mind behind this had capacity of a high order. Roosevelt was no man's fool. But, like most men, his abilities were of a special kind and when he operated within the framework of those abilities he was a formidable antagonist. The mistake in appraising him is to picture him as a thinker and student. He was not, for instance, a student of social problems or of economic structure. He was not, as were Madison and Jefferson and Woodrow Wilson, a political philosopher. He had not, like these men, pondered the great problems of social organization and arrived at definite opinions touching their roots or the principles of life and growth in various systems of social government. The principles he had before his election on these subjects were the ones that went along with the faction of the

party into which he was born. He accepted them. He did not think about them. And they had no hold upon his mind. If one political policy failed he could cast it off and move over to another without meeting resistance from any underlying philosophy to which he was attached. This is the explanation of the ease with which he could announce a whole collection of policies and plans in his first campaign for the presidency and, immediately after inauguration, toss practically all of it overboard and adopt another set of policies based upon a wholly different theory of government. And when in turn by 1938 all of these had been blown to bits by the inexorable logic of events, he could toss them over and open his mind to that weird collection of theories which the Tugwells and Hansens and Wallaces sold to him. Yet in making these shifts he was doing no violence to any real conviction. He was not being disloyal to any settled belief. He was in fact behaving with complete logical conformance to the one political conviction he held. A policy to Roosevelt was good or bad depending on whether or not it commanded valuable political support among voters. If it brought to his side any numerous group of voters it was a wise policy. If it failed to do this he could reject it or throw it over without doing violence to any controlling central political philosophy.

His abilities lay not in the field of the political philosopher but in the field of the political manager. When, therefore, Roosevelt approached a political policy he did not examine it as a student of the social order, but as a politician bent on winning power. For this reason he could adopt some shallow scheme like the gold purchase plan or the undistributed profits tax or the social security old-age reserve idea after a few moments' inspection. His mind just did not go to work upon the basic soundness of these ideas. But when he was presented with a problem of political management or maneuver his mind would attack it readily and actively. The mind goes into activity readily upon subjects to which it is hospitable, for which it has an affinity and an appetite. High proficiency in any field of human activity depends upon the inherent industry of the mind when dealing with its subject. Roosevelt's mind was busy night and day,

incessantly, and profitably, upon one subject—and that was the correct political maneuver in any given situation.

He acquired the reputation of being a great orator. Even his enemies came to believe that Roosevelt could go on the radio and talk the props from under the opposition. That Roosevelt was a tremendously effective radio orator cannot be questioned. However, this must be analyzed. A speech consists in words the orator utters and the uttering of them. The general verdict was that he possessed a golden voice and a seductive and challenging radio technique. The voice, the manner, the delivery were Roosevelt's. But the words were supplied by others. The voice was the voice of Roosevelt; the words were the words of his ghost writers.

Up to the time he ran for the presidency—when he was 50 years old—he had made innumerable speeches. No one ever noticed he was a great speaker and no one remembers a single sentence he uttered save the title of "Happy Warrior" which he bestowed on Smith in a speech written for him by a very brilliant New York judge. However, when he launched his campaign for President he became suddenly a wondrous orator. The explanation, of course, is that he had acquired a group of ghost writers who supplied the ideas, the phrases, wisecracks, fancies and metaphors and he had two or three collaborators who were able to put these into notable English. For his acceptance speech in 1932 at the Chicago convention one speech was written by Ray Moley and one by Louis Howe. Louis was frantically anxious to have his delivered. He had written scores of speeches for Roosevelt. Here was to be his greatest anonymous achievement. When Roosevelt ascended the platform to speak no one knew which draft he would use. In characteristic Rooseveltian manner, he read the first page of Louis Howe's speech and the balance of Ray Moley's. His inaugural address—that really fine oration on the antique model—he delivered with skill and gusto. But he did not write it, in spite of the testimony of Charlie Michaelson that he did. Contributions were made from various hands, but the actual production was the work of Ray Moley, who wrote so many of his other speeches.

Roosevelt had a comfortable ability, after such a performance, of getting around to the belief that he had written these speeches himself. He was particularly fond of "quoting himself" and he went back innumerable times to repeat "what I have said before," namely "that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself." Roosevelt imagined that he had coined that phrase. Who put it in the speech I do not know. It had been said before in those precise words by Thoreau and one of Roosevelt's faithful servitors—Sam Rosenman—had first learned of them in an English class at Columbia conducted by John Erskine. Rosenman was one of the group which helped with that speech.

When Moley broke with Roosevelt he was nursed along for several years after he left the Brain Trust which he had created because he was indispensable in preparing Roosevelt's speeches. Roosevelt did not cut Moley off completely until he felt he had in Tommy Corcoran an able ghost to grind out his immortal utterances. And when, in time, Tommy found himself moving out of the charmed circle, he was kept dangling until Roosevelt found in Robert Sherwood a capable successor ghost.

This subject of the ghostly origin of Roosevelt's great efforts began to disturb him. He grew sensitive about it. And during his second term he began to use a different technique. He would ask a number of men—Tommy Corcoran, Stanley High, Sam Rosenman and others—to submit drafts of speeches or sections dealing with special topics and he would put them all together, inserting a phrase or two here and there. These phrases may be picked out in many speeches and the differing styles may be detected. Roosevelt could, of course, write a speech but it would always be a commonplace performance. He could stand before an audience and make a speech, but it would be a distinctly unimpressive affair. His speeches have been edited and published in eight large volumes, with elaborate footnotes supposed to have been written by him but actually written by someone else—another ghost. One may run through these volumes and pick out the speeches for which Roosevelt himself was responsible. One of the most trustworthy of the stigmata is the number of times the paragraphs begin with the letter I. Incidentally,

he was paid \$38,000 by a newspaper for serializing the first batch of his public papers and addresses—something quite new in presidents—after which they were published in book form—five volumes—at \$15 a set.

This whole business of ghost-writing speeches is one for which perhaps, some sort of political professional code should be enforced. Many public men who are capable of writing speeches of a high order sometimes are compelled by the press of events to have some competent ghost writer put into form his ideas simply because he cannot get the time to do it himself. This, however, is very different from the practice of a man like Roosevelt who habitually had his speeches prepared for him by a corps of ghosts led by some capable master ghost who puts it in its final order, after which Roosevelt passed it off on the world as his own and as an example of his own great prowess in the field of oratory. One cannot imagine Webster or Clay, Jefferson or Madison or Monroe, Lincoln or Cleveland or Bryan or Theodore Roosevelt or Taft or Woodrow Wilson or Herbert Hoover having their speeches written for them and masquerading in another man's eloquence as a great orator.

The most difficult feature of the Roosevelt character to fit into the picture is his loose code in respect to the financial affairs of himself and his family. There is nothing like it in the history of the White House. There had been some lamentable looseness under Grant but he and his family were not involved and he was completely the victim of these transactions. There was some under Harding, but here again it did not touch the White House or its family occupants. It is a strange fact that this rash of financial exploitation of the White House by the President and his family appeared in the administration of one of its richest tenants and one who had been mostly extensively advertised as one of its noblest tenants.

It was this peculiar strain in the man which led some of his intimates to say he was a complex character. There was really nothing complex about Roosevelt. He was of a well-known type found in every city and state in political life. He is the well-born, rich gentleman with a taste for public life, its importance and honors, who finds for himself a post in the most corrupt political machines, utters

in campaigns and interviews the most pious platitudes about public virtue while getting his own dividends out of public corruption one way or another. In any case, they are a type in which the loftiest sentiments and pretensions are combined with a rather low-grade political conscience.

In the case of Roosevelt, with his somewhat easy approach to official virtue, his weakness for snap judgments, his impulsive starts in unconsidered directions, his vanity, his lack of a settled political philosophy, his appetite for political power and his great capacity as a mere politician, the Presidency became in his hands an instrument of appalling consequences. The combination of qualities named above exposed him, when vast power came into his hands, to the corrosive influence of that power. An act of which he did not approve at first, that put three billion dollars into his hands to be expended at his sweet will, brought from every town and county hosts of suitors for his bounty, bowing and scraping before him, applauding and cheering him until it all went to his head. Little by little a nature not greatly unlike many well-considered public men of his type, disintegrated, until power corrupted him. In the end it corrupted him utterly. His career proved again what history had already abundantly taught us and what our forefathers knew so well when they fashioned this government, that power seldom expands and purifies the nobler parts of a man's nature but that it acts like a powerful drug upon the baser elements.

4 } *Toward the Precipice*

I.

AS THE YEAR 1941 DAWNED, THE EXPERIMENTS OF ROOSEVELT HAD been under observation for eight years. There can be no dispute as to the commission he held from the people. He was not elected to substitute a new system of government and economy, to set up a socialist or fascist or communist system or any form of state-planned capitalism. His promise was to restore conditions under which the American system of free representative government and the free system of private enterprise could function at its highest efficiency.

The word "business" is well understood by our people. It refers to that collection of great and small enterprises which produce goods and services for the population. It does two things. It produces our food, our clothes, our luxuries and necessities; it provides, also, the jobs by which the people earn the income with which they can purchase these things. As Roosevelt came into power one might have supposed that business was some gigantic criminal conspiracy against the welfare of the nation. He began with a sweeping attack upon business and he kept it up until the war. Even during the war, in such moments as he could give to the subject, he was making plans for further assaults upon business.

What the nation needed when he took office was more jobs—jobs at machines, in shops, in mines and stores creating and distributing goods that were needed and providing wages and profits with which these goods could be purchased. If there are to be jobs for all they must be jobs producing something—materials or services.

The clear call of duty to him was to lend the powers of govern-

ment by all means to improving conditions favorable to business. Those familiar with the subject of the economic organism at that time understood what everyone seems to understand now, that business cannot function at full measure unless there is a steady flow of savings into new investment. New investment means the flow of money into the establishment of new industries and the expansion of old ones. It means putting up houses and buildings, producing and installing new machines and tools. It means organizing new companies or partnerships, subscribing to new corporate shares and for this purpose borrowing funds from investors or from investing institutions like banks and trust companies. All this had slowed up around 1929, causing the depression. It was a typical capitalist-system depression, but one which was deepened (1) by the existence of so many shaky banks whose failure contributed to the general fear, (2) the incidence of depression all over Europe which cut deeply into our foreign trade. Another factor arose out of a situation where President Hoover in 1930 was confronted by a Democratic House that was more interested in discrediting him than in cooperating with him to end the depression.

As we have seen, Roosevelt instead of aiding in checking the great banking crisis was determined to see it roll on to the lowest point with all the banks closed. We have seen that after that he took no interest in any sort of banking reform and that whatever was done was done without his aid or against his opposition. It was essential that he do everything in his power to reestablish confidence in our economic system. Instead he carried on a ceaseless bombardment of it, continued to browbeat it, to denounce it, to warn people against it, and to subject it to a dozen crack-brained, semi-revolutionary schemes, including deficit financing, inflation, utopian panaceas and the everlasting preachment that profit was evil, investors parasites and business men scoundrels.

The simple truth is that private business never did recover—and that must be the supreme test. Public spending and rising public debt kept the frightened and harried business machine going at a halting gait. But it never went back into full production and by 1938, despite all the spending, faltered again and sank back into a

full depression. Roosevelt had launched a dozen theatrical projects like the NRA, the AAA, the CCC, the PWA, the WPA and other gaudy and giddy adventures in boondoggling without ever touching the real trouble and in the end, by 1938, he was back almost from where he started, plus a federal debt that had doubled.

Through all this, however, one pattern ran, because it fell in perfectly with the natural bent of the President's mind. This consisted in persistent pressure for changing the structure of the government by enlarging the powers of the President. It consisted in the gradual use of one technique after another to increase the powers of the federal government at the expense of the states and, in the federal government itself, of enlarging the powers of the presidency at the expense of the Congress and the courts.

The first of these devices was the use of blank-check appropriations and blank-check legislation. Under our system, Congress holds the purse strings. If the President wanted to spend money he had to ask Congress for it specifically. If a congressman or senator wanted something for his district or state he had to introduce a bill to authorize it and appropriate the money to pay the bills. But early in Roosevelt's first term the NRA Act provided an appropriation of \$3,300,000,000 which the President was given to be spent for relief and recovery at his own discretion. He now had in his hands a sum of money equal to as much as the government had spent in ten years outside the ordinary expenses of government. He decided how it should be spent and where. If a congressman or senator wanted an appropriation for his district, instead of introducing a bill in Congress, he went up to the White House with his hat in his hands and asked the President for it. All over the country, states, cities, counties, business organizations, institutions of all sorts wanted projects of all kinds. Instead of going to Congress they went to the President. After that congressmen had to play along with the President or they got very little or nothing for their districts. This was the secret of the President's power, but it was also a tremendous blow at a very fundamental principle of our government which is designed to preserve the independence of the Congress from the Executive.

In the same way, blank-check legislation led to the subservience

of Congress and the rise of the bureaucracy. Under our traditional system, Congress alone could pass laws. The executive bureau merely enforced the law. But now Congress began to pass laws that created large bureaus and empowered those bureaus to make "regulations" or "directives" within a wide area of authority. Under a law like that the bureau became a quasi-legislative body authorized by Congress to make regulations which had the effect of law. This practice grew until Washington was filled with a vast array of bureaus that were making laws, enforcing them and actually interpreting them through courts set up within the bureaus, literally abolishing on a large scale within that area the distinction between executive, legislative and judicial processes.

As the war effort got under way these bureaus grew in number until they sprawled all over Washington and into adjacent cities. Washington could not hold the bureaus or house the bureaucrats.*

* The following is a partial list of New Deal bureaus compiled by Mr. E. M. Biggers of Houston, Texas:

FWA	Federal Works Agency
NRA	National Recovery Administration
USMC	United States Maritime Commission
HOLC	Home Owners Loan Corporation
AAA	Agricultural Adjustment Administration
CCC	Civilian Conservation Corps
NYA	National Youth Administration
SSB	Social Security Board
BWC	Board of War Communications
FDIC	Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
FSA	Federal Securities Administration
NLRB	National Labor Relations Board
NHPC	National Historical Publications Commission
NMB	National Mediation Board
USHA	United States Housing Authority

USES	United States Employment Service
FIC	Federal Insurance Corporation
CWA	Civil Works Administration
RA	Resettlement Administration
FPHA	Federal Public Housing Authority
FHA	Federal Housing Administration
CCC	Commodity Credit Corporation
FCIC	Federal Crop Insurance Corporation
FSA	Farm Security Administration
SCS	Soil Conservation Service
AMA	Agricultural Marketing Administration
FREB	Federal Real Estate Board
CES	Committee on Economic Security
WPA	Works Progress Administration
FCC	Federal Communications Commission
OBCCC	Office of Bituminous Coal Consumers Council
RRB	Railroad Retirement Board

SEC	Securities and Exchange Commission	EPCA	Emergency Price Control Act
TVA	Tennessee Valley Authority	FPA	Food Production Administration
BIR-T	Board of Investigation and Research-Transportation	OES	Office of Economic Stabilization
CAA	Civil Aeronautics Authority	PAW	Petroleum Administration for War
NIC	National Investors Council	SWPC	Small War Plants Corporation
DPC	Defense Plant Corporation	PIWC	Petroleum Industry War Council
RRC	Rubber Reserve Company	NRPB	National Resources Planning Board
MRC	Metals Reserve Company	LOPM	Liaison Office for Personnel Management
DSC	Defense Supplies Corporation	OEM	Office of Emergency Management
WDC	War Damage Corporation	SSS	Selective Service System
DLC	Disaster Loan Corporation	NWLB	National War Labor Board
FNMA	Federal National Mortgage Association	OCD	Office of Civilian Defense
RACC	Regional Agricultural Credit Corporation	OCIAA	Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs
CFB	Combined Food Board	ODHWS	Office of Defense and Health Welfare Services
UNRRA	United Nations Relief & Rehabilitation Administration	ODT	Office of Defense Transportation
CEA	Commodity Exchange Administration	OLLA	Office of Lend-Lease Administration
SMA	Surplus Marketing Administration	OSRD	Office of Scientific Research and Development
FSCC	Federal Surplus Commodity Corporation	OWI	Office of War Information
FFC	Foreign Funds Control	WMC	War Manpower Commission
PRP	Production Requirements Plan	WPB	War Production Board
CRMB	Combined Raw Materials Board	WRA	War Relocation Authority
CMB	Combined Munitions Board	WSA	War Shipping Administration
CSAB	Combined Shipping Adjustment Board	OPA	Office of Price Administration
CPRB	Combined Production and Resources Board	BEW	Board of Economic Warfare
CCS	Combined Chiefs of Staff	NHA	National Housing Authority
PWA	Public Works Administration	FCA	Farm Credit Administration
AOA	Administration of Operation Activities	REA	Rural Electrification Administration
EIBW	Export-Import Bank of Washington	SA	Sugar Agency
EHFA	Electric Home and Farm Authority	PCD	Petroleum Conservation Division
CPA	Council of Personnel Administration	OPCW	Office of Petroleum Coordinator for War
PRA	Public Roads Administration		

WEPL	War Emergency Pipe Lines, Inc.	NPPC	National Power Policy Committee
BCD	Bituminous Coal Division	OC	Office of Censorship
PRRA	Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration	FRC	Facilities Review Committee
BPA	Bonneville Power Administration	PWRCB	President's War Relief Control Board

Many of these bureaus were never even authorized by Congress. Even the Comptroller-General of the United States, who audits the government's accounts, declared he had never heard of some of them. They were created by a new method which Roosevelt exploited. Instead of asking Congress to pass a law, set up a bureau and appropriate money, the President merely named a group of men who were authorized by him to organize a corporation under the laws of the states. This done, there was a government corporation instead of a bureau and a group of corporation directors instead of commissioners. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation was given a blanket appropriation by Congress and authority to borrow money. It borrowed twenty or more billions. The RFC would buy the stock of a new corporation and lend it money—ten, fifty or a hundred million, billions in some cases. Thus the President bypassed Congress and the Constitution and engaged in activities as completely unconstitutional as the imagination can conceive, such as operating business enterprises in Mexico and Canada. By means of the blank-check appropriations, the blank-check legislation and the government corporation, there is no power forbidden to the government by the Constitution which it cannot successfully seize. And if these techniques are permitted to continue the Constitution will be destroyed and our system of government changed utterly without a vote of the people or any amendment to the Constitution. Roosevelt, by his various hit or miss experiments all designed to get power into his hands, prepared a perfect blueprint for some future dictator of the modern school to usurp without very much difficulty all the powers he needs to operate a first-class despotism in America.

However, the crash of war in Europe changed the President's whole outlook. As he confronted his own depression in 1938 he had but one weapon to use against it—to increase the volume of public

spending. But as he confessed, the great problem was to find projects upon which the federal government could spend. Hitler's attack on Czechoslovakia provided the President with an easy means of spending with general consent—national defense. And the attack on Poland in September, 1939 and the blazing up of a full-scale European war between Hitler and Russia on one side and all western Europe on the other put in the President's hands all the objects of spending he needed.

But the war did more than this. It took possession of his mind and his imagination. He who had set up as the indispensable savior of America, now saw before him a new and greater role. In spite of his tragic failure in America he now took upon himself the role of savior of the world. Gone were the woes of America and her problems. War spending would take care of that. Out of his mind flew all those mean and petty problems of the farm and the shop and of taxes and debt. Before him opened the glorious vista of war. Here was not merely escape, but glorious, magnificent escape from all the insoluble problems of America and he strode forward not like a man running away from the falling fragments of his shattered temple but as one going to a festival.

2.

Should America have embroiled herself in the European war? There were many men eminent in public life who believed that the United States should go swiftly to the aid of the allied nations, even at the risk of being drawn into the war. There were others who felt we should aid the allies but very definitely "short of war." There were others who opposed aiding the allies "short of war" because they believed that would lead us into the war. These, generally, were the three great groupings of the population when Germany struck at Poland. Into this problem I will not enter here. I will assume that all the groups were moved by perfectly honest motives and sentiments. And I shall not undertake to say which group was right. That in itself becomes a question of enormous proportions and cannot be dealt with here.

But the behavior of Roosevelt in this crisis and the manner in

which he dealt with the American people is a proper subject. It is a fact that in September, 1939, the nation was overwhelmingly for staying out of the war. Here was the situation that Roosevelt had described in his speech at Chautauqua in 1936. He had talked about the Americans who "seeking immediate riches, fool's gold" would attempt to break down our neutrality. He warned it would be hard for Americans to look beyond "to the inevitable day of penalties." And he warned that peace would depend on the day-to-day decisions of the President and the Secretary of State. "We can keep out of war," he said, "if those who watch and desire have a sufficiently detailed understanding of international affairs to make certain that the small decisions of today do not lead toward war."

The President knew the people did not wish to go into the war. He therefore took his position as the leader of those who wanted to stay out of the war—and the Gallup Poll showed 83 per cent felt that way. But as the leader of those who wished to stay out, he asked Congress "to break down the Neutrality Act" by authorizing arms traffic with Britain and France. The President told the people if they would follow his lead we would stay out of war. Early in 1940 he made the next decision—to give to Britain over a million rifles from the supplies of the American army. Then he spoke of aid "short of war." The third step was conscription. The army asked for 500,000 men. The President insisted on 1,500,000. Army authorities said the only use for an army of that size was for overseas operations.

Next the President began to give out statements from the White House about submarines being found off our coasts. In a speech he told how German bombers could fly to Greenland and from there bomb Omaha. He declared that if Hitler defeated England we would lose our independence and our liberties. He declared that "we were next on Hitler's list."

Having changed the Neutrality Act, given a million army rifles to England and increased the army to 1,500,000, the President took the next step—he handed over to Britain 50 destroyers belonging to the American navy without authority of Congress. Those men and women who formed the various committees to induce this country

to go into the war approved these moves. They were honest about it and logical, because they were saying openly we should give every aid, even at the risk of war. But the President was saying he was opposed to going to war and that he was doing these things to stay out of war. I do not here criticize his doing these things. I criticize the reason he gave, which was the very opposite of the truth. At the time he did these things, 83 per cent of the people month after month were registering their opposition to getting in the war.

After the 1940 election, in fact early in 1941, the President's next decision was the Lend-Lease proposal. Senator Burton K. Wheeler declared that this was a measure to enable the President to fight an undeclared war on Germany. The President angrily denied that. After the bill passed, Mr. Herbert Agar, one of the leaders of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, made a speech at Boston. Mr. Agar was then very close to the President. But he did not like the line the President was taking before the American people. He said: "There has been too much lying by the supporters of the Lend-Lease bill in the United States Senate and the press. As one who has taken a leading part in supporting the bill I prefer Senator Wheeler's analysis of it." Senator Wheeler had denounced the measure as one not to keep America out of the war but "a bill to enable the President to fight an undeclared war on Germany." "That," said Mr. Agar, "is precisely what it is . . . Our side kept saying that this is a bill to keep America out of war. That's bunk."³⁷

The question arose during the debate: How will we get the arms to Britain? Critics of the President said the next step would have to be convoys to see the arms delivered safely. The President denounced this and said he was opposed to convoys. "Convoys," he had declared, "mean shooting and shooting means war." Yet at that very moment, almost while these words were on his lips, he began conveying.

The truth is that the President had made up his mind to go into the war as early as October, 1940. To believe differently is to write him, our naval chiefs of staff and all our high military and naval officers down as fools. In the First World War it took a gigantic

effort to defeat Germany. Then Britain had a million men in France. France had three million in arms. Italy and Russia were our allies. So was Japan. Italy had a million men against Germany, and Russia had four million. Yet with all this Germany was never driven out of France. She surrendered while in possession of most of what she had conquered. Does anyone believe that Roosevelt or General Marshall or any other high military leader thought that England fighting alone could drive Hitler's armies out of France? England did not have a soldier in France. France was prostrate. Her arms factories were in Hitler's possession. Italy was against us rather than for us. So was Japan. The President knew that to drive Hitler out of France it would be necessary to send American armies to France and to send the American navy full blast into the war. And he knew this in October, 1940.

The first evidence that he intended to go into the war came on October 10, when Secretary Knox sent for Admiral J. O. Richardson, commander-in-chief of the American Fleet in the Pacific. Knox told Richardson that the President wanted him to establish a patrol of the Pacific—a wall of American naval vessels stretched across the western Pacific in such a way as to make it impossible for Japan to reach any of her sources of supply; a blockade of Japan to prevent by force her use of any part of the Pacific Ocean. Richardson protested vigorously. He said that would be an act of war and besides we would lose our navy.³⁸ Of course Roosevelt had to abandon it. The President wanted that done as early as October 10, though of course the public knew nothing of this. Yet three weeks later he said in a speech at Boston: "I say to you fathers and mothers and I will say it again and again and again. Your boys will not be sent into foreign wars."

As soon as the Lend-Lease bill was passed he began, without admitting it, to convoy British and American ships loaded with arms to England. And as he had said "Convoys mean shooting and shooting means war," the shooting began and we were to all intents and purposes at war, American vessels actually going with British vessels in pursuit of German submarines.³⁹

In January, 1941, while the Lend-Lease bill was being debated,

a commission of high American and British army and naval officers representing the respective chiefs of staffs were secretly in session in Washington preparing a document which declared its purpose to be: "To determine the best methods by which the armed forces of the United States and the British Commonwealth with their allies could defeat Germany and her allies, should the United States be compelled to resort to war." Then followed the whole plan of war. This was signed March 29, 1941. Immediately a similar group of American and British naval and army officers met at Singapore to fill in the details of the joint war in the Pacific. The object of this plan is stated on the document "To defeat Germany and her ally Japan in the Far East." The part for the navy in this war plan was set out in full and was called the Rainbow Plan. This is the plan which Admiral Kimmel was ordered to put into effect in the event war started. All this was from a year to eight months before Pearl Harbor.⁴⁰

The whole point I am trying to make clear here is not a criticism of those who believed this country should go into the war. They affirmed this openly and frankly. The President, however, declared he was for those who wanted to stay out of the war while he secretly decided to go into the war, and his public avowals were the precise opposite of his secret intentions. He did not tell the truth to the American people and from the beginning to the end pursued a course of deliberate deception of them about his plans.

When these criticisms of him were made at the time, those who made them were denounced as fascists and Hitler-lovers. But now a new kind of apology appears. Professor Thomas A. Bailey, in his recent book "The Man in the Street," writes:

"Roosevelt repeatedly deceived the American people during the period before Pearl Harbor . . . He was faced with a terrible dilemma. If he let the people slumber in a fog of isolation, they might well fall prey to Hitler. If he came out unequivocally for intervention, he would be defeated in 1940."⁴¹

This is written not by a critic of Mr. Roosevelt but by a defender. And Mr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., professor of history at Harvard,

a most industrious champion of Mr. Roosevelt, approves this statement and adds as a comment that "If he (Roosevelt) was going to induce the people to move at all, Professor Bailey concludes, he (Roosevelt) had no choice but to trick them into acting for what he conceived to be their best interests." ⁴² I am sure that Machiavelli could do no better than this. It is this teaching of the Florentine philosopher that caught the fancy of Mussolini and brought him to the feet of Machiavelli as to an altar. At least this leaves no further question about Roosevelt's settled policy of mendacity. Whoever wishes now to say, as Herbert Agar said, that Roosevelt lied to the people about the maneuvers he was employing to lead them into war may do so without contradiction. The answer must be that Roosevelt lied to the people for their own good. And if Roosevelt had the right to do this, to whom is the right denied? At what point are we to cease to demand that our leaders deal honestly and truthfully with us?

If there be anything to this view it is high time someone set about reducing to form what might be called the moral basis of political lying. If we are to believe the memoirs of some of Mr. Roosevelt's colleagues, he did not feel limited in the use of this "moral" lie merely when dealing with the people. He felt justified in employing this useful weapon in dealing with his cabinet officers, as well as with his own Democratic organization. Upon other occasions he turned to this same new ethical device when seeking to extract \$200,000 out of John Hartford for his son Elliott and later in getting back from him for a mere \$4000 the stock on which he had loaned \$200,000. There must be a thorough philosophical inquiry into the limits within which this convenient discursive weapon can be used. It has been generally supposed that our diplomats are free to lie to foreign diplomats, also that in war and on the way into war we are free to lie *ad libitum* to the enemy. The right of the President—and maybe certain lesser dignitaries—to lie to our own people and, perhaps, in certain defined situations, to each other ought to be explored and settled. Thus it may be used impartially by the representatives of all parties. It does not seem fair to limit the right of lying only to good and truthful men.

5 } The Atlantic Charter

THE NEXT CHAPTER OF THIS STORY OF AMERICA'S MARCH INTO WAR came on the morning of August 15, 1941. The headlines in the morning newspapers told that Roosevelt and Churchill had met at sea in Placentia Bay off the coast of Newfoundland—the President on the *Augusta*, the Prime Minister on the *Prince of Wales*, surrounded on deck by a numerous entourage of the highest ranking military and naval dignitaries of both countries and in the sea by an imposing fleet and with a sky full of protecting war planes. When it ended the President and the Prime Minister issued what they called a Joint Declaration. The most important parts of that document were the first three paragraphs:

"First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise.

"Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed desires of the peoples concerned.

"Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

There were other clauses—to open to all, victor and vanquished alike, access to the raw materials and trade of the world, to promote the fullest collaboration of all peoples for improved economic conditions; a peace in which all men may dwell in safety; the freedom of the seas to all and the abandonment of the use of force as an instrument of national defense.

The theatrical setting of this conference had been a pet idea of Roosevelt's for some time. At different times he had considered different persons as part of the cast. His first candidate for a great sea conference, before the European war began, was Hitler. There was no reason for meeting at sea save the purely spectacular features which Roosevelt always loved. The dramatic effect of the meeting was very great. It made a thunderous radio story and massive headlines. But, as was so characteristic of Roosevelt, the great declaration of principles was a mere incident of the meeting. The purpose was wholly military. Having made up his mind to take America into the war when that was possible, having formulated with the British military and naval chiefs a full program of action when the moment arrived to strike, there remained some grave matters to be settled. We now know from Mr. Sumner Welles' memoranda, which are part of an official record, what happened. Churchill did not think the Singapore agreements went far enough. When the two men met Churchill brought up three matters.

First, he confided to Roosevelt a startling piece of news, namely that England's position at Gibraltar was becoming precarious. The British staff expected Hitler to occupy Spain within 30 days. If that happened the British would have to evacuate Gibraltar. They would, therefore, have to take over the Canary Islands to protect their gateway to the Mediterranean. These belonged to Spain and the British navy believed the operation would call for an immense force. This would make it impossible for England any longer to guarantee to Portugal the protection of the Azores Islands. Churchill had therefore suggested to the Portuguese Premier that he request Roosevelt to take over England's commitment to protect the Azores. And a letter from the Portuguese Minister, Dr. Salazar, was already in Roosevelt's hands. The Azores are off the coast of Spain. Roosevelt very promptly agreed to undertake this commitment.

Churchill next discussed the situation in the Pacific. Japan had seized Indo-China; Churchill did not want her to advance further lest she menace Singapore and he asked the President to issue a warning to Japan. Roosevelt agreed to do so in the following words:

"If the Japanese government undertakes any further steps in pursuance of the policy of military domination through force or conquest in the Pacific region upon which it has apparently embarked, the Government of the United States will be forced to take immediately any and all steps of whatsoever character it deems necessary in its own security, notwithstanding the possibility that such further steps may result in conflict between the two countries."

Cordell Hull, in his memoirs, said this amounted to an ultimatum to Japan and that he was shocked when he saw it. The President, on his return to Washington, immediately delivered the warning to the Japanese ambassador, but at Hull's insistence it was somewhat watered down in diplomatic language—but, according to Sumner Welles, the meaning was unchanged.

Churchill then brought up the final problem: they would have to give the press an explanation of what they had been conferring about. The President suggested that he could not reveal the commitments he had made. Churchill objected strongly to this. He wanted to stimulate the courage of the British and of the peoples of the occupied countries, who would be profoundly depressed if told that America had made no commitments.

It was finally agreed that they would make no mention of the commitments; instead, they would merely say that they had discussed aid as authorized under the Lend-Lease Act to the nations resisting aggression and follow this with an announcement of principles on which they based their hopes for a better world. This pleased Roosevelt. When he got home and was asked point-blank at a conference with his own Congressional leaders whether or not he had made any commitments he replied "No." He dared not admit that he had made two grave commitments, one to send American troops into a European island where an attack was expected and the other to issue to Japan what the Secretary of State characterized as an ultimatum. This denial was to his own leaders. On the other hand, Churchill felt at liberty when he got home to create the impression that they had done plenty at that meeting. He made that magnificent speech in the Commons, in the finest manner of

that historic body, in which he carefully created the expectation that the vast power of America was at last about to be used—though he did not say so outright.⁴³

When the statement was published it was headed "A Joint Declaration." Next day in the *New York Times* it was referred to in a headline as "America's Mein Kampf." But after a few more days the name "Atlantic Charter" was given to it in the newspapers. And when the United States entered the war the noble principles enunciated were accepted as a guarantee of the allies' conduct to all the occupied countries. On the day of Pearl Harbor, the countries occupied by Germany or the Axis powers were France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, the Baltic states, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Balkan states (Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Greece) and, of course, China.

Three weeks after Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt sent for all the representatives in America of these occupied countries and said to them:

"Be assured, gentlemen, that the restoration of the countries occupied by Germany and suffering under the Axis yoke is my greatest concern, which is shared in like degree by Mr. Churchill. We promise that all will be done to insure the independence of these countries."

Churchill was present. He turned to the Polish Ambassador and said:

"We will never forget what glorious Poland has done and is doing nor what heroic Greece and Holland have done in this war. I hope I need not add that Great Britain has set herself the aim of restoring full independence and freedom to the nations that have been overrun by Hitler."⁴⁴

These reassurances were to be repeated many times with varying oratorical flourishes. And as for the "Atlantic Charter," which was nothing more than a screen to hide what had actually been done at Placenta Bay, a handsome copy of it was made, bearing the names of Churchill and Roosevelt, and placed on exhibition in the Na-

tional Museum in Washington, where crowds viewed it with reverence as one of the great documents of history.

The final chapter in the history of this "document" would come three years later.

6 } *A Boondogger's Dream*

THIS COUNTRY WENT FORMALLY INTO THE WAR ON DECEMBER 7, 1941 when the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor. The President could not, without Congress, launch an attack. He knew that if he asked Congress for a declaration of war he would not get it. The week before Pearl Harbor, the polls still showed 75 per cent of the people against going into the war. But the President was committed to war. And he had been carrying on an undeclared war for many months. The events leading to Pearl Harbor have been extensively investigated, though there is yet much to be obtained. This much has been established completely and that is that the President and his war cabinet knew an attack was coming, though they did not know it was coming at Pearl Harbor. Whether or not they should have known is a point we cannot enter into here. The President had told the Japanese that if they made any further move in the Pacific the United States would have to act. The move expected was against the Kra Peninsula or perhaps Singapore itself, the Dutch East Indies or the Philippines. On November 27, just ten days before the attack, the President told Secretary Stimson, who wrote it in his diary, that our course was to maneuver the Japanese into attacking us. This would put us into the war and solve his problem.

The attack did put us into the war. It did solve Roosevelt's problem. It was a costly solution. But it got him out of a difficult hole and into the one he maneuvered to get into—the war.

Of course, after the attack the nation was united behind the government. The conduct of the war covered a number of separate areas. There was the war at sea and the war on land. The whole story of how this was managed cannot be told in detail yet and when all the official data is available the task will be an immense one and wholly outside the competence of this writer. I shall not, therefore, deal with any portion of it.

Another sector included the direction of the great task of producing the arms and all the auxiliary material needed by our own forces and our allies. This is another subject which remains only partially told. Adequate material to tell it authentically will not be available until the records of the government are opened on a far more complete basis. I do not feel the time has yet come for this task.

There are, however, two other sectors of the war which can be told with reasonable fullness. One has to do with the management of the civilian population and certain other economic factors not directly connected with the fighting or the production line. The other has to do with the settlements that came out of the war so far as our allies and the peace of the world are concerned. These are subjects which fell under the hand of the civilian managers and were influenced more directly by the President. The first of these to claim our attention came under the supervision of the Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Henry Wallace.

The problem of raw materials was a grave one. We had to conserve those we had here and we had to be sure to get our share and more of those from other parts of the world where Germany and Japan were also competing for them. The Board of Economic Warfare was created to control the export of all materials seeking private export and to look after the procurement of all materials essential to the war effort, except arms and munitions. Vice-President Wallace was named chairman of the Board of Economic Warfare (BEW). Several cabinet members were also members, but Mr. Wallace ran it with little interference from them.

There was an element of "cloak-and-dagger" in this institution. It was at war with Hitler and Hirohito in the markets of the world. It bought things we needed. But it also bought, where necessary, things we did not need in order to preclude the enemy getting them. This was called "preclusive" buying. It issued thousands of export licenses every day. It was quite a bureau and it bulged with bureaucrats. At the top, next to Wallace, was a somewhat cheaper edition of Wallace—an authentic New Deal bureaucrat, if there ever was one. He was Milo Perkins, executive director.

Perkins was born in the West but went to Houston, Texas when his father inherited a ranch there and failed to make a go of it. Young Milo skipped college and became a burlap bag salesman. Bags were a scarce article in World War I and Milo made \$100 a day selling them. After the war he established his own burlap bag business with a partner. It nearly foundered during the depression but pulled through and Perkins claimed he was making \$20,000 a year when Wallace became Secretary of Agriculture. Perkins was a man with a soul—one of those souls that keeps making a lot of noise inside his body. He went in for art and music and finally Theosophy. The *New Republic* said of him that "for nine years at nine every Sunday morning, he donned his priestly robes, took along his sons as acolytes and preached to a congregation of fifty people." ⁴⁵ Of course he was a vegetarian, abjured alcohol and hated tobacco.

In 1934 he broke into print in the *Nation*. He uttered a clarion cry: "Grab the Torch! Men of Means, Grab the Torch!" He wanted them to grab a plan for a 30-hour week and 25 per cent wage boost. Then he wrote to Wallace. He told Wallace that "from childhood I have wanted to live in a world I could lift." As Wallace was always in the market for planetary jugglers this was his man and in very short order he found himself in Wallace's department lifting \$5600 a year salary—not much, however, for a \$20,000-a-year bag salesman—and before long he got a \$3,000,000 loan for one of Tugwell's whacky Resettlement homesteads to build a hosiery mill where the tenants could work in the Factories of the Lord, "splitting the profits from the mills between the people and the manage-

ment." Only they never got around to splitting anything. He moved into various Wallacian activities and finally into the BEW carrying on "the war behind the war" where, according to the *New Republic*, he would find "the elbow room he needed to put his ideas into practice." Little things like "full-blast production" and "abundance for everybody" and "jobs for all" were simple matters to Perkins. The *New Republic* quotes him as saying: "Some people ask how are you going to do all this?" But, says Perkins: "Actually only the timid ask the question. The only problem is 'Which method to use.'" Perkins knew a lot of ways of doing it. He said: "The 'How' people are afraid of the future. The 'Which' people welcome it." Perkins was a real Which man.

By 1943 the BEW had 200 economic commandoes in the field fighting Hitler in the market places of the world and around 3,000 in Washington directing their weird operations. "Which" men or "Which" doctors like Perkins, as he says, have a choice of many ways of producing abundance, but they do their best work with billions. Much of the BEW's work was in South America and a lot of its purchases there were made to provide those countries with abundance and thus keep them from deserting us and going over to the Axis.

Although this outfit spent \$1,200,000,000, no law ever authorized it, and the Senate never confirmed the appointment of Wallace or Perkins. The President "grabbed the torch" and created it by edict. The President told the RFC to give the BEW whatever funds it asked for. Jesse Jones testified that if either Wallace or Perkins asked for money he had no choice but to give it, and they asked for and got a billion and a quarter.⁴⁶

Of course, a great legion of economic soldiers had to have a chief economist. How they picked him I do not know. But these two great geopolitical warriors—Wallace and Perkins—came up with a gentleman named Dr. Maurice Parmalee, born in Constantinople. He had spent many years drinking deep of the "new learning" in Europe and wrote a book called "Farewell to Poverty." Wallace and Perkins and Parmalee made a marvelous trio of musketeers as they figuratively strutted over this hemisphere arm-in-arm singing "Hello

Plenty! Here We Come!" Parmalee wrote another book labeled "Bolshevism, Fascism and the Liberal Democratic State." In this he said: "The high technological development in the United States renders it feasible to introduce a planned social economy much more rapidly than has been the case in the U.S.S.R. . . . *The superficial paraphernalia of capitalism can be dispensed with more quickly than in the Soviet Union.*" But the doctor had strayed into much lighter fields of literature. He had also written a book called "Nudism in Modern Life" which is secluded in the obscene section of the Library of Congress. In it the doctor revealed his interest in a science called Gymnosophy, a cult of the old gymnosophists who it seems were ancient Hindu hermit philosophers who went around with little or no clothing. Dr. Parmalee felt that nudism ought not to be limited to hermits. He urged its widespread use "wherever feasible in office, workshop or factory." He wrote: "Convent and monastery, harem and military barrack, clubs and schools exclusively for each sex will disappear and the sexes will live a more normal and happier life." There is certainly something of a practical nature in the amalgamation of the harem and the barracks in a happy, carefree nudist life as a substitute for conscription in keeping the army up to quota.

The doctor, who seems to have gone in for what might be called G-string economics, was not too hopeful of results in our capitalist civilization. He perhaps saw pressure groups like Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers, for all its pink idealism, insisting on its products. He felt that while gymnosophists are not necessarily Communists, "these gymnosophist nudist colonies furnish excellent opportunities for experiments along socialist lines . . . Customary nudity is impossible under existing undemocratic, social and economic and political organization." There was actually outside Washington a delightful club—the Washington Outdoor Club—composed of a number of bureaucrats and others which had a lovely sylvan hideaway in an isolated glen where the savants, weary of their fatiguing billions, could toss away their undies and play tennis, volley ball and leap frog.

These facts were brought to Wallace's attention by Martin Dies.

Mr. Wallace suggested that it would be better for what he called the "morale" of his department if Mr. Dies were on Hitler's payroll. Nevertheless, Dr. Parmalee was eased out of BEW—but into another bureau. A new chief economist was brought in—Dr. John Bovingdon. Bovingdon was no fool. He went to Harvard and graduated with honors, which is more than Mr. Roosevelt did. But he, too, was one of those free spirits of the wandering winds who had managed to live for a while in the Orient, three years in Europe and England, two years in Russia and for smaller terms in 22 other countries. His Harvard class reunion book said he "engaged in art activities, painting on fabrics, poetry, dancing, acting, consultant on the Moscow Art Theater, one-man commercial monodrama programs, weaving, sandal-making" and so on. In 1931 the police in Los Angeles raided a Red pageant for a Lenin Memorial which Bovingdon was staging. The experience shook Mr. Bovingdon terribly and he went to Russia. He got a job in Moscow as a director of the International Theatre. He worked as a journalist in the world of free Russian speech, wrote radio scripts and plays. He decided to return to the United States to make us understand Russia. The *Western Worker*, a Communist organ, wrote February 7, 1935: "John Bovingdon, former director of the International Theatre in Moscow and well-known as a dancer, having recently returned from the Soviet Union, will give a lecture and dance program in Jenny Lind Hall . . . The affair is being arranged by the Friends of Soviet Russia under whose auspices Bovingdon is touring this country." In January, 1938, he appeared in Long Beach, California, at the town's first "Communist Party celebration of the 14th anniversary of Lenin's death."

He made an application for a government job in 1943, omitting the items noted here, of course. The only thing which seemed to qualify this adagio economist for work in that specialty was his employment 23 years before by the American Woolen Corporation, long before he felt the mystic spirit of bolshevik economics stirring in his tootsies. By what curious movement of the stars did these weird ideological brothers turn up in posts of the greatest importance in the councils of the New Deal? As fast as one was pushed out an-

other moved in. It could not be by chance, since this happened in practically every important bureau. What aid could Bovingdon give to Mr. Perkins and Mr. Wallace, struggling with some baffling problem of world boondoggling? A clap of Mr. Wallace's hands and in before the two great "Which" men, amidst a crash of Hans Eisler music, comes Mr. Bovingdon in a series of leaps and whirls, kicks and postures. How else could he solve their problems? ⁴⁷

These two strange birds were not isolated cases. The Un-American Activities Committee gave Wallace a list of 35 Communists in the BEW. That information was merely brushed aside with some insulting smear against the Committee.

By the fall of 1943 the squabbles between Roosevelt's bureau chiefs became so general as to amount to a scandal. The President issued a decree to them to refrain from airing their differences in public. During the next ten months, behind the scenes, there was a continual row between Vice-President Wallace and RFC head Jesse Jones. On June 29, 1944, Wallace issued a public statement accusing Jones of "obstructing the war effort." It made a week's dog-fight in the newspapers. In the end Roosevelt publicly scolded both men but issued a directive ending the life of the BEW and creating a wholly new agency with a different set of letters, and with Leo T. Crowley as its head. One of the first things Crowley noticed was the data respecting Bovingdon. Crowley asked for his resignation, which he refused, whereupon he was fired.

Thereafter the country had to depend on the management of a mere business man to handle an obviously business problem—getting strategically scarce materials for our factories.

It mattered not what the New Dealer touched, it became a torch to be grabbed, it became an instrument for use in his adventures in social engineering, and after June, 1941, when Hitler turned on his partner Stalin, these bureaus became roosting places for droves of Communist termites who utilized their positions as far as they dared to advance the interests of Soviet Russia and to help "dispense with the superficial paraphernalia of capitalism" in this country under cover of the war.

7 } The Happiest Years of Their Lives

EVEN BEFORE THE WAR, THE COUNTRY HAD BECOME A BUREAUCRAT'S paradise. But with the launching of the war effort the bureaus proliferated and the bureaucrats swarmed over the land like a plague of locusts. In 1940, Roosevelt named a National Defense Commission with three horns. Edward Stettinius, of United States Steel, managed one horn on industrial materials, Sidney Hillman another on labor and Leon Henderson a third on price stabilization. It didn't work. In January, 1941, it became the ill-fated Office of Production Management (OPM) under William S. Knudsen and Sidney Hillman. By August it was snarled in feuds. Roosevelt named a super-bureau over it called the Supply Priorities and Allocation Board (SPAB) with Henry Wallace at its head. That blew up, of course, before it got well started and after Pearl Harbor was attacked the WPB—War Production Board—under Donald Nelson took over. At some point, Leon Henderson and his Price Stabilization Division got lost until April, 1941 when it was made a separate bureau and called the Office of Price Administration with Henderson at its head. After that it proceeded to go to town. The odor it created still lingers amongst us and it will remain for all time a classic for students in what not to do and how not to do it.

Henderson was perhaps the worst possible selection for this post. In a position requiring infinite tact and understanding, he had as much tact as a runaway elephant. By no means a basically bad person, he was congenitally incapable of resisting the destructive personal effects of power. Power went not merely to his head, as in the case of others; it went to his muscles besides. Five feet six, weighing

210 pounds, he began to throw his pudgy body around, to yell and shout orders, to threaten to throw people out of windows and to exhibit himself before the populace as a sort of burly ideological comedian. He had himself photographed riding a victory bicycle in front of the Capitol; he rode ostentatiously around town in a dilapidated automobile; he appeared, like Churchill, with a huge six-inch cigar, and generally displayed himself as a man of imposing and terrifying power. He did the light fantastic at the night clubs and presently his home became the rendezvous of the intelligentsia where at numerous attended cocktail parties the mighty thinkers gathered to rest their massive brains.

He antagonized everybody, he made everybody mad. But he had a wonderful time. The poor housewives cursed him. The harried business man, driven almost mad by his foggy and multitudinous directives, asked only for his blood. But to Leon, it was all just good fun. Writing about it all after he himself had been heaved out, he said: "When I think now it's already the good old days. It's like reminiscing with my old cronies of the Millville baseball team—I can't remember ever losing a game or making more than one error. Nature is kind that way." He recalled that he had almost missed the bus—it all came out of a chance talk with Harry Hopkins which led him to a job in the TNEC. Then it was just a romp from one bureau to another—the TNEC, SEC, NDAC, SPAB, OPM, WPB, OES, OPACS and, of course, OPA. "And," he said, "it was fun all the time, even when I was mad." For the rest of us, of course, it was no fun at all—just being mad. But for Leon—poor Leon, who before his accidental appearance in Washington had never had a real first-class job—it was a world of fun pushing 130 million people around.

He went to work upon a wholly crazy basic principle—that inflation is caused by high prices and that the inflation could be prevented by holding prices down. It is really the other way around. Inflation is not caused by high prices. High prices are caused by inflation. The inflation is the expansion of the quantity of purchasing power available to buy things in excess of the goods available for purchase. Increase the number of dollars in the pockets of the people without increasing the volume of goods on the shelves for

sale and you have inflation. The inflation came from the method by which the government financed the war. First of all, it threw itself with something approaching utter intoxication into the job. This started at the top. Money was no object. Throw it around with complete abandon! While the prices that merchants charged for goods were watched by Henderson's price police, the prices paid by the government for war materials and war production and war wages were no object. Money was poured out freely. And the money was obtained chiefly from loans made at the banks, the most inflationary kind of money. A nation whose people had been collecting from their wages and profits about 70 billion dollars a year were suddenly collecting 100 billion and then 150 billion and then 200 billion a year, but the number of automobiles and refrigerators and radios and electric irons and the amount of meat and butter and flour and eggs and clothing was less and less. That is what produced the inflation. Of course, prices had to be kept down within reason because runaway prices tend to aggravate the central cause of the inflation and, more than that, result in the necessities of life going to those with the most money to spend. But whatever was done about this there had to be some rational relationship between the prices and the costs of production and this law the OPA snapped its fingers at.

And of course it did not keep prices down. It put out press releases boasting of the price scales that were maintained. But the scarcer goods went into the black markets where prices in the end were far higher than they would have been if the regulation had been first of all realistic, and second, managed by an agency that understood the popular mind and that would have treated the people with some degree of understanding.

It began with controls on coffee and sugar. And it began as it ended by supposing that it could reach into every office, every warehouse, every shop and every home and watch and regulate every transaction. It is impossible in a small space to describe the colossal folly of the experiments in sugar and coffee, the first result of which was to paralyze almost completely the whole trade. The same thing was done with meat. Meat begins, as to most of its supply, far out on the ranches among the big herds. Next the young

steers and cows move East to the feeding lots where the farmers dispose of their grain by feeding it to the cattle for a season and then selling the cattle to the slaughtering houses. Then it goes to the wholesalers and then to the retail butchers. But in between are warehouses, railroads, truckers, commission agents and processors of all sorts.

This vast complexity of men and trades and utilities has grown up through the years through that hit or miss method that characterizes our system, one man trying an experiment that works and then being imitated by all the others in his trade. The cattle thus move from the ranch to the retail butcher shop through a long series of transactions and processes which the men in this vast business understand. Now whether this was the best system in the world or not, it was the system in existence—the system that has always been able to produce all the meat required upon a scale exceeded by no other country. OPA was not created to change this system. As a matter of practical horse sense any attempt to change it could only result in enormous delays while some other system was put into operation. It is too immense and complicated a thing for such change. And what is more, any attempt to change it would meet resistance, bitter and even violent, all along the line. The problem before OPA was to prevent prices from going to unreasonable heights, while at the same time getting as much production as possible and ensuring a fair distribution of the supply to all the people. The only way to do this was to aim at making the existing system function at its highest efficiency and this would require the cooperation of all the various groups engaged in it.

OPA was in the hands of men who knew little or nothing of the meat industry. They could, of course, have got expert aid, but they were determined to make the meat industry over. Fate had put the vast productive and distributive system of America into their power. Here was the golden chance to change it—to show these dumb business men how so much of this costly and ignorant mechanism could be dispensed with. They believed that Fate had presented them with the precious opportunity of making America over. They proceeded to administer to the meat industry a wallop which staggered it and

in the end almost ruined it. For instance, their first target was the commission man—that hated middleman, that wretched interloper who has been the object of the scorn of the economic dilettante for decades.

They did not realize that when they tried to liquidate the commission man they made no provision for handling the function he performed. Also, if ceilings are put on prices, the ceiling must govern all along the line as the cattle pass from one stage of distribution to another. OPA put ceilings on prices at various points but not on the rancher, which was about as stupid a performance as the human mind could invent. Meat on a cow is produced by eating—eating fattening foods, chiefly corn. The corn farmer can sell his corn directly in the corn market or he can buy a cow and feed the corn to her. He decides what he will do by the price of corn. If he can get a better price for his corn selling it in the market he will not feed it to cattle. If the meat prices are more attractive he will turn his corn into meat. Our highly intelligent bureaucrats allowed the price of corn to soar while holding down the ceiling on meat. The corn farmer sold his corn in the corn market. He refused to buy cattle to fatten and the young animals, minus two or three hundred pounds of meat, went directly to the slaughterers. Countless millions of pounds of meat were lost. The whole story of meat is full of these costly blunders. Wages were held down in slaughter houses. The workers quit the legitimate slaughterers and went to work for black-market slaughterers at twice the legal wages, or went into munitions plants, and scores of slaughter houses were put out of business. The unfortunate slaughterer or meat dealer or packer who complained was called a fascist.

This stemmed from the kind of men who were brought into OPA. At first it began with the redoubtable Leon Henderson and 84 office assistants. In August, 1941 a new bill, reorganizing OPA, was being considered by Congress. A member asked if the plan would not require a staff of 100,000. Henderson replied: "Oh, no. This bill will be practically self-enforcing." The next year—May, 1942—Henderson asked for 110 million dollars and said he needed a staff

of 90,000. The next year it cost 153 million and the following year it had a staff of 53,500 paid workers and 204,000 volunteers.

From the four corners of the land, as well as from the pink and Red purlieus of New York and Chicago and every big city, came the molders of the Brave New World. At the top, as economic adviser, was Richard V. Gilbert, one of those young professors who in 1938 marched on Washington and sold Roosevelt the theory that government debt is practically meaningless, that it is not a burden, that we owe it to ourselves and that Roosevelt could go right on borrowing indefinitely without ever wrinkling his god-like brow in worry. The place swarmed with little professors fresh from their \$2500-a-year jobs now stimulated by five, six and seven-thousand-dollar salaries and whole big chunks of the American economy resting in their laps. Tugwell in college had sung: "I am young. I am strong. I will make America over." And here was the God-given chance. They put their busy fingers into everything. They dictated women's styles, the shapes of women's stockings; they told butchers how to carve a roast; they limited the length of Santa Claus' whiskers in department stores.

Back in the days of the TNEC—one of Henderson's early adventures—a gentleman named A. C. Hoffman made studies in merchandising. He wrote: "One of the aspects of food distribution which the writer finds much to his dislike is the growing expenditure of money on brand advertising for food products." Under OPA manufacturers began to be aware that OPA was trying to do away with all brands and quality differentials. This was also one of Tugwell's pet theories—no brand names on goods, no quality differentials, just a label telling what was in the can. And sure enough, it was A. C. Hoffman, from Henderson's old TNEC days, who was ranking officer in the OPA Food Price Section working to put over his pet theory. He was forced out and went back to the Agricultural Department.

From the London School of Economics came an organization to advance Political and Economic Planning—PEP. This was a scheme for fascist planning through a "national Council of Agriculture, a National Council for Industry, a National Council for Transport,

all to be statutory bodies with powers to govern their special provinces of business." The chairman of this group was Israel Moses Sieff. He turned up as a special consultant to OPA in 1941. The place was full of these boys.

At one time there was an almost complete breakdown of food distribution throughout the United States. The paper work required of an ordinary small merchant was so extensive that it was practically impossible to comply with. A Michigan grocer who had run a successful business for 40 years testified that "For the last six months I have been behind the counter ten hours a day, then up half the night filling out government forms. Sunday is needed for inventory reports, ration accounts or applications for coffee, sugar and canned goods. I couldn't keep up with it, so I closed my doors." Small food distributors were going out of business by the tens of thousands a month. Whole states were insufficiently supplied with meat, butter, lard or potatoes for two months at a time. OPA fixed the price of Louisiana potatoes at \$2.50 per cwt., and the price of Texas potatoes at \$3.75 per cwt. Louisiana potatoes were just trucked across the line and sold as Texas potatoes. Uniform prices on farm products for all markets very nearly starved out many large cities. Shippers sent their supplies to the nearby markets and abandoned the high-freight markets. OPA put a ceiling price on lard of \$14.55 a hundred pounds, but they allowed a price of \$26.50 on dressed hogs including fat. A packer could get 26 cents a pound for the fat on the hog but only 15 cents for the same fat as lard. This was done at a time when this country and the world were starving for fats. Approximately a billion pounds of lard went to the food stores on the hogs at 26 cents a pound; then we had to have a salvage campaign to get back from housewives the drippings which should never have gone into their kitchens.⁴⁸

The rules and regulations, the directives issued were frequently beyond the power of the human mind to understand. Here is a sample:

"The maximum price which a manufacturer may charge to any class of purchasers for any packaged cosmetic priced under the general maxi-

mum price regulation shall be the maximum price established under the general maximum price regulation for sales of such packaged cosmetics by him to a purchaser of the same class."

These rules and regulations became so irksome that people ignored them. Then the OPA set up a nation-wide network of courts before which citizens could be hauled up and tried for breaking laws enacted by OPA bureaucrats. If convicted, they could, under OPA rulings, have their ration cards taken away from them—sentenced to starve. But the OPA heads themselves were not too meticulous about observing the government rules. All buildings were ordered to keep their heat no higher than 65 degrees. A reporter took a thermometer to Leon Henderson's office at this time, where it registered 80 degrees.

The record of OPA's follies and blunders is incredible. I can give merely those types of examples that can be quickly explained without going into the intricacies of trade practices. The trouble stemmed fundamentally from the type of men who were put in control, men of the stamp of Leon Henderson who had been, as I have already pointed out, a technocrat and one of the sponsors of Howard Scott and later a director of Technocracy, Inc. It was during this OPA circus that Henderson was charged with being part of the Technocracy movement. Henderson denied it and said if it could be proved he would eat a Washington telephone book on the steps of the Capitol. As we have seen, Leon's name is signed to a document published in the *New York Times* when he and some others resigned from Technocracy, Inc., not because they disagreed with Scott's fundamental theories, as they explained, but did not like his methods. And what happened in OPA happened wherever these New Deal minds were put in control. In December, 1942, things got so bad that Henderson had to be eased out. A former senator, Prentiss Brown, succeeded him with no better results, after which Chester Bowles was made head of that bureau. He did a better job, but by that time it was impossible for anyone to do very much better.

This mere peep behind the curtain of the hippodrome will serve

to afford a glimpse of that stupendous fiscal extravaganza put on in Washington. On the economic side of the war there was the formidable task of producing the mountains of materials which the generals and admirals demanded. That was done by the American productive machine. This was a machine of epic proportions that had been created and developed long before the New Deal was heard of. And it was, in fact, that very machine upon which all the engines of scorn and calumny of the New Deal had been trained and which the Tugwells and Wallaces and their subalterns wanted to liquidate. This machine was operated by that immense army of engineers, technicians, financiers and administrative leaders who had developed the great resources of the nation, who had invented and perfected the amazing technical processes and who had built that fabulous mass of plants and machines which turned out guns, planes, tanks, cars, ships, arms, munitions, food and all the accoutrements and necessities of war. They were told what was wanted and they supplied it. The Tugwells, the Hopkinses, the Hendersons and Wallaces had nothing to do with this. This was the work of the hated business man.

In the hurry and jostling of the war there were miscalculations and even misdeeds. But a good deal of that will be found in the wide ranks of that horde of suddenly aroused and hungry gentry who from the four corners of the land swarmed into Washington to get a little piece of the monstrous melon and who took their ill-gotten gains into that economic jungle called the black market. One may talk about the profits of the war, but there were in truth little profits for honest men because the government—and rightly—during the war drained away in drastic taxes most of the profits.

But there was another sector on this economic front—the embattled legions of the bureaucrats mobilized to police the real producers and to supervise for the State the actual task of production. And at their side was that other battalion of New Deal fiscal philosophers—the bright evangelists of national debt, who were now permitted to gorge themselves on their pet theories. At the top, in the driver's seat, sat a man who despised all the traffic rules and the

warning signals, the red lights and the hazards along the road. He threw the monstrous machine into high, stepped on the gas, closed his eyes and turned it loose. Had some commission of hostile angels been named to devise a scheme for making production costly they could not have done a better job. The tens of thousands of bureaucrats from a score of bureaus crawled over the producing plants. They inserted themselves into the processes at each new step, to slow it up, to increase its costs and to drive to distraction the practical men who were running the machine. The feeling that cost meant nothing, that the only thing that mattered was "hurry," the theory that a hurrying engine need not be careful, introduced so many distractions and halts and changes and bickerings into the whole process that both economy and speed were sacrificed. Worst of all, sane and sober men surrendered after a while to the contagion and, equally with their bureaucratic persecutors, threw arithmetic to the winds.

In the financing and supervision of the war effort from Washington practically every fiscal crime was committed. And the plain evidence of that is before us in the bill for the war. Few realize how vast it was. For the mind, even of the trained financier, begins to lose its capacity for proportion after the figures pass beyond the limit of understandable billions. The war cost I reckon at 363 billion dollars. To form some estimate of this figure it may help to recall that during the 144 years which cover the administrations of all the presidents from Washington to the first inauguration of Franklin Roosevelt, the total expenditures of the federal government equaled 117 billion dollars. Yet in the seven years from 1941 to 1947, the cost of supporting the war and its consequences alone was 363 billion—three times as much in seven years as in 144 years of our history. The total amount expended in these seven years was 463 billion. I have subtracted a hundred billion to cover the sums which our extravagant government would have spent had we not entered the war. To complete this picture we must not overlook the solemn fact that we have paid to date only one-third of this prodigious bill. The remaining two-thirds stands against us as the national debt, the

interest on which alone, when the debt is all funded, will be nearly twice the cost of government before Mr. Roosevelt came to power.

The story of how this vast account and this staggering debt was accumulated is a long and an intricate one. The follies, the recklessness, the appalling ineptness and incompetence, the deep and dark corruption remain yet to be told. It would be futile to attempt it until the government has passed into responsible hands charged with the task of subjecting the whole terrible performance to the fullest investigation.

There is no doubt that this intolerable burden, which will bear down upon the shoulders of this generation and the next, is the direct result of President Roosevelt's utter incapacity for administration. Here, again, we may turn to a cabinet officer for the testimony. Secretary of War Stimson is lavish in his praise of Mr. Roosevelt and is prepared to forgive him the most costly defects of character in his admiration for Roosevelt's great stroke of genius in naming Stimson to his cabinet. However, he wrote in his diary in March, 1943: "The President is the poorest administrator I have ever worked under in respect to the orderly procedure and routine of his performance. He is not a good chooser of men and does not know how to use them in coordination."⁴⁹

The positive task of stimulating and directing war production, as distinguished from policing it, was given to Donald Nelson, a business man competent in the limited field in which he worked but of no special distinction. He was made head of the War Production Board in January, 1942, after a whole series of break-downs. Nelson proved inadequate to the task committed to him. In February, 1943, the Secretary of War and other administrative leaders joined in asking the President to replace Nelson with Bernard Baruch. But, says Stimson, no action was taken for 18 months. Stimson sums up the story by saying that after tinkering for two years with a variety of boards and commissions, the President finally put power into the hands of one man and then named the wrong one, and when that man got into trouble he neither backed him nor fired him.⁵⁰

Yet we are asked to accept Roosevelt as the great administrator, the great military leader, the great naval leader, the great civil states-

man and finally the great master in the field of foreign affairs. We shall presently see that in the last he chalked up for himself the most unbelievable record of failure in the annals of foreign relations in the history of this country.

8 } *The Thought Police*

I.

IF THERE IS ONE DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN STRUGGLE WHICH THE radical revolutionist understands and loves it is the war that is waged on the mass mind; the war that is carried on with poisons distilled in the mind to produce bias and hatred. It would be strange indeed if we did not find some of the practitioners of this dark art from New York and some of the off-scourings of Europe's battered revolutionary emigres numerous entrenched in that thoroughly un-American institution during the war which was known as the OWI—the Office of War Information.

It began with a thing called the Office of Facts and Figures. At the head of this Roosevelt put one of his dainty intellectual pets, Archibald MacLeish. MacLeish was the scion of a wealthy American family who in 1923 decided he would give his life to poetry and so "chucked it all," took his wife and children and went to France. He remained there until 1930 where he worked upon the ornate edges of journalism and wrote poetry. Here is a sample from what he considers his best poem—"America Was Promises":

"Who is the voyager on these coasts?
Who is the traveler in these waters

Expects the future as a shore; foresees
Like Indies to the west the ending—he
The rumor of the surf intends."

A man who writes poetry like that inevitably becomes a New Dealer, if not worse. In 1939 Roosevelt made him Librarian of Congress, where he proceeded to use the facilities of the Library for New Deal propaganda. In 1941 the Library "loaned" MacLeish back to the President to head the Office of Facts and Figures. He brought together a drove of writers and journalists whose souls were enlisted in the great crusade to bring on the Brave New World of the Future. It was in fact an agency for selling Roosevelt's Third New Deal and Roosevelt himself to the people under the guise of "maintaining public morale" and conducting "psychological warfare." It was costing \$600,000 a year and managed to keep itself in hot water as it stumbled from blunder to blunder until it became a national nuisance and Roosevelt was forced to end it. He created as its successor the Office of War Information with Elmer Davis at its head. In the next two years, OWI spent \$68,000,000 and had 5,561 agents scattered all over the world. In the First World War, George Creel had done the job—and an excellent one at that—with a staff of 500 and an appropriation of \$2,500,000 a year.

One job of OWI was to sell America to various foreign peoples. Among its first adventures in this field was selling us to the people of North Africa. Its agents dropped things from planes on the North Africans, the purpose being to make those simple people love us. Among the winged messages of good will were a cake of soap inscribed "From your Friends, the Americans," a children's coloring book, a rubber stamp with ink pad attached, a picture book called "The Life of Franklin D. Roosevelt," a small package of seeds. The prize package was a pin button. On one side was an American flag. On the other side was a picture of Roosevelt—but not the Nordic FDR we knew. The picture was colored to make him look like an Arab. All this junk rained down in countless thousands on North Africa. Picking up the soap, the rubber stamp, the Life of Roosevelt and the pin with the Arabian Roosevelt, Arabs, Berbers and Sene-

gelese were expected to take a wholly different view of war politics.

But OWI had other tasks than selling America to the Arabs. It was also busy selling Russia to the Americans. The chief of the Foreign Language Section of OWI was a young gentleman 28 years old who had spent his entire life on New York's East Side, who spoke no foreign language and yet had the decision on whether news should be released to Europe or not. Anybody who disagreed with his high admiration for our Soviet ally was labeled a fascist. There was another child wonder—23 years old—who was the Russian expert of the OWI and who saw to it that nothing went out that was displeasing to the objectives of our noble ally—including grabbing Yugoslavia. OWI's broadcasts to Poland ended not with the Polish national anthem but with a song adopted by the Polish emigres in Moscow who were known as Stalin's "Committee of Liberation." The expert in charge of the Polish section was actually born in Poland, but left there and spent the rest of his life in France where he was notorious as a Communist. He fraternized with the Vichy government while Hitler and Stalin were pals, but when Hitler invaded Russia he came to America and quickly became OWI's expert in explaining American democracy to the people of Poland.⁵¹

The deputy director of the Pacific and Far Eastern Area was a British subject until he got a government job in Washington in 1942. While running this important bureau for OWI, he wrote a play which was produced at Hunter College. Burton Rascoe, reviewing it, said: "Its most conspicuous purpose is to idealize the Red Army in China, to defame the Chungking government under Chiang Kai-shek and to ridicule the political, social and educational ideas of the vast majority of the American people."⁵²

The OWI made blunder after blunder, many of them very costly. While our State and War Departments were trying to get defeated Italy out of the war, OWI beamed a broadcast to Italy smearing Badoglio and calling King Victor Emmanuel the "moronic little king." The State Department was indignant. Roosevelt had to administer a public reprimand to Elmer Davis.

The men, material, cable and wireless time used up by OWI

were immense. It ran 350 daily radio programs and had a daily cable-wireless output of 100,000 words. It was the world's largest pamphlet and magazine publisher and a big movie producer, sending shorts to every country in the world. It sent out 3,500 transcribed recordings a month and turned out 50 movie shorts a year. The content of most of this material was pure drivel. An American reporter made a study of the stuff sent to Australia. It was so voluminous that on a single day it tied up the army's signals for four hours at MacArthur's headquarters in the Pacific. In one day, for instance, it sent 37 separate items. One was a 625-word summary of a magazine article on "Three Conceptions of Modern Civilization," another on the meaning of the words "left" and "right" in American politics, another from a magazine article on "How to Obtain Lasting Peace," another about the opening of the New York City Symphony concerts. These were all sent to MacArthur's headquarters, then mimeographed and sent to 70 daily newspapers and about 400 weeklies in Australia. A check with the larger dailies showed that not a line of this stuff was used. Paper was too scarce to carry such flimsy padding.⁵³

All of this work was not just naive. OWI printed 2,500,000 pamphlets called "The Negro in the War,"⁵⁴ with pictures of Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt, the Negroes' friends, in preparation for the fourth-term campaign. It printed a handsome volume called "Handbook of the United States"⁵⁵ and gave a British firm the right to publish it. This gave a history of America, with the story from Leif Ericson's discovery up to 1932 in four and one-half pages. The rest of the history was devoted to Roosevelt and his New Deal. This was in 1944 and a national election was coming and England was jammed with American soldiers who could vote.

It had a department that supplied the pulp paper magazines with directions and suggestions on how to slant mystery and love stories. Western story writers were told how to emphasize the heroism of our allies—you know which one. Writers were told to cast their soap operas with silent, dogged Britons, faithful Chinese and honest Latins. They must portray Japanese as having set out to seize our Western seaboard and the sly and treacherous characteristics of the

Jap must be contrasted with the faithfulness of the Chinese. They suggested that Sax Rohmer's Fu Manchu be turned into a Jap instead of a Chinese.

They supplied plots to the pulps. What was at the bottom of this one I do not know, but it is a sample:

"A seduced girl throws herself into some type of work, say physiotherapy, to forget. Working side by side with a crippled doctor, she learns to love him. After crisis in their task which she helps him meet, she discovers that although he knows all about her past, he loves her. Clinch and fade-out." ⁵⁶

Actually, we had in this incredible institution a mixture of inconsequential nonsense, New Deal politics and Communist infiltration. Of course, Elmer Davis, Gardner Cowles and Robert Sherwood were not Communists. I do not know quite how much they were even New Dealers. Elmer Davis, at least, gave up a very profitable radio contract to work at one-fourth the pay, which could be said of few of his collaborators who were making more money than they had ever known in their lives, besides escaping military service. But as America moved toward the war there blossomed the most fantastic comradeship between flaming Red revolutionaries, foggy-eyed New Dealers and deep purple conservatives. The war brought them together in an incongruous brotherhood. They were united in the drive for American entry into the war, but for a variety of different and contradictory reasons. But among these hostile elements the one group that was not foggy was the Communist group. Of them at least we can say they knew what they wanted. The mere New Dealers, as that term came to be understood, comprised those wandering, vague dreamers who held to a shadowy conviction that somehow the safety of humankind depended upon the creation of some sort of ill-defined but benevolent state that would end poverty, give everybody a job and an easy old age, and who supposed that this could be done because they had discovered that money grew in government buildings. The others were largely devoted lovers of or worshipers at the ancient altars of Anglo-Saxon world hegemony. But they could all unite in a

weird conventicle—Anglo-Saxon imperialists, groping New Dealers and dogmatic Red bigots—under banners like those of the OWI, the OPA and the BEW. And here and there was a fellow acutely conscious of the German blood in his veins and eager to purge himself of the stain.

2.

When the war began the government, recognizing the need for protecting our military operations from leaks through careless or uninformed press reporting, organized the Office of Censorship headed by Byron Price, an able official of the Associated Press. To this bureau was given the power to monitor all communications. It set up a censorship organization which all publishers and broadcasters voluntarily cooperated with. It worked admirably and Mr. Price won the unstinted approval of the press for his capable and tactful, yet firm, handling of this difficult problem. No other government agency had any authority whatever to engage in this activity. And it was never intended that anybody should have the power to attempt to interfere with the rights of citizens to discuss with freedom all political questions, subject only to the obligation not to divulge information that would aid the enemy or defeat our military operations.

Nevertheless, the OWI and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) took upon themselves the power to carry on the most extensive propaganda among and the most dangerous interference with the foreign-language broadcasting stations. Of course the ordinary American official was hardly aware of the opportunities this kind of thing gave to those who had political or ideological axes to grind.

The FCC set up a bureau which it called the War Problems Division. There were probably 125 or more radio broadcasting stations which specialized in foreign-language programs to our foreign-born populations. They reached many millions of people. Of course, a war in Europe immediately creates very serious and delicate repercussions among those people here whose homelands are involved. Their position is generally very uncomfortable and often

painful. The radio stations are bound to notice the war and the problems of the war here. It was important, of course, that these stations be closely watched to see that nothing subversive and nothing that would adversely affect the war effort was used. And for this purpose the Office of Censorship was admirably equipped and managed. But the FCC decided that it would take a hand, not merely in monitoring the stations but in literally directing and controlling them. The OWI similarly arrived at the same conclusion. It also set up a division for dealing with the problems of the foreign-born through radio.

The FCC's War Problems Division operated throughout the country but we will understand what they were doing if we limit the story to just a few stations. The Division took over control of the Commission office in New York, putting a young lawyer with very little experience in charge. This office, in collaboration with a bureau of the OWI, proceeded to go to work upon the New York stations. The OWI was represented by a gentleman named Lee Falk.

One of these stations in the metropolitan district was WHOM. It was owned by a gentleman obviously of complete loyalty and devotion to this country and its principles. Nevertheless the FCC and OWI guardians of "democracy" swarmed over his station. A broadcasting station operates under the direction and observation of a certain type of staff. There is a station manager, a program director, a censor, a monitor, announcers and commentators. If you can get control of most or all of these you are sitting pretty so far as controlling the content of the broadcasts is concerned. Into this station, as program director, was introduced Mr. Giuseppe Lupis. Mr. Lupis first entered the United States in 1926 but left and did not return as a resident until 1937. He went to work for the OWI in 1942. He established a monthly magazine called *Il Mondo* for circulation among Italians. He made Mr. Carlo a Prato its editor. Mr. a Prato's first point of operation before coming here was Switzerland. He was put out of Switzerland for life because he was accused of being an agent of Maxim Litvinov. He got out of Marseilles on a Czech passport under the name of Milan Javota and

arrived here in 1941. He quickly found himself editing an Italian propaganda paper and with a job in the OWI as chief Italian script writer.

How did these people get employment in the OWI and FCC so swiftly? There was a private organization called Short Wave Research, Inc. Its purpose was to corral refugees as they arrived and get them employment with the OWI and FCC. It was a non-profit organization, but that it did a large business in this traffic is evident from the fact that when it was liquidated it had \$15,000 or \$20,000 cash in its treasury, all made from charging fees of 10 per cent to all aliens placed in these government agencies. The money was divided up among various war charities when it closed down. Lupis worked as a script writer for Short Wave Research for a while.

One Italian whose trade was bricklayer was hired as censor and monitor. Another Italian walked into the station five weeks after he got here without letters of recommendation and became a censor and at Christmas and Easter imposed his own peculiar notions in censoring religious programs.

While infiltrating the stations with these recently arrived refugees, others who did not meet the specifications of the guardians of our liberties were forced out. In one case an announcer named Stefano Luotto, an American citizen of good standing and unimpeachable loyalty, was forced off the station. He was charged with being a fascist by that singular process by which one who was anti-Communist was also a pro-fascist because he was against an anti-fascist Communist. Lupis urged his dismissal and a little Italian paper, *La Parola*, edited by a fellow named Valenti, peddled the smear. Luotto had Valenti arrested for criminal libel and after a long struggle the FCC had to admit there was not a scintilla of evidence against Luotto. This case was only one of a brace of instances which amounted to outright persecution.

Mr. Eugene L. Garey, chief counsel of the Congressional Select Committee Investigating the FCC, speaking of these conditions, said:

"From the record thus far made it appears that, in one foreign language broadcasting station in New York City, the program director, the announcer, the script writer, the censor, and the monitor of the Italian-language programs are all aliens or persons owing their positions to the Office of War Information, with the approval of the FCC.

"The situation thus portrayed is not peculiar to this single station, or to this one city. Information in our possession indicates that the same situation prevails generally in the foreign language stations throughout the country. Every such key position in each of the three radio stations presently under investigation are found to be similarly staffed. These staffs select the news, edit the script, and announce the program. The program, in turn, is censored by them, monitored by them, and is presented under the direction of a program director of similar character.

"From these apparently unrelated facts the picture must be further developed.

"OWI had the men and the material. It had the proper dye to color the news. It also had the desire to select and censor the news. What it lacked was the power, or perhaps more accurately stated, even the color of power, to carry their designs into effect. Hence the need to enlist the Federal Communications Commission in its purpose.

"True it is that the Federal Communications Commission had no such lawful power, but the Federal Communications Commission did have the power to license and hence the power to compel obedience to its directions. The record now shows their unlawful use of this power.

"Working together in a common purpose, the Federal Communications Commission and the Office of War Information have accomplished a result that compels pause—and presents the solemn question of 'Whither are we going?'

"A division called the War Problems Division was created by the Federal Communications Commission, and a staff of attorneys began to function.

"This division was not a regulatory body. It was not formed to instruct, or supervise, or to correct. It was formed for the avowed purpose of unlawfully liquidating all of the radio personnel in the foreign-language field that did not meet with its favor. A real gestapo was created and a lawless enterprise was launched.

"It is suggested that we accept this unlawful situation as a benevolent expedient of the moment, but no such purpose as we find here disclosed,

however benevolently cloaked, can justify the practices we find. All tyranny begins under the guise of benevolence.

"In a time of war we are asked to place trust in lately arrived aliens whose sole claim to trustworthiness is the assumption that because they have been unfaithful to past vows they will be faithful to their new ones.

"The voices of these aliens go into our homes, and the unwary are led to believe that they speak with authority and official approval. They even censor our Christmas and Easter religious programs, and tell us what music we may hear. The FCC is alarmed about whether we will react properly to news furnished by our national news agencies. Apparently we can still read the news in our press, but we can only hear what these aliens permit us to. What next medium of communication will receive the benevolent attention of these misguided zealots? Obviously, the press.

"These interpreters of our national policy—these slanters of our news—these destroyers of free speech—are alien in birth, alien in education, alien in training and in thought.

"And still these are the people who are permitted to mold our thoughts—to tell us what America's war aims and purposes are. These people are in position to color, to delete, or to slant, as they see fit, in accordance with their own peculiar alien views and ideologies.

"Persons are being accused of being pro-fascist, and that without proof and without trial. Persons suspected of being pro-fascist, and without proof, have been removed from the air and replaced by wearers of the Black Shirt. . . .

"If the radio can thus be controlled in August, 1943, there is nothing to prevent the same control from slanting our political news and nothing to prevent the coloring of our war aims and purposes when peace comes." ⁵⁷

These lawless snoopers queried station staff members about their religious views and in one case wanted to know where they thought the Polish-Russian border should be fixed. Falk took the position that station owners should not do business with certain advertising agencies which he named. He carried a blacklist and attempted to enforce it. They investigated anybody and everybody connected with the stations and, of course, inevitably went to various smear

organizations to traduce and destroy loyal Americans who did not suit their purposes.

3.

In the presence of a government which had enlarged its power over the lives and the thoughts and opinions of citizens and which did not hesitate to use that power, the whole citizenry was intimidated. Editors, writers, commentators were intimidated. Men whose opinions did not conform to the reigning philosophy were driven from the air, from magazines and newspapers. While American citizens who were moved by a deep and unselfish devotion to the ideals of this Republic—however wrong-headed that may be in the light of the new modes of “freedom”—were forced into silence, the most blatant and disruptive revolutionary lovers of the systems of both fascism and Communism and that illegitimate offspring of both—Red fascism—were lording it over our minds.

All this was possible for one reason and one reason only—because the President of the United States countenanced these things, encouraged them and in many cases sponsored them, not because he was a Communist or fascist or held definitely to any political system, but because at the moment they contributed to his own ambitions.

9 } *The Great Conferences*

WHEN A NATION IS AT WAR, ITS LEADERS ARE COMPELLED BY THE necessities of practical administration to use every means at hand to sell the war to the people who must fight it and pay for it. As part of that job it is usual to include the leader himself in the

package. He is therefore portrayed in heroic proportions and colors in order to command for his leadership the fullest measure of unity. War, as we have seen, puts into the hands of a leader control over the instruments of propaganda and opinion on an ever-increasing scale. In our day the press, the radio, the movies, even the school-room and the pulpit are mobilized to justify the war, to magnify the leader and to intimidate his critics. The citizen who is hardy enough to question the official version of the leader and his policies may find himself labeled as a public enemy or even as a traitor. Hence as the war proceeds, amidst all the trappings which the art of the theater can contribute, it is possible to build up a vast fraud, with an ever-mounting torrent of false news, false pictures, false eulogies and false history. After every war many years are required to reduce its great figures to their just proportions and to bring the whole pretentious legend back into focus with truth.

Perhaps no other American war leader was ever exhibited, during a war, upon so heroic a scale as Franklin D. Roosevelt. Why this was so and how it was done forms a separate story. But here we are concerned with presenting the record of his achievements in the field of war-time statescraft, rescued from the deformities of propaganda and corrected to correspond with the facts.

The story of Mr. Roosevelt's management of our relations with our allies and our enemies was unfolded to us during the war in a series of great conferences arranged with the most minute attention to their theatrical effects. Like the historic meetings of Henry VIII and Francis on the field of the Cloth of Gold or of Napoleon and Czar Alexander on a barge at Tilsit in the Niemen River or the massing of the monarchs and their ministers at Paris after Waterloo or the Big Four at Versailles, the public was treated to the royal spectacles off the coast of Newfoundland aboard the *Augusta*, at Quebec, Casablanca, Moscow, Cairo, Teheran and finally at Yalta. Eloquent communiques pretended to inform the people of what had been agreed on. And after each such meeting the press and radio rang with the story of the great triumphs of the President, who brought victory after victory back to his people as the reward

of the great battles that were being fought in various parts of the world.

We now know that these communiques told us little of what had happened; that the whole story lay, for long, behind a great curtain of secrecy; that much—though not all—has now been painfully brought to light and that what stands revealed is a story very different from that heroic chronicle of triumphs with which we were regaled at the time.

It was while France, Norway and the Low Countries were occupied, while Britain was under attack from the air and Hitler was driving through Russia in 1941 that we formally entered the war with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. What, then, were our objectives? The first objective was to defeat the enemy in the field. But victory in war is not like victory in a prize fight. It does not consist in merely flooring your antagonist for the count. After the enemy is forced to surrender there comes the always difficult task of translating the knock-out of the enemy into the achievement of those objectives for which we wished to knock him down.

In this case we were not alone in the struggle. We had allies. Each of these allies had his own special ambitions. A complete victory over the enemies would mean the liberation of all the occupied countries. And those countries too had their special ambitions, while our own allies had very special designs of their own with respect to the liberated victims. We had our own great objectives. We fought to drive the aggressors from the lands of these victims; but also for an arrangement of the post-war world that would ensure a peaceful world and, of course, a world safe for democratic peoples to live in. In World War I the victory was poisoned by the fact that, having defeated the aggressions of the Kaiser's Germany, the victors proceeded to satisfy their own aggressive ambitions in a manner to reduce to nothing the lofty proclamations before victory. Thus Mr. Roosevelt had on his hands not merely a war of weapons with our enemies in the field, but a contest in diplomacy with our allies about the fruits of victory. We shall now see him as he moved from "triumph to triumph" in his bouts with our allies.

We have already seen how at the meeting in Placenta Bay the President and Mr. Churchill agreed upon a set of principles to govern the peace and which came to be known as the Atlantic Charter. These assurances to the world were:

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise.

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed desires of the peoples concerned.

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

Both the President and Mr. Churchill subsequently repeated these assurances in various private audiences with the representatives of those nations, as well as in glowing oratorical pronouncements on their grandiose aims for the world. After America's participation in the war had been under way for some time the question of the collaboration of our allies in these great plans for the future had to be dealt with and accordingly the first of that succession of conferences was arranged.

I. MOMENTOUS DECISION

On June 19, 1942, Winston Churchill arrived in Washington for a momentous conference with the President. What happened at that conference remained a secret until revealed recently by various persons involved in it.

The top-ranking military and naval leaders in America favored from the beginning of their planning a cross-channel invasion of France at the earliest moment. The President, however, was "charmed" by a Mediterranean adventure. So was Churchill, but of a very different type. Secretary Stimson says that the Army's plan was for an operation called *BOLERO*—an invasion of France in 1943, with a proviso that in the event pressure on Russia became critical, a beachhead invasion of France in 1942 (called *Sledgehammer*) be undertaken. By April, 1942, Roosevelt approved the

BOLERO plan for 1943 and sent Hopkins and Marshall to London to sell it to Churchill, which they did.

On June 3, 1942, Lord Louis Mountbatten appeared as a White House guest. He spent much time with the President throwing cold water on BOLERO. Suddenly on June 17, the President summoned Stimson and Marshall. Roosevelt wanted to reopen his plan for an invasion of North Africa called GYMNAST. Marshall was primed with elaborate data and seemed to talk the President out of it for the moment. On June 19, Churchill arrived, informed as he was by Mountbatten, that Roosevelt was weakening on BOLERO. On June 21, there was what Stimson described as a "big pow-wow and fuss" at the White House. Churchill was there. Roosevelt hastily summoned Stimson, Marshall and other top-ranking military and naval men. Churchill agreed there must be an attack in 1943 but insisted on a Mediterranean and Balkan plan. Churchill, says Stimson, insisted Germany could be defeated by a series of attritions in Northern Italy, the Eastern Mediterranean, Greece, Balkans, Rumania and other satellite countries—then satellites of Hitler, now satellites of Stalin. Marshall took with him Colonel Al Wedemeyer of the War Plans Division, who was working on plans for the 1943 invasion. Wedemeyer presented the case against the Balkan invasion in 1943 so powerfully he convinced everyone, including Churchill, it was too hazardous. Operation BOLERO (1943 invasion of France), Operation GYMNAST (invasion of North Africa) and Churchill's plans were reviewed. Roosevelt stood by BOLERO, Churchill assented, the conference ended and Churchill went home.

Less than a month later, Stimson and Marshall learned that the British again were questioning BOLERO. Marshall was so outraged that he proposed to Stimson that the English be told flatly that as they "won't go through with what they agreed to, we will turn our backs on them and take up the war with Japan." Stimson agreed but merely as a bluff to bring the English around. The President assured them he "was sound on BOLERO." But Stimson felt he was still nursing a lingering preference for the North African operation.

Marshall, King and Hopkins were sent to London to decide on the strategy for 1943. The upshot of that was that Roosevelt's pet plan, GYMNAST (a North African invasion) was adopted. It was rechristened TORCH. It meant the end of BOLERO (a 1943 cross-channel invasion). The North African project would consume so much materiel that a French invasion in 1943 would be impossible. The 1943 French invasion was the "baby of the American War Department, approved by all its top-ranking generals and planners." Actually the British professional military staff in Washington also agreed to it. In turning to his own pet scheme—the North African invasion—and thus making the 1943 invasion of France impossible, Roosevelt acted against the advice of all his military and naval leaders. The invasion of Europe was put off for another year—until 1944.⁵⁸ Had it been carried through in 1943 as the military men demanded, the British and American forces would have had a full year longer to batter their way across France, into Germany and all Western Europe, including the satellite states—to take large areas Stalin was later to take. There would have been no divided Germany, no divided Poland. Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary and perhaps large parts of the Balkans would never have fallen into the clutches of Russia. The one chance of avoiding all those terrible conditions in Eastern Europe which later bedeviled us was thrown away. Either Churchill's Balkan proposals or Marshall's and Stimson's 1943 project might have accomplished this. Roosevelt's pet scheme of GYMNAST, which Churchill seized on as a means of defeating the 1943 invasion, ended any hope of seeing a victory map of Europe favorable to the ideas we were fighting for. Any statesman looking realistically into the future would have known what Russia's intentions were. The evidence was overwhelming. It was presented frequently by men who were rewarded for their pains with the smear of being fascists and Hitlerites. But Roosevelt had taken that incredible line of opinion and policy about Stalin which resulted in ruling out of his calculations the tremendous political consequences of a Russian victory before the Allies could liberate the conquered countries.

2. ROOSEVELT'S GREAT DESIGN AND CASABLANCA

It was January, 1943—at Casablanca—before the first great conference of the Big Three was set. Then it turned out to be a conference of the Big Two. Stalin refused to appear. And behind this lies a story which explains in a general way all that follows.

On September 24, 1941, a month after the Atlantic Charter was proclaimed, an inter-allied meeting was held in St. James Palace. Mr. Maisky, the Soviet Ambassador to Great Britain, said:

"The Soviet was and is guided in its foreign policy by the principle of the self-determination of nations. Accordingly the Soviet defends the right of every nation to the independence and territorial integrity of its country and its right to establish such a social order as it deems opportune and necessary for the promotion of its economic and cultural prosperity."⁵⁹

He then proclaimed Russia's agreement with the declaration of the Atlantic Charter.

Could anything be plainer? Yet surely Roosevelt must have reflected that in September, 1939, Stalin made a pact with Hitler under which he was given eastern Poland as the price of his perfidy. Our State Department knew that Soviet Russia had never ceased to assert her claim to these countries. Not long before the signing of the pact in London adhering to the Atlantic Charter, Anthony Eden had been in Moscow where he was confronted with a proposed Soviet-British-American agreement *recognizing Russia's claims to the Baltic states, Finland and the eastern half of Poland*. Assistant Secretary of State Berle knew of it and suggested it would be difficult for the small states to withstand the inevitable expansion of a great power after the war. The President himself admitted that the British government had approached him on the subject of Russia's claims on the Baltic states. Ambassador Halifax suggested to the Polish Ambassador in Washington that Russia "was not bluffing" and posed some arguments in support of her claims. Our Ambassador in London, Winant, was impressed with the reasonableness

of the Russian claims. Actually the British and Russians signed a treaty in May, 1942, and Secretary of State Hull told the Polish Ambassador, Jan Ciechanowski, that up to the last minute the concessions to Russia were included but were taken out at his insistence.⁶⁰

The Polish Premier, Sikorski, visited America and talked with Roosevelt. He told the President he feared the British would yield to Russia. Roosevelt said to him: "*I want you to understand, General, that the American government has not forgotten the Atlantic Charter.*"⁶¹ The situation was saved for the moment. But the point I am trying to make clear is that Roosevelt was fully informed of the ambitions that Russia was pressing so vigorously before the ink was dry on her explicit adoption of the Atlantic Charter.

Roosevelt must have known that Russia continued to plan to carry out her intentions. Already she had organized in Russia a collection of Red Polish expatriates as the foundation of that phony Lublin government which she ultimately set up over Poland. And in February, 1942 a score of American writers had published a statement supporting the claims Russia was making to these menaced countries.

The truth is that what Russia wanted was as plain as the mustache on Stalin's face. More than one American observer pointed out these aims. Early in the Spring of 1943, Demaree Bess, in the *Saturday Evening Post*,⁶² wrote a very clear prospectus of what Russia wanted. There had been a lot of foggy talk about the "great Russian mystery" and "Stalin, the Great Enigma." Bess pointed out what was perfectly obvious, that there was no enigma about Stalin and Russia. He confirmed the story that soon after being attacked the Russians revealed to the British their claims upon Poland and parts of Rumania. Sir Stafford Cripps and the conservative London *Times* both advocated their acceptance. And while, under pressure from Hull, the grant of these claims was omitted from the 1942 treaty between Britain and Russia, Russia never abandoned these claims.

Bess wrote: "Since they (the Russians) have made their desires so clear in negotiations with the Germans and later with the Brit-

ish, *nobody has any right to be surprised if the Russians move again into all the territories they occupied in 1939 and 1940 and incorporate them into the Soviet Union.*"

As to the war in the Pacific, Bess wrote: "It is clear that war in Europe will end before war in the Pacific. Russia will be at peace while we are still fighting. Is it likely she will enter the Pacific war? Why should she? Russia wants the defeat of Japan. But the United States will do that job. Stalin has shown that he does not involve his country in unnecessary wars. If they want any territories in the Far East they can come into the war whenever they like and take over any territories they desire as their share of the spoils." Russia, he said, "makes no pledges, demands a free hand in the post-war settlements in territories adjoining her borders and a full and equal partnership in world affairs when peace comes." A man took the risk of being called a fascist for making such statements in 1943.

Against all this what was Roosevelt's plan? We need be in no doubt about that. First of all, he had set up in his mind an objective which he called his "Great Design." Forrest Davis, writing in the *Saturday Evening Post*⁶³ an obviously White House-inspired article, described it. This Great Design was a union of the nations of the world in a great organization for peace at the end of the war. He would bring into being a United Nations. It would be modeled on our own inter-American system—a loose and flexible association without any surrender of sovereignty. It would have no police force of its own to enforce its authority but would depend on the air forces of its powerful partners. It would have to include Russia, and, to bring Russia in, she and all countries would have to submerge their ideological differences, subdue their racial grievances, their ancient ambitions and collaborate loyally with all other nations in the reorganization of Europe. And of course at the bottom of this association would be the principles of the Atlantic Charter. And at the very center of this "Great Design" was Roosevelt's belief that he could bring Stalin in as a sincere and willing collaborator in the post-war settlements.

As he saw it, Stalin was his great target. He began by completely deceiving himself about Stalin. First of all, he decided he must

cultivate Stalin's good will and to do this he convinced himself he must sell Stalin to our people. Accordingly the instruments of propaganda which he could influence—the radio and the movies and to a considerable degree, the press—were set to work upon the great task.

Under the influence of this benevolent atmosphere the Reds in New York and their compliant dupes, the fellow-travelers, swarmed into Washington and presently were sitting in positions of power or influence in the policy-making sections of the government. Joe Davies had been induced to go to Moscow, wrote his notorious "Mission to Moscow," a jumble of obvious fictions which were later transferred to the screen several times exaggerated and shot into millions of minds in movie houses. Commentators on the air—some outright Reds, some Reds at heart, some shallow tools of the Reds—poured out the propaganda for Red objectives seven days a week, 24 hours a day while the time on the air plus their own princely salaries were paid by the most conservative business houses of America—often induced to hire these Russian tools to please a government that exercised tremendous power over their affairs.

Let me repeat that, under the influence of the propaganda he had promoted, and reinforced by his own eagerness to please Stalin, no one in the country was more thoroughly deceived by it than Roosevelt himself. As soon as Russia was invaded Roosevelt sent Harry Hopkins to visit Stalin and to learn what he wanted. Averill Harriman, an agreeable but not too sagacious emissary, was sent to Stalin as American Ambassador. Hopkins made several visits. Roosevelt boasted that "Harry and Uncle Joe got on like a house afire. They have become buddies." Hopkins said it was ridiculous to think of Stalin as a Communist. He was a Russian nationalist. Harriman told various persons that Stalin was not at all a revolutionary Communist but just a Russian nationalist. He told the Polish Ambassador that not once in his conversations with Stalin did he indicate that the old Leninist policy of world revolution was still the aim of Stalinist Russia.⁶⁴ Both of them, Hopkins and Harriman, plus Joe Davies, were completely taken in and they in turn passed on their deceptions to Roosevelt, who swallowed them without salt. He, too,

assured visitors that Stalin was not a Communist at all but just a real Russian patriot.

Having satisfied himself on this point, Roosevelt decided he would force a meeting with Stalin, convince him of his own friendship, turn upon Stalin his disarming smile and break down with his famous charm the cold realism of that hard-bitten old tyrant. The notion that he could talk Stalin out of the age-old aims of the Russian government by turning on him his charming manner seems now, to say the least, a little naive.

The moment came, however, when he hoped he would get Stalin to expose himself to his seductions. In January, Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to meet with their respective military advisers at Casablanca. Not until just before they got to Casablanca were they sure Stalin would not appear. When Elliott Roosevelt arrived the first question to his father was: "Is he coming?" Later Roosevelt said: "I have tried five times to see that man and he has always eluded me." ⁶⁵

Stalin did not elude Roosevelt because he feared to face his charm. It was his inflexible purpose not to make any commitments to anyone. He pursued a relentless line of demands upon Roosevelt and Churchill. He wanted that second front. He said he was fighting Hitler alone, Russia was throwing millions into the battles; the Allies were merely promising. When would they make good? He wanted allied armies in France and he wanted lend-lease and more lend-lease. He kept the American military mission in a state of continuous apology and explanation. When Molotov or any other Russian was questioned about Poland and the Baltic states and the war, he simply said he had no authority to talk about them. And Uncle Joe, as Roosevelt always referred to him, refused to show up. Meanwhile time was running against Roosevelt. He deferred every other effort in favor of his hope to meet Stalin personally and talk him into his "Great Design"—his One World with its arrangement for perpetual peace. It was January, 1943, when Churchill and Roosevelt met at Casablanca. Two full years had been wasted, instead of applying to Stalin the only pressure he could understand. All he could hope for in arms and material aid he got as fast as we

could get them to him without laying down a single condition. Now the Russian armies were pushing the invaders back. Roosevelt's hands were weakened and Stalin's were strengthened. So at Casablanca, Roosevelt and Churchill discussed getting more goods and aid to Russia without any conditions. They discussed the rift between DeGaulle and General Giraud and settled it by getting them to shake hands before the camera. There was a great theatrical display and when the conference ended the President sailed for Dakar in Africa and then to Brazil where he and Vargas put on a Roman display to the huzzas of the people.

3. FIRST QUEBEC CONFERENCE

Once again the leaders met to confer. This time it was August 17, 1943 at Quebec and once again it was the Big Two and not the Big Three. Once again the great war spectacle went into action—clouds of planes, fleets of ships, a huge cast of brass. Churchill and Roosevelt and their foreign ministers, Eden and Hull, were there. So was Harry Hopkins.

This conference had been originally scheduled to meet at Manitoulin Island in Lake Huron with Stalin in the party. But Stalin was too busy managing his war. Besides, as Churchill observed, Stalin had nothing to say to these men but one thing—second front! There was the big front in Italy and the tremendous war from the air on Germany. But Stalin did not admit that the bombing of Germany from London or the Italian drive were second fronts. Some of his under-strappers became actually offensive. And as for conferences, he was too busy managing his great armies in Russia. Moreover the tide was running his way. The Russians were driving the Germans before them now. And all that Stalin wanted was allied soldiers in France, and guns, tanks, planes, munitions for his own armies. The latter he got in vast quantities *without any conditions being annexed to the grants*.

At this time Italy was prostrate. Mussolini had quit and fled to the North. Badoglio was made chief of the ramshackle remnants of the Italian state. Crowds in the streets of Rome were crying for peace. Italian surrender would have come sooner but for the policy

of "unconditional surrender" adopted by Roosevelt and Churchill. The beaten and terrified Italian leaders feared to surrender unconditionally not knowing what their own fate would be because of the dire prophecies of punishment for all the guilty collaborators in the Nazi aggression. Thus the Italian war dragged on, adding to the death toll of Italian and American soldiers every day surrender was postponed. Italy did actually surrender on September 8.

The Italian debacle had altered materially the face of things in Europe. Now that Italy was beaten, Churchill came forward again with his plans for a Balkan invasion. The military obstacles that were truly great while Italy was in the war were now immensely reduced. Churchill believed an allied invasion could be made through Yugoslavia. But Stalin was as much as ever opposed to such an adventure and he had been making this opposition known vehemently. Roosevelt was determined to do nothing to displease Stalin. The moment was near at hand, he hoped, to bring that gentleman across the table from him and to induce him to discard his ruthless ambitions in east Europe and to come peacefully into the "Great Design." It has been reported that Churchill at Quebec sought to convince Roosevelt to take a more realistic line with Stalin, but without effect. Indeed by this time, as we shall see, the mere project of a meeting with Stalin had become a kind of objective in itself, for which Roosevelt seemed willing to risk the most important considerations. He had now persuaded the Russian leader to agree to a conference of the foreign ministers. In fact, Hull and Eden, while at Quebec, were making arrangements to go to Moscow to meet Molotov. Roosevelt was expecting great things from this prologue to the ultimate grand conclave of the Big Three where he would pin Stalin down.

4. HULL'S GREAT TRIUMPH AT MOSCOW

The next act in this great tragi-comedy was Mr. Hull's conference in Moscow. Hull, Molotov and Eden sat down together and talked about some pressing matters. Nothing was known of what occurred until Mr. Hull returned. And when on November 10, 1943 he came back to Washington, it was as a conquering hero.

The newspapers broke out in a lurid rash of headlines proclaiming his magnificent success. "HULL RETURNING IN TRIUMPH FINDS PRESIDENT AT AIRPORT" was the New York *Times* headline. "The whole welcome had the air of a triumphal return which indeed it was," ran the *Times*' story. Senator Byrd said "Secretary Hull has achieved a diplomatic triumph almost beyond belief."

On November 18, 1943, amid an elaborately arranged appearance before a joint session of the Congress, the Secretary told of his meeting with Molotov and Eden. Russia, Britain and the United States had pledged themselves to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion. They recognized the necessity of establishing an international organization. They agreed to consult with each other until this was done. They agreed further that after hostilities they would not use their military forces in other states except after joint consultation.

All this, as we now know, was pure show. There had been no triumph. It was a deliberate deception of the American people and they, along with Congress, were thoroughly taken in by it. No mention had been made of the only really controversial question that had intruded itself on this unequal contest of men in Moscow. That was the question concerning those countries in eastern Europe, particularly Poland, whose fate, should Russia occupy them, was a subject of grave concern.

It was also a subject of grave political concern to Mr. Roosevelt who by this time was thinking in terms of 1944 and his ambition to be elected for a fourth term. The votes of American citizens of Polish birth and descent, to say nothing of great numbers of Lithuanians, Greeks and peoples of other Balkan ancestries who had supported him were a matter of very immediate importance. As we have seen, these votes are powerful altogether out of proportion to their numbers because they are centered in a number of great industrial areas where they can, in certain circumstances, hold the balance of power when they act in unity. By this time the Russian armies had forced the Germans back to the banks of the Dnieper. Hitler was still in possession of the Baltic states, all of the Balkans and of Poland. But it was evident that the time was not far distant when

Stalin's general would approach the Baltic and Polish borders. American Poles and Baltic peoples were nervous about Stalin's intentions in these menaced lands.

The day before Hull had left for Moscow he had sent for Mr. Ciechanowski, the Polish Ambassador. He wanted an exchange of views with the Ambassador. The Ambassador told him the Polish government wanted some arrangement that would protect Poland against the danger when Russian armies should occupy their country. It felt that as soon as the Russians entered Poland, the Polish government-in-exile in London should be brought back to Warsaw. The Polish army and government should occupy Poland and continue to collaborate with the Russians. Mr. Ciechanowski appealed to Mr. Hull for a guarantee by the United States and Britain of Polish territorial integrity and independence.

Hull agreed with this. He shared the Ambassador's apprehensions about Russia's plans. The Ambassador warned him against the wiles of Russian diplomacy. But the aged Secretary smiled and said he was not likely to be taken in by such methods. In bidding the Ambassador good-bye, Hull assured him *"he was decided to defend the cause of Poland as he would defend the cause of his own country."* Actually, Hull was a sick man. He told friends that, in the last analysis, despite his poor health and the difficulties of the voyage, it was the Polish question which had decided him to make the trip. He declared he felt "he had to defend Poland to the death."

When Hull returned to Washington it was natural that the Polish Ambassador should be eager to know what had happened. Presently whisperings were heard around the State Department that Hull had to make some serious sacrifices at Moscow. Some White House officials told the Ambassador that the account of Mr. Hull's triumph was much exaggerated. He learned that Harry Hopkins had said to a friend that "we are prostrate about the Moscow conference." Ciechanowski sought him out and Hopkins confirmed it. Then why all the enthusiasm about the conference? Ciechanowski put that question to Hopkins. "Perhaps," he answered, "we want to show the Soviets we harbor no suspicions of their conduct."

There were other rumors that Poland and the Baltic states had been sacrificed at Moscow.

But Hull kept himself incommunicado until he addressed Congress. The next day he received the Polish Ambassador. Then he talked with the air of a man who felt explanations were needed. He said he found himself in an unfamiliar setting. He had to discuss a lot of problems with a partner—Molotov—who was, to say the least, difficult. Besides he did not know him very well. He felt he had to create a favorable atmosphere and he had done that. He had gone to Moscow feeling that his “main aim was to bring about the establishment of Soviet-Polish relations.” In talking with Molotov he had tried to impress that on him. He admitted that he got nowhere with Molotov, who would not even discuss the matter unless the Poles were ready to acknowledge territorial changes. The Soviets were taking advantage of their military position and regarded the subject as solved in their favor. Then came the truth. *He had not even discussed the subject. The Russians wouldn't even talk about it.* Mr. Ciechanowski reported that Hull “faced with the choice of forcing the discussion or putting it off to future meetings, he thought it more judicious to take the latter course.” Such was his triumph.

Mr. Ciechanowski asked the Secretary point-blank if the optimism that had been spread in Washington was justified. Hull replied that his effort at initiating a good understanding had been successful but “he certainly didn't think anyone could draw optimistic conclusions from it.” And then this aged, tired and ailing old man who had been exploited perhaps without his full consent as the hero of a great diplomatic victory, said pathetically that “he had tried to take the Soviets by the hand and lead them along the way to understanding.”⁶⁶

What did Stalin think when Molotov had sent Hull away empty-handed and then witnessed the American President and Congress celebrating the incident as a great triumph? He knew now he was dealing with weak partners who could be pushed around at will.

The conference concerned itself with military matters also and Major General John R. Deane,⁶⁷ head of the American military

mission, was there with a staff. Fortunately, General Deane is undoubtedly a man with a sense of humor and we owe to him much of what we know about the caviar and vodka aspects of the great Russian conferences. This one opened with a luncheon. Around the board sat the gentlemen who were, when the feast ended, to sit around another board to discuss some of the gravest issues affecting the destiny of the world. On the vast table were bottles of vodka, wines, liqueurs in profusion. Then came a succession of courses, borsch, fish, roasts and so on. Before the borsch was down, Molotov was up with his glass and a toast. Then followed a succession of toasts in which the eminent statesmen toasted Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt and then each other and then almost everyone at the table, together with such abstract ideas as Peace and Justice and Victory. They drank bottoms up. The liqueurs flowed, the good cheer rose, the eloquence glowed. General Deane frankly confesses in his entertaining book that at the end he was goggle-eyed and that old Mother Russia, as he beheld her through vodka-tinted glasses, presented a very rosy picture.

From this feast, loaded with victuals and vodka, the remodelers of the new world rose around four in the afternoon and walked across the hall to the conference room, where around another board they assembled to begin their deliberations. Hull and Eden and Molotov were there, plus Vishinsky, the famous purge prosecutor, Marshal Voroshiloff and the numerous staffs of all the ministers. Hull, however, being ill, did not attend any of the feasts. Russia had one question—second front. General Deane, gradually emerging from the warm fumes of the vodka, armed with maps and charts, answered the question. The second front would be, as Stalin wished it, through France. It had been fixed for a somewhat earlier day but had had to be put off. He described in realistic terms the effects of the strafing of Germany. The whole discussion, he writes, began in an atmosphere of suspicion, but he had photographs to prove his points and the Russians were satisfied. But when is the second front coming? In the Spring. Yes, but when in the Spring? Finally the General said in May. This finally suited the Russians.

When the whole conference ended there was a banquet given

by Stalin—a gargantuan feast that made the first luncheon look like a slight barroom snack. There was one incident which must not be overlooked. At one point General Deane was called to rise, drink bottoms up and deliver his toast. He did. To his amazement, Stalin left his chair, walked around the diners to the General who, glowing with vodka, beheld himself standing face to face with the most famous man in the world, clinking glasses with him and receiving his approval in a rumble of Slavic gutturals. The General, speaking of the whole affair later, had to allow that Uncle Joe was a very nice fellow. As we work through the numerous eye-witness accounts of these Russian affairs we will find that one after another of our American agents who went to Moscow went through the same exhilarating experience as the General. They beheld themselves standing clinking glasses with the mighty Dictator of all the Russians. He even put his arm around some of them. It was too much for them. With the steam of the vodka in their brains and the hand of the dictator on their shoulder, they one and all had to confess that Uncle Joe was a swell guy.

As Hull set out for home, Roosevelt was making ready for his journey to the next conference, which was scheduled for Cairo between himself, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek. When Hull got home he had one thing to report to Roosevelt which the President looked upon as a real victory. Hull had made an appointment—at least a tentative one—for Stalin to meet Roosevelt and Churchill at Teheran in Iran, following the Cairo meeting. This was great news to the President. He would get the Russian dictator across the table from him at last.

5. CAIRO AND TEHERAN

A.—CAIRO

President Roosevelt left for Cairo in November, 1943. He was still not sure he would meet Stalin. He told his Secret Service guard, Mike Reilly,⁶⁸ that he was going to Cairo and “hoped” to meet Stalin at Teheran. He left on the battleship *Iowa* for Oran and went from there to Cairo by plane. He was accompanied by

General Eisenhower, Admiral Leahy, Admiral McIntire, Harry Hopkins and a considerable staff. At Cairo the numerous British and American staffs were quartered in various hotels and villas outside Cairo around the site of the Pyramids. Roosevelt took up his quarters in the villa of the American Ambassador. At the time allied armies were moving on Rome. Allied production of planes, ships, guns, tanks was reaching its peak. And Roosevelt was greatly relieved when Andrei Vishinsky called on him at Ambassador Kirk's to say that Marshal Stalin would leave his troops for a few days to be with Roosevelt and Churchill at Teheran.

At Cairo, Roosevelt and Churchill met General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. As Stalin had an alliance with Japan and was not at war with her, he was not asked to Cairo. The conference between Roosevelt and Chiang lasted from November 22 to 26. When it ended the inevitable communique announced that they had agreed upon military plans against Japan with increasing pressure and without desire for territorial expansion, which was not news. More to the point was the announced agreement to strip Japan of all the territories and islands in the Pacific which she had conquered or occupied in World Wars I and II, to drive her out of the vast provinces she had stolen from China, to restore freedom and independence to Korea and to force Japan to unconditional surrender.

As always, the important things were not disclosed. Roosevelt told his son, Elliott, that Chiang had not been fighting the Japs seriously but instead was using his armies to fight the Chinese Communist army.⁶⁹ Here we must note that the real nature of the aggression of Japan in China was never made clear to the American people. It was in fact intentionally obscured. The Japanese did not fight China in order to seize all China. They wanted Manchuria in the North. Manchuria is the great storehouse of natural resources in China. It was Chinese. Japan wanted those resources and her purpose was to set up there the kind of government Stalin would later set up in Yugoslavia and Poland. *It is important to keep in mind that there never was a time when China could not have made peace with Japan by agreeing to let Manchuria go, to be ruled by a Manchurian puppet of Japan.*

However, Russia also wanted Manchuria. She did not want to incorporate this rich province into Russia. She wanted to do what Japan wanted to do. She wanted a Communist puppet government there. She wanted to assist in its conquest by Chinese Communists just as Yugoslavia was conquered by Yugoslavian Communists under Tito, a puppet of Stalin. For a long time these Chinese Communist armies under Mao-Tse and Chu-Teh had been pushing their Red army toward Manchuria poised to enter and seize it the moment the Japanese were driven out. In fact, they wished to perform the service of driving them out and occupying Manchuria.

Chiang, of course, was much opposed to this as he was to the Japanese aggression. And for an obvious reason. Chiang was using all his military power to defeat these Communist armies. What would he gain by driving the Japanese out of Manchuria merely to open it to the Communists? But what we denounced in Japan as a heinous aggression, our government was willing to condone in Russia.

At this time we were selling Russia on a grand scale to the American people. Russian agents and sympathizers, native and foreign, had inserted themselves into all of the instruments of propaganda, where they kept up a steady offensive against the minds of the American people. At this moment what they wanted was to compel Chiang to stop fighting the Communists and to take them in fact into his own government, where, with our aid and Russia's, they would soon perform on Chiang the same job that Tito performed on Mikhailovitch and that the Polish "Committee of Liberation" performed on Sikorski and Mikolajczyk. All this they compressed into one of those fatal sloganized arguments with which, during the war, they did such terrible work upon our minds. They called it "Unity in China." The glorious achievements of Mao-Tse and Chu-Teh were sounded daily in radio commentaries. Edgar Snow, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, praised the work of the Communist army which he presented under the euphemistic name of the Partisan army, which fell easier upon American ears. What Stalin wanted and what Mr. Snow and those of his school wanted in China was inadvertently given away in that article in the following sentences:

"The situation in China is *somewhat similar to that in Yugoslavia*, (italics added) with the Chinese Partisans led by General Chu-Teh and Mao-Tse-Tung corresponding to Marshal Tito and his following and the policy of Chungking being the same which Mikhailovitch and King Peter tried to enforce toward Yugoslav guerillas.

"In Yugoslavia, we and the British now actively aid Tito, simply because his forces actively fight the Axis, but in Asia we have so far given no official recognition to the Chu-Mao armies, which offer the only armed opposition to the Japanese in North China."⁷⁰

And so Roosevelt secretly demanded of Chiang Kai-shek that he take the Communists into his government, quit opposition to the Communist army which might then take Manchuria for the benefit of Stalin. In return, and behind Churchill's back, he pledged to Chiang that he would keep the British out of Hong Kong and other ports where they were formerly entrenched.⁷¹

B.—TEHERAN

Leaving Cairo, Roosevelt and his party flew 60 miles to Teheran, the capital of Iran, where at last he was to achieve his dream of meeting the Russian dictator. Churchill and his immediate staff were housed at the British embassy. But Roosevelt was taken to the Russian embassy. The Russian secret police had convinced Mike Reilly, Roosevelt's bodyguard, that this was essential to Roosevelt's safety in a neutral country swarming with Nazi spies.

The conference of the Big Three lasted from November 28 to December 1. When it ended the world learned what the communique told it. Once again "they had met, they had talked, they had resolved." Resolved what? They would work together. They had concerted plans that would guarantee victory. They would forge a peace after the war that would command the good will of the world and banish the scourge of war for generations. They had surveyed the future. They would seek the cooperation of all nations opposed to slavery and intolerance in the Family of Nations. Then a cryptic boast about what they would do to Germany on land, at sea and in the air. And of course they looked to the day when all peoples would live untouched by tyranny and according to their desires and con-

sciences. "We came with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit and in purpose."

That is all the world knew about it and when the President returned to America it was amidst the usual demonstrations of triumph. All the publicity revealed him as the great figure dominating the conference, enforcing his plans, imposing his will upon his two powerful colleagues.

But little by little the curtain has been drawn aside and we have been allowed a peep into the councils of the great men who met and talked and proclaimed at Teheran. As they met Roosevelt was eager. He was going to charm Stalin by exhibiting at every turn a desire to agree with him, even at the expense of disagreeing with Churchill. In an obviously White House-inspired article, Forrest Davis⁷² wrote that Roosevelt purposely pursued a soft policy toward Stalin, and that he avoided from the beginning giving the slightest offense to him. He complied with every wish of Stalin's as readily as possible. He believed that Russia could organize her vast powers and that, when victorious, she could be brought into the family of nations. He was convinced that the thing Russia needed most was peace. And he believed that Stalin was far more interested in Russia's national welfare than in Marxian socialism. Of course Stalin's desire for those eastern European countries which he seemed planning to seize under one pretext or another was based on a natural desire to ensure friendly and peaceful states on Russia's borders. But when the world organization would be formed with Stalin in it, Roosevelt thought Stalin would no longer have anything to fear from his neighbors in this brave new world organized for security and that he would freely release the peoples he was seeking to take over.

Roosevelt proposed to do a little educational work on Stalin. He gave him two long lectures—one on our federal system and one on our good neighbor policy. He stressed how we had such good neighbors because we had no aggressive ambitions against our Central and South American friends. Of course Stalin listened to all this with approval. He assured Roosevelt he had no desire to "own all Europe." Russia, only half-populated, had plenty to do at home without interfering with her neighbors.

In order to avoid irritating disputes, Roosevelt arrived at the incredible conclusion that it was more important to have a reciprocal spirit among the Big Three than specific compacts. His purpose was to *build Uncle Joe into a good neighbor, a better democrat and a good fellow.*

Stalin, on the other hand, had a definite collection of objectives to attain. He would reach them either in definite compacts to secure those objectives or, where possible, without bothering with his allies. What he wanted was as clear as day. He wanted the Baltic states, East Poland, parts of Rumania and he wanted puppet governments in West Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Greece and, of course in Korea and Manchuria. His policy was to commit himself to nothing, to admit nothing and to demand and demand and demand—and to keep Roosevelt, particularly, in fear of his making a separate peace and in a state of continuous apology for not opening a second front. He wanted that front and he wanted it in France. His armies were approaching the very territories he proposed to take and when he entered them he intended to hold them and organize them to suit himself. Nobody but an infatuated man could fail to perceive all this. Stalin saw that in Roosevelt he was dealing with an easy mark and he played him to the top of his bent.

Churchill, a far more experienced diplomat than Roosevelt and also far more realistic, wanted to save from Stalin's grasp as much of the southern Balkans as possible. He was determined to prevent Stalin from realizing the old Russian dream of a Russian-controlled outlet on the Mediterranean. He was willing to sacrifice Poland for this. He wanted to see the allied armies go into the continent through the Balkans in order that they would be in possession of as much of those countries in the south—Greece, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Austria and whatever else they could take—before the Russians got in. Besides, it was now too late to beat the Russians into Poland and the Baltic. Churchill was not fooled by Stalin and Stalin knew it and that is why they were at each other's throats during the several conferences.

As these three men sat down to confer, two of them, Stalin and

Churchill, were realists with their eyes fixed on definite objectives in the interest of their respective governments. They wanted specific and realizable things. Roosevelt deceived himself into believing that the mere meeting of himself and Stalin was "half his battle" as he told Elliott, and that, for the rest, he wanted to create a condition of mutual trust and understanding. *Specific agreements about the post-war world could wait, trusting to mutual good will to provide the desired solutions.*⁷³

Major General Deane, who was at all the conferences as the head of the U.S. Military Mission, wrote:

"Stalin appeared to know just what he wanted at the conference. This was also true of Churchill, *but not of Roosevelt . . .* His apparent indecision was probably the result of our obscure foreign policy." (*Italics added*)⁷⁴

General Deane points out that Roosevelt was thinking of winning the war but that Stalin and Churchill were thinking of *their relative positions when the war was won*. Stalin got everything he wanted—everything without any exceptions. Churchill did not, because Roosevelt, in pursuit of his vain policy, sided with Stalin against Churchill. Roosevelt got nothing, as we shall see. He got, of course, the United Nations. But this had already been settled on before he went to Teheran. And what is more this was no victory because Stalin got the United Nations precisely on his own terms and in a form that has enabled him to put his finger into every problem in the world and to completely frustrate the British and Americans in every effort to introduce order, peace and security. Roosevelt did not get what he believed to be his objective because he made it clear he had to have Stalin's free and wholehearted support in the United Nations or it would be a failure from the start. Forrest Davis commented that Stalin acted with dash, Roosevelt with tardy improvisation. Stalin keyed *his "great design"* to control those sectors of eastern Europe which he wanted in his orbit. Roosevelt put all his eggs in one basket—his world organization scheme for which apparently he was prepared to sacrifice everything else, including the very things a world organization was expected to ensure. Meantime Stalin and Molotov did not

shrink from lying or indulging in double talk and Roosevelt was foolish enough to believe them. At home Roosevelt's Red and pink collaborators and his closest consultants were busy pouring out Soviet propaganda. Harry Hopkins never tired of plugging for his friend Stalin. Henry Wallace, then Vice-President, was talking about encouraging a people's revolution in Europe to advance the cause of the common man. Tito was being glorified in American magazines by Red and pink writers and others who were just plain dupes. Stalin himself and the Soviet government were offered to the American people in new and happy colors until, as James F. Byrnes⁷⁵ conceded, as the war neared its end Russia occupied a place in the good will of the American people exceeding that of any other ally. All this had been instigated and urged by Roosevelt himself. And no one knew it better than Stalin.

The President was eager to have Russia join in the war in the Pacific, according to General Deane. Stalin explained that Soviet forces in the East would have to be increased threefold before an offensive could be undertaken and this could not be done until Germany was defeated. "Then," he said, "by our common front we shall win." That is as much as Roosevelt got.

Once again Churchill brought up the question of shifting the invasion effort from the west coast of France to the Balkans. He wanted to hurry the Italian invasion by amphibious landings in the North and on the Northeast Adriatic aimed at the Danube Valley, an operation in the Aegean aimed at Rhodes or the Dodecanese and operations in and from Turkey if she would come into the war. General Deane says that Churchill wanted the Anglo-American forces in the Balkans as well as the Russians and he suggests that Churchill's foresight was later approved by our hindsight. There can be no doubt that the invasion of the French coast was a less formidable undertaking than an invasion of the Balkans when the subject was first considered. Our opportunity to get into France in 1943 had been thrown away by Roosevelt's agreement to yield to Churchill against all his military advisers. But the African invasion had gone more swiftly than was hoped for when launched, though the Italian operation had been troublous. Now, however, that Italy was suc-

cessfully invaded and the guerilla forces in Yugoslavia were so strong the question of the Balkan invasion took on added significance. Churchill urged it now with fresh vigor. But Stalin was adamant against it and this was enough reason for Roosevelt to object. Moreover, time was now running heavily against Roosevelt and Churchill. Stalin's armies were winging their way toward his territorial objectives.⁷⁶

Roosevelt had made his first mistake when Hitler attacked Stalin in 1941. He rushed Hopkins and Harriman to Stalin, to ask Uncle Joe what he wanted. We agreed to send him \$1,500,000,000 of lend-lease without any condition whatever. That precious moment when the Russian armies were being driven back like cattle before Hitler's onrushing legions, when Stalin lacked everything save men, was thrown away by Roosevelt. Then was the time to force the conditions. General Deane, who remained in Moscow and saw the whole show, says Harry Hopkins carried out his collaboration with Stalin with a zeal approaching fanaticism.⁷⁷ Now Stalin wanted no Anglo-American armies in the Balkans and he wanted that second front at once. The second front was agreed on to be launched in France about May, 1944.

Then came the question of Poland, the Baltic states and Finland. Stalin said he had not decided whether he would incorporate the Baltic states into the Soviet or make them into independent (puppet) states. But it was clear that *he* would make the decision and for his own reasons. On Poland, Roosevelt could get no direct answer. Finally Churchill switched the question to Poland's Russian boundaries and suggested that the Curzon line, which is practically the same as the Stalin-Ribbentrop line agreed on between those two worthies when they decided to partition Poland. This meant Poland was to be split in two. Actually this was agreed on. But what about the fate of what was left of Poland? There was silence on that. In fact the President had gotten a complete brush-off on Poland and had taken it with complete composure.⁷⁸

Here, too, Yugoslavia was yielded up to Stalin. And Marshal Tito was given the favor of the Big Three as against Mikhailovitch—one of the most appalling tragedies of the war. Stalin did not have to

move his finger to accomplish this. It was an inside job—a job done in London inside the Foreign Office and in America inside the White House. The German army in 1940 invaded Yugoslavia and swiftly reduced it to submission. Its occupation, however, was never complete. Yugoslavia is populated by three peoples—the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes. The Serbs are by far the most populous. Shortly after the invasion the world began to hear of a Chetnik underground army under heroic Colonel Draja Mikhailovitch, a brilliant officer in the then dispersed Yugoslavian forces. At a later date a new name appeared, that of Josef Broz Tito, a Croat who had spent much time in Russia and became a member of the Communist party there, returning to Yugoslavia and functioning as a leader of the small Communist party. The world is familiar with the struggle between these two underground native armies—Communist and non-Communist.⁷⁹

In the United States and Great Britain powerful influences inside both governments, operating under the tolerance extended to the Reds, got the confidence of both Churchill and Roosevelt. Leading American newspapers and magazines, deceived by government propaganda, threw themselves on the side of the Communist Tito. The most active individual with his pen was Louis Adamic,⁸⁰ a more or less professional Yugoslavian in America. He had access to the ear of Mrs. Roosevelt. He was a dinner guest at the White House. He kept up an incessant pressure at every point he could reach. He got a chance to tell President and Mrs. Roosevelt about the fine and truly democratic movement led by Tito. He had a very intimate association with the Office of War Information which was crawling with Communists and their current stooges. At the same time Mikhailovitch was berated as a fraud, as an ineffectual interloper with so little backing that Hitler offered a reward of 100,000 marks for Tito's head but nothing for Mikhailovitch's, which was a lie.

These libels on Mikhailovitch and these exaltations of Tito were repeated in other magazines. Frank Gervasi in *Collier's* wrote how Tito led 250,000 men while Mikhailovitch had no more than 10,000. The Yugoslav government-in-exile in London supported Mikhailovitch. This embarrassed the British Foreign Office in its dealings

with the implacable Stalin. Hence the British Broadcasting Company was closed to the Yugoslav government-in-exile and a little later put at the disposal of Tito and his Partisans. Churchill allowed himself to be swayed for Tito. Roosevelt in 1942 had paid tribute to Mikhailovitch and his daring men. But at Teheran, as part of the policy of appeasing Stalin, the two Western leaders deserted Mikhailovitch completely and yielded to Russia. Shortly after Teheran, Churchill in a speech (February, 1944) indicated that the allies were no longer sending supplies to Mikhailovitch. Two months later King Peter was forced to dismiss Premier Purich, which meant his whole cabinet in which Mikhailovitch was Minister of War. The Communist Subasich was made Prime Minister. The complete victory of Tito with the aid of the subsequent Russian invasion and American supplies is well known. Well known—and with shame—is the tragic story of Mikhailovitch who was shot as a traitor by Tito.

Roosevelt got nothing. He agreed with Stalin on everything—the second front in France, no attack through the Balkans, the surrender of eastern Poland, the desertion of Mikhailovitch, the sacrifice of the Baltic states. Above all, he had revealed himself to Stalin as a compliant ally. Stalin must have wondered why Roosevelt was yielding to him on everything so swiftly.

There was still something more to be settled. Stalin had engineered Roosevelt into living in the Soviet embassy although the American embassy was available. He had done this by exploiting the danger to the President from German spies. Roosevelt was, of course, in no greater danger than the British Prime Minister. The success of Stalin's maneuver in this matter was soon to become clear. Later Roosevelt told his son Elliott that "in between times Uncle Joe and I had a few words, too—just the two of us." As Stalin's guest in the Russian embassy, Roosevelt was accessible for a secret talk or two without Churchill's knowledge. One of these dealt with the Chinese Communist issue. Roosevelt told Elliott we couldn't do much about that "while Winnie was around." He brought up the question of a common front against the British on the matter of Hongkong, Shanghai and Canton. Chiang, Roosevelt told Stalin, was worried about what Russia would do in Manchuria. Roosevelt

and Stalin agreed that Manchuria would remain with China and that Stalin and he would back Chiang against the British. Referring to this, Roosevelt confided to Elliott that "the biggest thing was in making clear to Stalin that the United States and Great Britain were not in one common block against the Soviet Union."⁸¹ After that, the way must have seemed wide open to Stalin for all his plans. Here was Roosevelt suggesting a secret deal between himself and Stalin against Churchill, just as he had suggested a secret deal between himself and Chiang against Churchill and as he was later to make another secret deal between himself and Stalin against Chiang.

He was to have a golden opportunity to convince Stalin of this attitude before he quit Teheran. Roosevelt gave a dinner the first evening, Stalin the next and Churchill on the final evening at the British embassy. At Stalin's dinner the guests gave themselves over to the victuals and the vodka in a big way. Elliott Roosevelt tells how Stalin thrust a barbed shaft into Churchill's temper. In one of his numerous toasts he raised his glass and said: "To the swiftest possible justice for all Germany's war criminals—justice before a firing squad. I drink to our unity in dispatching them as fast as we catch them, all of them, and there must be at least 50,000 of them."

Churchill flushed, leaped to his feet. He declared that any such mass murder was contrary to the British sense of justice. He was opposed to anybody, Nazis or anyone else, going before a firing squad without a proper legal trial.

Certainly no American could take exception to that and no decent American could endorse the sentiments of Stalin. Churchill having taken up the challenge, Roosevelt might have been well advised to remain out of it or, if he intervened, to either support Churchill or, in any case, attempt to mollify both men. Instead he said in a jocular vein: "Clearly there must be some compromise . . . Perhaps we could say that instead of summarily executing 50,000 we should settle on a smaller number, say 49,500." The Americans and Russians laughed. The British remained silent "in the presence of Churchill's mounting fury." Stalin was delighted. He took up the cue and pressed the matter. He called on everyone present for an opinion. He got around to Elliott who was flushed with liquor, as he admits,

and who rose "unsteadily to his feet." Elliott said "Our armies will settle the matter for most of those 50,000 and perhaps a hundred thousand more." Stalin, greatly pleased, walked around the table to Elliott, put his arm around his shoulder and drank to his health. Churchill, infuriated, rushed to Elliott, shaking his finger in his face and crying: "Are you interested in damaging relations between the allies? Do you know what you are saying? How can you dare to say such a thing?" Elliott says he had good reason to believe Churchill never forgot the incident but that his father was greatly amused by it.⁸² It was a happy opportunity for him to add, by an amusing incident, to the proofs he was giving that he and Stalin, like Hopkins and Stalin, were buddies.

The following evening there was a dinner at the British embassy on the occasion of Churchill's birthday. The Prime Minister put the incident aside and appeared in his most joyous humor, actually entertaining the guests by doing a highland fling. Czechoslovakia's disappearance in 1939 into the darkness of Hitler's tyranny had called forth doleful eloquence from Mr. Churchill. Now the disappearance of Poland and the four little Baltic states behind the dark iron curtain of Stalin's tyranny was made to the flowing beakers of vodka and the merry shouts of the happy chieftains who were arranging the affairs of the brave new world.

C.—CAIRO AGAIN

The triumph at Teheran completed, Roosevelt returned to Cairo where a few loose ends in the tattered garments of the world were yet to be tied up. There was a further meeting with the combined chiefs of staff where General Marshall was directed to announce to General Eisenhower the President's decision to name him supreme commander in the West. Incidentally, Mr. Stimson later corrected Elliott Roosevelt's version of this. Elliott says his father wanted to name Marshall supreme commander but Churchill objected. Mr. Stimson says Churchill wanted Marshall but that Roosevelt himself made the choice of Eisenhower.⁸³ President Inonu of Turkey was delivered to Cairo for a two-hour conference with Roosevelt and Churchill. Stalin had wanted Turkey in the war. He wanted the

provinces of Kars and Ardahan and he wanted the Straits opened and kept under his protection. This meant Russian troops on Turkish soil. Inonu was willing to come in but not on these terms. Churchill wanted Turkey in, but not on Russia's terms. In the end it was decided at Cairo that Turkey would not enter the war but that the decision should be hidden behind some double talk in the communiqué.

With this Roosevelt's great labors abroad were over. He told Elliott he was anxious to get home. But he did not go directly. He went to Malta and then to Sicily and was photographed there presenting a medal to General Clark. Then he flew to Dakar, boarded the *Iowa* and sailed for home and Christmas with his family at Hyde Park. His return was welcomed with the usual blast of glorification for the great victory at Teheran.

On January 4, Stalin's victorious legions swept into Poland. A tremor of doubt and fear went through the diplomatic representatives of Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece. What agreement had Roosevelt been able to wring from Stalin before he could set foot upon the soil of the Balkan countries? They besieged Hull for some information. But he had to confess that Roosevelt tried to raise the question but met no encouragement from Stalin. It is doubtful if Hull really knew. However, on January 11, Stalin announced the incorporation of the eastern half of Poland into the Ribbentrop-Molotov line (now rechristened the Curzon line). But what would he do with the western half of Poland? Stalin praised his Red-sponsored Union of Polish Patriots made up of former Poles living in Russia. There was an ominous portent in that. On February 22, Churchill made a speech in the Commons in which he said that Poland must make territorial concessions to Russia. The Polish, Baltic and Balkan diplomats in Washington could not get to Roosevelt. He was either away from Washington, ill, or too busy with the coming second front. The Polish Ambassador tried to arrange a meeting for the new Polish premier Mikolajczyk. But he was put off for one reason or another. He did not succeed in arranging an audience for Mikolajczyk until June.

By this time the President's fourth-term nomination and ap-

proaching election were at hand. It was what he called his "political year." It will be recalled that Hopkins had said "they were prostrate about the Moscow conference." Why? Because Poland was endangered? Hopkins cared nothing about Poland. It was at this time, when Mr. Ciechanowski twitted Hopkins about his "indifference to the human angle," that Hopkins agreed with him and told him "I love only Roosevelt." This was Hopkins' career—serving Roosevelt from whom he derived his own power and the exquisite pleasure of moving the pawns in so prodigious and delirious a game as a planetary war. He was prostrate about the Moscow conference because of its effect on Roosevelt's coming bid for another term as President. He explained to the Polish envoy: "How can we expect him, now we are getting busy preparing him for his reelection, suddenly to get up and express his doubt of the possibility of Soviet-American collaboration?"⁸⁴

When the Polish Prime Minister Mikolajczyk arrived for his visit with Roosevelt, everywhere he was cautioned about Roosevelt's "political year." The President talked to him about it. Stettinius, who was functioning as Acting Secretary of State in Hull's absence, told him about it several times. Hopkins talked about it. Stettinius told Mikolajczyk that the President could not adopt a more decisive attitude with Stalin "in view of the elections." But why not? What could Stalin do about the American elections? Did Stalin control any votes here?

In fact the political problem presented to Roosevelt was very delicate. We know now from the election returns of 1944 that the Reds had in their hands enough support to have turned the tide against Roosevelt. In New York State, for instance, Roosevelt won its 47 electoral votes by a majority of 317,000. But he got 825,000 votes from the Red American Labor Party dominated by the Communists, which had also nominated him, and the American Liberal Party made up of the pinks, which also nominated him. Without these votes he would have lost the state. He dared not defy these two powerful groups. On the other hand, he was in a very deep hole with the votes of the Polish, Lithuanian, Serbian and other Baltic and Balkan peoples living in America who were citizens. He had be-

trayed the Poles, the Serbs and the Baltic peoples. But he had managed to keep it dark. Somehow he must avoid any publication of the truth until after the election. This was his last try for power. He needed the votes of these American minority groups for one more election.

He therefore avoided any whisper of dissatisfaction with his Moscow and Teheran conferences in order to hold his Red and pink vote in the big industrial centers. And he used every artifice to deceive the Poles and other "liberated" peoples for just one more election. Accordingly, after holding the Polish Premier off for as long as possible, he arranged for a visit in June. When Mikolajczyk arrived he was received with every distinction. Stettinius remained with him constantly. Roosevelt talked with him at least four times. He gave a state dinner for him. But Stalin was making the going difficult for his friend Roosevelt. In July he handed over the western part of Poland which remained "free" to the "Committee of Liberation" headed by a Soviet Quisling named Bierut, a former Pole long a Soviet citizen. This frightened the Palace Guard in the White House and the discerning men around Democratic headquarters. They confessed that the Polish vote was critically important in Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania and New Jersey and above all in New York.

But before the election the Polish leaders in Europe were to learn the whole dark truth. Mikolajczyk went to Moscow to meet Stalin and see what could be done. There was a conference between Stalin, Churchill, Mikolajczyk, Molotov, Eden, Harriman and others on October 13. Mikolajczyk argued against the seizure of Poland up to the Curzon line. Stalin demanded that the Soviet's absorption of eastern Poland up to the Curzon line be recognized and that the Red Committee of Liberation to whom he had delivered western Poland be also recognized.

Churchill supported Stalin. Mikolajczyk pressed his argument. Suddenly Molotov said it was necessary to remind those present that at Teheran *President Roosevelt had expressed his complete agreement with the Curzon line as the Polish-Soviet frontier* and that the President had merely added *that for the time being his agreement*

on this point should not be made public. Then he challenged Churchill and Harriman to deny the statement if it was not true. "Because," he said, "it appears to me that Mr. Mikolajczyk is not aware of the fact." Molotov paused for a reply. No denial was forthcoming.⁸⁵ The truth was out at last. Later Churchill urged the Polish leader to yield. Churchill grew angry. He said he "was not going to wreck the peace of Europe because of a quarrel between Poles."⁸⁶

There was but three weeks now to the American elections. That is why Roosevelt wanted his agreement kept secret "for the time being." The news of this revelation was kept away from the United States until after the election was over.

10 } *Politics, Disease and History*

WHEN ROOSEVELT RETURNED FROM TEHERAN AND CAIRO IT WAS not a return from the old world to the new; it was as if he had opened a door and put his foot upon the first step of that dim flight that leads from this world into the next. He went, as was his custom, to Hyde Park for the Christmas holidays. There he contracted an illness the precise nature of which we do not yet know. Admiral Ross T. McIntire,⁸⁷ the President's physician, says it was an influenza which left an irritating bronchial inflammation causing coughing spells that racked him and that he showed a *definite loss of his usual ability to come back*. In the new year he returned to Washington, but this bronchial irritation hung on and by April it was necessary to take him South into the sunshine, from which he did not return until May 10.

In June the long-awaited invasion of the continent was launched. With this we will not concern ourselves. The other subject that occupied Roosevelt's mind was his plan to have himself renominated for a fourth time.

The President had lost his head, at least a little. Congress was slipping away from him. A growing section of his party, particularly in the Senate, was moving out of that collection of incongruous elements called the Third New Deal. It was crawling with Reds and their gullible allies who got themselves into key positions in all the bureaus and were talking with great assurance about what they were going to do with America and the world. The Communists had all become anti-fascists and everybody who was against the Communists was, therefore, a fascist. A group of organizations financed by undisclosed benefactors was riding roughshod through the country smearing everybody who questioned the grandiose plans of the Great Leader for remaking America and the world. Nobody was getting a hotter dose of this smearing than the American Congress. The radio and the frightened press and magazines kept up a barrage against the members of the President's own party in both houses.

As a result the breach between the President and Congress was widening. It came to a head in February when Congress rejected Roosevelt's demand for a \$10,500,000,000 tax boost and cut it to \$2,300,000,000. Roosevelt vetoed it. He sent a sizzling message impugning the good faith of Congress and saying this was a "bill not for relief of the needy but of the greedy." It was a Democratic bill and the blast that exploded in his face brought him up with a jerk. In the upper house, Senator Barkley, Democratic leader, Roosevelt's own representative there, rose to upbraid him. He said the message was "a calculated and deliberate assault upon the legislative integrity of every member of Congress." He cried: "I do not propose to take it lying down," as Democratic and Republican senators united in a roar of applause. He ended his philippic with an announcement that made big black headlines in every paper in the country. He declared that after seven years of carrying the New Deal banner for the President, he now resigned his post as Democratic majority

leader and he called on every member of the Congress to preserve its self-respect and override the veto. The Senate overrode it 72 to 14 and the House 299 to 95. It brought Roosevelt tumbling off his high horse. He sent Steve Early running to Barkley's home that very night to beg him not to quit. Barkley yielded.

But something else was afoot. Roosevelt was giving what was left of his dwindling energies to the plan for a fourth nomination. In 1936, Garner⁸⁸ had said to his intimates: Roosevelt will run for a third term and a fourth term. He will never leave the White House unless he is removed by death or defeat. And he was at this very moment concerned with the problem of frustrating both these enemies. He was a sick man but still clutching for the power that had become a part of his being. The Empress Theodora, wife of Justinian, said: "We must all die some time, but it is a terrible thing to have been an Emperor and to give up Empire before one dies." Roosevelt had no intention of giving up his power. Yet before him lay some of the most imposing problems of the war and the peace, to be solved against the stubborn resistance of a man of iron. He proposed to solve them by matching his fading energies and his weary mind against the resolute and confident realist in the Kremlin, limited by no laws, restrained by no parliament, responsible to no master but himself, without pity and without remorse.

The full story of Roosevelt's physical condition must be frankly examined. He was beyond doubt a man of naturally robust constitution united to a buoyant temperament. His affliction had deprived him of the use of his limbs but beyond that had apparently no other effect upon his general health save the extent to which it deprived him of the means of the physical activity necessary to continuous good health. He was addicted to colds and his associates in Washington soon noticed that an ordinary cold had a way of flooring him quite, but that he could come back quickly. Jim Farley wrote in his diary as early as 1935 that "the President looked bad, suffering from a cold, face drawn and his reactions slow," and he felt that the strain of office was showing on him even at that early day. In 1937 he visited the President in his bedroom and was "shocked at

the President's appearance"—his color bad, his face lined like a man worn out.⁸⁹

Farley was so concerned that he went to Dr. Cary T. Grayson, who had been Wilson's physician and had recommended to the President Dr. Ross T. McIntire as his physician. Grayson was already aware of Roosevelt's condition and said he was in daily contact with Jimmy Roosevelt about it. Farley got the impression from Grayson that there was something the matter with Roosevelt's heart and that it might become serious and urged that a good doctor be called into consultation. Grayson agreed, but felt it should be "one who would not talk."⁹⁰

In 1940, Edward J. Flynn said it was obvious to him that "the President's health was beginning to suffer . . . He was no longer young and he lacked some of the early resilience and power of quick reaction he once had."⁹¹ This was the observation of a man who was close to him and saw him often. In 1940 when the President was discussing with Farley a possible vice-presidential candidate, he said to the Democratic chairman that the man named on the ticket with him would have to be in good health because there was no telling how long he could hold out. "You know," he said, "a man with paralysis can have a break-up any time." He said his vital organs were all right but that nothing in life was certain. And to point this up he opened his shirt and showed Farley a large growth of flesh and muscle under his arm caused by his affliction.⁹² He was three years older when he went to Teheran—61 years of age—and the youngest of the three men who conferred there. Churchill was 69 and Stalin was 64. But Roosevelt was biologically in every way the older of the three and he looked it. He met Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang at Cairo just before Teheran. Afterward she said "she was shocked by the President's looks during the Cairo conference. She thought he had fallen off considerably and looked quite ill."⁹³ Churchill too was reported to have said he noted signs of deterioration in the President. Admiral McIntire, the President's doctor, was annoyed by these reports. He completely disagreed with them.

Despite the doctor's complacency, Roosevelt was unable to throw off the bronchitis which followed the influenza attack at Hyde Park. He was up one day, says McIntire, and down the next. When he got back to Washington two specialists were called in. They found "a moderate degree of arteriosclerosis." McIntire says it was "no more than normal in a man his age."⁹⁴ They found some changes in the cardiographic tracings, cloudiness in the sinus and bronchial irritation. The President saw fewer people and for some reason rumors began to circulate. The press asked the Admiral about it. He said it was just a residual bronchitis; "he is feeling quite well." But apparently he was not, for very soon thereafter, on April 8, he left Washington for Bernard Baruch's plantation in South Carolina. He did not return until May 10. It was hoped seclusion from the pressures of his office and exposure to the Southern sun would bring him around. He did nothing but rest, sleep and fish in the sun. However, five doctors were called in to aid the sun. Admiral McIntire gives a sample report on the President's physical examination there. But he omits the blood pressure and nowhere do they say exactly what the President had at Hyde Park or how it all started.⁹⁵

There were reports going about Washington that the President had had some sort of stroke—perhaps a mild one—after returning from Teheran. Dr. McIntire says this was not true. But in spite of his apparently blanket statements, his book leaves the subject still open. He unconsciously makes a grave revelation without intending to in his account of these days. McIntire was a naval doctor in 1932 and was recommended to Roosevelt as White House physician by Admiral Grayson. McIntire was an eye, ear and nose specialist. He got along famously with Roosevelt, was elevated by him to the grade of admiral and made head of the Naval Hospital Service. What his capabilities as a doctor may be I do not know, but he reveals himself in the volume which recounts his White House experiences as a complete servitor of Roosevelt, laughing at his jokes, swallowing his stories and accepting Roosevelt's own exalted opinion of himself at face value. Any suggestion that the President was not in excellent health he seemed to look upon as some sort of offense against the Republic.

In spite of the care he has exercised to give the President a good bill of health he unwittingly reveals what the President's real condition was. When rumors multiplied about the President's long ailment from Christmas to May—four months recovering from a case of bronchitis—McIntire, after bringing five specialists in to examine his patient, decided to bring in two more—Drs. James E. Paullin of Atlanta and Frank Lahey of Boston. But all he reports as to their findings is that they declared Roosevelt had recovered from infection of sinus and chest and was "well and active." Then Dr. Paullin talked to Roosevelt and reminded him he was like an old motor, that his heart and arteries were like the engine and the tires and that if he wanted to finish the journey he would have to slow down—he would have to live within his reserves. Then a regimen was outlined for the President—and this tells the whole story.

He was to have breakfast from 8:30 to 9:00; office hours from 11:00 to 1:00; from 1:00 to 2:00 luncheon, but no business guests; 2:00 to 3:00 rest lying down; 3:00 to 5:00 office hours; then 45 minutes massage and ultra-violet rays and rest lying down until 7:30; 7:30 to 8:00, dinner in quarters; no night work and sleep for 10 hours.⁹⁶ This was to be the President's schedule and the important part about it was that *he was to go on the FOUR-HOUR DAY*. His working hours were from 11:00 to 1:00 and from 3:00 to 5:00, the balance of the 24 hours were for resting, lying down, getting massaged, eating his meals and sleeping. This was the condition they gave him if he wanted to finish the journey. This was not a program for a period of convalescence. It was literally a program for "the rest of the journey." The doctors were telling him as plainly as words that the only way he could avert death was to go into a form of semi-retirement.

Thus once again the problem of disease entangled itself in the making of history. The vast war powers of the most powerful nation in the world were concentrated in the hands of one man. The decisions of that one man would affect our destiny, the security of our institutions and the peace of the world. These decisions were in the hands of a sick man, whose mind was trudging along in low gear, whose physical organisms were disintegrating under the impact of

disease and whose mental and moral faculties were deteriorating under the impact of power. It had happened after the First World War when the President was stricken by a brain hemorrhage that paralyzed his body and impaired his mind and, worse than this, disturbed his normal mental balance. What might have been the course of history had Woodrow Wilson's mental and physical powers survived must be a matter of speculation. Those who may be interested in the subject of disease as a factor in human affairs may want to look into those two brilliantly written little volumes, "Post Mortem" and "Mere Mortals" by Dr. C. MacLaurin⁹⁷ in which he pursues these ravages of disease in monarchs and statesmen and the costs passed on to the populations they ruled.

What would have happened in Europe, for instance, if Henry VIII had not had syphilis? It was Henry's syphilis that made it impossible for Catherine of Aragon to bear him a living child, save the solemn Mary, and from whom, after seven or eight miscarriages he secured a divorce. This caused his break with Rome and a whole train of consequences which, says Dr. MacLaurin, a good modern surgeon might have avoided and thus changed the course of history. Arteriosclerosis and its somber effects upon the mind and nature of Charles V led him to retire at 52 in favor of his son Phillip, when perhaps the curative and moderating techniques of modern medicine might have preserved his genius as the ruling force in Spain and saved her from the disasters which overtook her under Phillip.

When we consider, says Dr. MacLaurin, "that the destinies of nations are commonly held in the hands of elderly gentlemen whose blood pressures tend to be too high owing to their fierce political activities, it is not too much to say that arteriosclerosis is one of the greatest tragedies that afflict the human race. Every politician should have his blood pressure tested and his urine examined about once in a quarter, and if it should show signs of rising he should undoubtedly take a long rest until it falls again; it is not fair that the lives of millions should depend upon the judgment of a man whose mind is warped by arteriosclerosis."

There were plenty of examinations of Roosevelt made during all this time, but the people of the United States did not know what

they revealed—and do not know fully yet. The necessity of rest was imposed upon Roosevelt by the doctors called in to examine him. It was observed throughout the year 1944 that he spent 200 days outside the White House in rest or travel which, save in the brief campaign tours, was undertaken for his health. Dr. McIntire makes much of the many miles he traveled, as if this were some terrible strain upon him. Most of them were miles of leisure in the sun aboard luxurious vessels or trains. The doctor admits they always benefited him. But the people were never told that they had in their service an executive whose doctors said he could not take more than four hours a day of work and who must spend most of the day and night lying down resting and sleeping.

After Roosevelt returned to the White House in the middle of May, the chief item of business was managing his nomination for a fourth term at the Democratic convention which would meet in two months. That was simple enough, but, like the third nomination, had to bear the marks of a command from the people. To understand that convention we must recall an incident of the greatest importance.

We have seen how the Communist party had successfully penetrated the unions organized by the Congress of Industrial Organizations—the CIO—and how John L. Lewis and David Dubinsky had got out of it for this reason, leaving Sidney Hillman in complete control. We have also seen how the war brought Hillman to the top in White House circles when he and William Knudsen became the directors of the economic war effort. Knudsen departed in good time, but Hillman remained close to the White House.

Meantime on a neighboring social front certain changes were taking place. By 1943, Earl Browder, Communist leader, had about completed the discovery that there was no hope for a proletarian revolution in America. The party got nowhere preaching Communism. The people just wouldn't listen. But it learned that it could get very far by using a different technique. After all, Communist revolutionaries know that before they can introduce Communism they must destroy the political and economic system of the country in which they conspire. Wreck the American system of free enter-

prise and kill the confidence of the people in their political system and it will collapse. Once this takes place in any country it is not difficult for the Communist to move in. He is willing to support and promote the rise of fascist states because he knows that fascism—the Planned Capitalist Economy—is merely a decadent phase of capitalism. For this reason the Communist party had been promoting with great success Red-front organizations and inducing the most important people, like Mrs. Roosevelt, Henry Wallace and scores of prominent leaders in education and public life, to work with them.

As 1944 opened, Browder decided to liquidate the Communist party. It would go out of politics. It would become a mere educational association. This was done, and Browder and Sidney Hillman teamed up to capture the American Labor Party. This had been formed originally in New York City to provide a political vehicle for Fiorello LaGuardia in his local politics. It had all sorts of people in it. There were a lot of Reds, a lot of socialists and a lot of parlor and campus pinks of all sorts, plus a lot of social reformers and welfare reformers. It had corralled a lot of votes—*enough to swing an election in New York State*—by giving or withholding its vote from the Democrats. It supported Lehman in 1940 and elected him on the Democratic ticket. It refused to endorse the Democratic candidate, Bennett, for governor in 1942 and the Democratic vote, without it, was insufficient and thus Dewey became governor. Now Browder and Hillman joined forces and decided to take over the American Labor Party. They met resistance from the mixed collection of pinks who had control, but in a bitter battle Browder and Hillman took it over. Actually Browder dominated this team because it was Communist votes that did the trick.

In addition to this, Hillman had organized in 1943 a new political labor group called the CIO Political Action Committee. The CIO had violated the law by supporting candidates in various primary elections and to get around this Hillman formed this Political Action Committee and pressure was put on members of CIO unions to compel them to join. This organization was now being used as a club in the Democratic party to bludgeon Democratic congressmen and

officials generally to play ball with Hillman, Wallace and their crowd, while Hillman and Browder did business as a team in New York State in the newly re-formed Communist American Labor Party.

The Democratic party could win if it could carry the Southern states and in addition New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, Michigan and New Jersey. These states could be carried with the support of Sidney Hillman's Political Action Committee and Browder's American Labor Party, but not without them and Roosevelt was the only possible candidate who could get this support. The Democrats had to nominate Roosevelt or lose the election. There were some Democrats who thought it was better to lose the election, but not enough of them. Accordingly when the convention assembled in Chicago on July 19, Sidney Hillman was there, not as a delegate—he was not even a member of the party—but to see that the subservient Democrats behaved to his satisfaction and to the satisfaction of his friend and partner, Browder. To this pass had Roosevelt's personal political ambitions brought the Democratic party of Jefferson, Cleveland and Wilson. Hillman had a headquarters there. He wasn't worried about Roosevelt's nomination. That was settled. He wasn't worried about the platform. That was written to his satisfaction before the convention assembled by Sam Rosenman. He had one more demand. He wanted Henry Wallace nominated again for Vice-President.

But the nomination for Vice-President, this time, was perhaps the great prize itself. Leaders in Washington had a feeling that Roosevelt's health was not all it should be. But the fact is that the truth about his health was concealed not merely from the people but from the Democratic leaders. It must be remembered that they had seen very little of him since his return from Teheran. He had been hidden away first at Hyde Park and at the White House where he had few visitors and finally at Baruch's place in South Carolina until two months before the convention. Every effort was made to prevent the facts from leaking out. The Democratic leaders had been accustomed to see Roosevelt become suddenly weary and ill and then bounce back quickly and look well after a few days in

the sunlight. But this time he didn't bounce back. However, the public was told that he did after his sojourn in the South. Meantime the Democratic leaders had drifted along in an incredible state of negligence with respect to the problem before them. But those around the White House close to Roosevelt knew better. Harry Hopkins and Henry Wallace and, of course, Sidney Hillman knew. They knew that Roosevelt was doomed and that if they could name Henry Wallace Vice-President this time, the government would be in their hands.

Accordingly, Hillman and Wallace used the immense power they had by virtue of their control over large minorities in the big industrial states to push the movement for Wallace's renomination. After all, he was then already Vice-President. Wallace saw Roosevelt three times on the subject and Roosevelt agreed to give him a letter which they discussed and which Wallace felt would settle the matter at the convention. There was much newspaper speculation about the nature of this letter before the convention convened. And when the convention did convene, the vice-presidency and Roosevelt's expected letter were the big subjects in Chicago. Sidney Hillman had his headquarters in a penthouse on top of a Chicago hotel and from the point the drive for Wallace was managed.

Wallace's supporters, as the convention opened, said they knew exactly what the President would say in the expected letter and they were satisfied. Senator Joe Guffey said exultantly "Wait until you see the letter." There were other candidates for the post—former Senator James Byrnes, Senator Barkley, while the names of Justice William O. Douglas and Senator Harry Truman were being prominently mentioned. However, no one had any delegates but Wallace and he was known to have 300 at least. The others had their home states and little else. It was plain that if Roosevelt said he wanted Wallace no one else had a chance. Until Roosevelt's letter was received, therefore, the other candidates were handicapped. Roosevelt could not win without Sidney Hillman and Earl Browder and they wanted Wallace. Hillman said "We have no second choice."

Former Justice James F. Byrnes, at that moment serving in a post

that was called "Assistant President" with an office in the White House, was an active candidate, as was Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley. Byrnes was easily the ablest man in the race. It was supposed by those in the know that had the convention been completely free he would have been nominated. Barkley believed that he could win in a free contest. Because of the close association of Byrnes with the President, few believed that he would be an active candidate without the President's approval.

But Chicago had a visitor about whom nothing was known until later. On the evening of July 14, Roosevelt left Washington with great secrecy on a special train. It reached Chicago on Saturday, the 15th. That same day, Robert E. Hannegan, Democratic national chairman, got to Chicago. Reporters awaited him at the station. But he slipped out through a rear door of his train and into Mayor Kelly's police-escorted automobile and vanished. Reporters frantically hunted him all over town. He remained out of sight until the next day. But in the meantime he had made a visit to Roosevelt's train, secretly parked on a remote railroad siding. There poor Wallace's goose was cooked. Hannegan, too, got a letter. It said the President would be happy to have either Harry Truman or William Douglas as his running mate. And as Hannegan was leaving the train, Roosevelt warned him "to clear everything with Sidney." The Presidential approval of Truman was no good until Sidney O.K.'ed it.

However, the letter for Wallace was not yet delivered. It was delivered Wednesday, the 19th. It was then conveyed from the President to Senator Jackson, temporary chairman of the convention, and read to the delegates. In the letter Roosevelt said he wanted to give his personal "thought in regard to the selection of a candidate for the Vice-Presidency." The letter continued:

"I have been associated with Henry Wallace during the past four years as Vice-President, for eight years earlier while he was Secretary of Agriculture and well before that. I like him and I respect him and he is my personal friend. For these reasons I personally would vote for his nomination if I were a delegate to the convention."

The letter was a terrible blow to the Wallace camp, said the *New York Times*. Wallace was hastily summoned by his managers to hurry to Chicago. Was this the radiant endorsement about which Senator Guffey was so exultant? The convention at once took the letter as letting Wallace down. All the other candidates for Vice-President went to work with a will. But they all knew by this what Hannegan had been told—"to clear everything with Sidney." To Hillman's penthouse headquarters tramped the long line of candidates and their managers. When approached about Byrnes, Hillman turned thumbs down. He said "no" with final emphasis. Then the President got word to Byrnes to withdraw. He did so, saying he was withdrawing at the President's request. That left Barkley in a powerful position. Then Hannegan sprang the Truman letter. That left Barkley out. Barkley was slated to make the speech nominating Roosevelt that afternoon. He was in a room with O. Max Gardner of North Carolina and Jim Farley when he saw a copy of the Truman letter. Barkley knew that settled his hash and that Truman was the man of destiny, because the Douglas endorsement was meaningless. He was indignant. In a burst of righteous wrath he denounced Roosevelt and was about to tear up the nominating speech when Farley and Gardner restrained him. Later in the day he delivered that speech, glowing with an eloquent tribute to the man who, only a few hours before, he believed had double-crossed him. Deep and strong and terrible are the chains of party loyalty. But Barkley had gotten the party all mixed up with Roosevelt so that he could not disentangle them.

Roosevelt, of course, was nominated promptly that day. He had earlier written a letter to Chairman Hannegan saying he did not wish to run, "but if the people command me to continue in this office I have as little right to withdraw as the soldier has to leave his place in the line." He pointed to himself as the commander-in-chief who could not leave his place at the head of his armies unless removed by the people. Roosevelt, of course, had taken no chances on not being "commanded" to continue. The political machine of which he was the master had sent delegates to the convention instructed to issue the necessary "command."

After Roosevelt's nomination was voted, it began to look as if Wallace might break through after all. New York could not get a vote in its delegation for support of Truman. Neither could California or Illinois. To prevent Illinois from breaking away, Ed Kelly, the boss, nominated Senator Scott Lucas of Illinois as a favorite son. Meantime delegation after delegation had been shifting to Wallace. Every hour news came of additions to his supporters. The reports when the convention opened were that he had 300 votes. The number had risen to 400. Delegates were getting irked at the apparent weakness of all other candidates. The opposition to Wallace could not unite. The leaders, giving some excuse, adjourned the convention in an uproar to prevent a vote.

By next day, however, the support of Truman was being consolidated. On the first ballot Wallace led with 429½ votes, Truman 319½ and the rest scattered among 14 other candidates. But on the second ballot the steam-roller went into play, the switching started and Truman was nominated with 1100 votes to only 66 for Wallace. But not until Sidney Hillman had approved the change.

Roosevelt's stop in Chicago was merely a way station on his way to the Pacific coast. It was, like all his movements, clouded in ostentatious secrecy. While the convention was still in session he accepted the "command." It came over the air from an undisclosed Pacific coast Marine base. He said: "I am now at this naval base performing my duties under the Constitution. The war waits for no elections. Decisions must be made, plans must be laid, strategy must be carried out." This was part of the build-up for the commander-in-chief theme which was to be used to stir the patriotic sentiments of the voters. Roosevelt by this time had lost all sense of nice and delicate discrimination in his poses. After carefully managing his nomination through the Democratic leaders he could put on an act about running reluctantly, comparing himself to the soldier in the line who could not refuse the call of duty. The more subtle deceptions of his earlier years now gave way to a much cruder hypocrisy. He was on his way to Hawaii, with a six-day trip across the continent in a private luxury train and then a long and glorious sea trip to Hawaii and some other islands. The decisions,

of course, could wait on these pleasant tours. He had been away from his duties, save for a few weeks, for the first half of the year. What essential part in the war was served by reviewing the troops and visiting the hospitals in Hawaii and other islands and entertaining the Pacific commanders with reminiscences of his exploits in World War I? Actually, the trip to the Pacific combined three very useful objectives—the spectacle of the Commander-in-Chief moving about running the war, a grand rest on the ocean voyage and a good chance to make campaign appearances amongst the shipyard workers on the coast and the soldier boys in the islands who would vote in the election. It took him 30 days away from the White House where decisions, if any were necessary, were really made.

However, he made one slip. He was photographed delivering his acceptance speech in a small, severely plain room at some Marine base. He sat at a table with his daughter Anna and his son Jimmy in the foreground. This picture ruined all his elaborate comedy in two particulars. The picture shocked the nation, revealing as it did his emaciated face and body. In addition, the original news photo showed a part of the white uniform of a naval officer. Walter Trohan, Washington correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, one of those newspapermen who are born and not made wondered who he was and why he was there. Trohan went to the Associated Press photo service to see the original. It contained the entire figure of the officer, which had been cut out of the published picture as non-essential. This curious newspaperman took the picture to the Navy Department to identify the officer. He was a Commander Bruenn—a naval doctor. A little more investigation revealed that he was Dr. Howard Bruenn, a heart specialist of Boston who had been inducted into the Navy for the express purpose of remaining constantly on duty to watch the heart of the man who, as Dr. McIntire proclaimed, was in perfect health. He had been with him since his Christmas illness and remained constantly at his side until he died.

Roosevelt at first planned to make no formal campaign. He changed his mind because it did not seem wise to expose himself to the frequent attacks upon his record which his Republican opponent, Thomas E. Dewey, was making. His first speech was not

made until September 24 to a dinner given by the International Teamsters' Union dominated by Daniel Tobin—an AFL union. Its purpose was to put some emphasis on the support of the AFL in view of the bitter feeling among AFL leaders because of the dominant role Sidney Hillman's CIO was playing in Roosevelt's councils and particularly in its favored position before Roosevelt's Labor Board. In October he made a speech before the Foreign Policy Association in New York and drove around the city in a rain storm to exhibit his robust health. Then he went on to Boston, making two or three short talks on the way. There is no point here in describing the course of that campaign. He interrupted it for an occasion of far more importance to our story. In September he went to another one of those international conferences, this time at Quebec.

11 } *How Germany's Fate Was Settled*

ON SEPTEMBER 11, TEN MONTHS AFTER TEHERAN AND IN THE midst of the campaign, Roosevelt and Churchill met at Quebec. The invasion of France was launched. Allied armies approached the Rhine. The Russians had crossed the Vistula and were diving toward the Baltic and soon the race would be on between the Allies and the Russians for Berlin. Roosevelt and Churchill met to discuss the fate of Germany, lend-lease to Britain after the war and minor points. They made a decision at Quebec which has up to this moment paralyzed utterly the making of a stable peace in Europe and is pregnant with consequences so terrible for the future that the mind draws away from them in consternation. That decision produced what Secretary Stimson describes as "the most violent single

inter-departmental struggle of his career" and what Secretary Hull says "angered me as much as anything that had happened during my career as Secretary."⁹⁸

Secretary Stimson says he returned from Normandy in July, 1944, to find the administration belatedly constructing plans for the occupation of Germany—with no decisions made and the occupation imminent. He lunched with President Roosevelt and urged him to appoint a Cabinet Committee to prepare such plans, and Roosevelt named Hull, Stimson and Morgenthau with Hull as chairman. Later he added Hopkins. This Cabinet Committee met soon after, on September 5, in Secretary Hull's office. Hull produced a program prepared in the State Department, whereupon Secretary Morgenthau presented that savage document that has come to be known as the Morgenthau Plan. As Morgenthau described it, the great industrial area of Germany—the Ruhr—"should be not only stripped of all existing industries but should be so weakened and controlled that it cannot in the foreseeable future become an industrial area . . . All industrial plants and equipment not destroyed by military action shall either be completely dismantled or removed from the area or completely destroyed; all equipment shall be removed from the mines and the mines wrecked." The proposal looked forward to "converting Germany into a country principally agricultural and pastoral in character."

Stimson made an emphatic objection to this. So did Hull. The folly of this incredible proposal must be apparent to any reader. The Ruhr was not merely a great industrial asset for the Germans. It was a producing area for the whole of Europe. The individual states of Europe are no more able to support themselves in a modern economy than is a single American state. It would be possible to punish the people of Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, West Virginia and Ohio by destroying all their industries and wrecking all their mines. But this could not be done without visiting a frightful penalty on all the other states which depend upon these industries and mines for so much production. Secretary Stimson pointed out that for 80 years the production of Germany "was one of the most

important sources of raw materials upon which the industrial and economic livelihood of Europe was based." He reminded his colleagues that it was the largest source of supply to Russia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria and it was the second largest source of supply to Great Britain, Belgium and France. He might agree to some system of control but, he said: "I cannot answer for turning such a gift of nature into a dust pile."

Secretary Hull said: "This was a plan of blind vengeance . . . It failed to see that in striking at Germany it was striking at all Europe." The proposals "that the mines be ruined was almost breathtaking in its implications for all Europe." When the Americans did finally invade Germany almost their first act was—and had to be—to work mines to fullest production to aid the European economy.

Both Hull and Stimson pointed out that when we occupied Germany, either Germany's 70 million people would have to feed and clothe themselves or we would have to do it; and that to destroy production there would impose upon us the terrible burden of supporting them. Beyond all this, of course, was our dignity as a civilized people. The barbarians could sweep into enemy countries and ravage their fields, burn their cities and murder their leaders. This is a job from which a civilized people must recoil if they have not lost their souls. But these considerations had no weight with those elements in the population whose minds were aflame with vengeance. They wanted blood. They wanted reciprocal horrors. This may have been a natural reaction to peoples who had suffered such great provocation. But it was the business of responsible statesmen to restrain these blood lusts.

The Cabinet Committee could not agree. Its members met with Roosevelt on September 9, and Hull informed him of their inability to agree. Roosevelt seemed to come around to an understanding that the produce of the Ruhr would be important to France and other countries. But the matter remained unsettled. Secretary Stimson addressed a long communication to the President on September 9 pressing vigorously the arguments for a rational occupation policy.

The whole subject remained undecided for the moment. And then on September 11, Roosevelt went to Quebec to meet Churchill.

Hull did not go to Quebec, because he was given to understand that the subjects discussed would be chiefly military. However, Morgenthau went. Groups, interested in the destruction of Germany, says Hull, induced the President to invite Morgenthau, who says that he was surprised when he got the summons. He was invited to present his plan, while the other two members of the Cabinet Committee who out-voted him remained behind, not even knowing the subject was on the agenda. And there, without consulting the Committee he had named, Roosevelt agreed to the Morgenthau Plan to destroy German industry and to reduce Germany to a country primarily agricultural and pastoral. Secretaries Hull and Stimson did not know anything about it until four days after it was done.

What puzzled Hull was that Churchill had agreed to this plan. However, the reason for this was to appear later. About the same time Morgenthau came home triumphant at his great achievement. And it was from him that Hull and Stimson learned the balance of the story. Churchill had at first violently opposed the destruction of Germany—Morgenthau reported the Prime Minister was furious. When Anthony Eden, British Foreign Minister, arrived at Quebec, and vigorously protested against the plan, he had a heated discussion with Churchill about it. Why had Churchill agreed? Secretary Hull asked Morgenthau that question. At Quebec, Churchill, seeing the approach of the war's end, was deeply troubled about England's financial condition and was anxious to get from Roosevelt a huge grant of more lend-lease billions for post-war use. While Churchill objected to the Morgenthau Plan, Roosevelt held out against any more lend-lease to Britain. Finally Churchill said: "What do you want me to do? Sit up on my hind legs and beg like Fala?"⁹⁹ Ultimately Roosevelt yielded and agreed to *give England another six billion dollars of lend-lease money*. Churchill didn't sit up on his hind legs but he agreed to the Morgenthau Plan. Morgenthau told Hull that he had convinced Churchill to agree

upon the argument that the ruin of Germany's Ruhr would open the doors for England to capture Germany's lost trade but, under pressure of Hull's examination, he admitted "that the credits were clearly the Prime Minister's non-military objective at Quebec." And he got them after agreeing to a plan to which at first he was "violently opposed" and at which he was even angry.

As a matter of fact, everyone was opposed to this. The French later bitterly assailed it. They knew too well the importance of the Ruhr to their own economy. They wanted the Ruhr production controlled but destruction of it and its mines seemed a ghastly crime. Later, of course, Churchill himself opposed the whole plan of frightfulness in the Yalta conference. James Byrnes, later Secretary of State, declined the post of High Commissioner for Germany because he wanted nothing to do with such a plan.

The end of this story is difficult to believe. Both Secretaries Hull and Stimson continued to urge upon Roosevelt the gravity of his ill-considered act. Secretary Stimson wrote in his diary: "I should not keep my self-respect if I did not." Under this criticism Roosevelt tried to deny what he had done. Apparently forgetting the plain words of the agreement he had signed he wrote Hull: "Somebody has been talking, not only out of turn to the papers but on *facts which are not fundamentally true.*" (Italics added.) Finally on October 3, Stimson had lunch with Roosevelt. Meantime the contents of the Morgenthau Plan leaked to the papers and Roosevelt became alarmed at the violence of the reaction, a fine evidence of the fundamentally decent nature of the majority of Americans.

Hull writes that Stimson told him that in his conversation with Roosevelt the latter practically denied he had agreed to "reduce Germany to a country primarily agricultural and pastoral." When Stimson read him those very sentences in the memorandum, Roosevelt "was frankly staggered" and he insisted that "he had no idea how he could have initialed the memorandum and that *he had evidently done so without much thought.*" (Italics added.)

In the end the President was persuaded to get out of this appalling agreement so far as destroying the mines of the Ruhr were

concerned. But Stimson declares "the same attitude remained," and the whole world now knows of the frightful wreckage that was carried on in Germany and the blow to the economy of all Europe that was delivered in the name of "blind vengeance" and immortal hatred.

12 } *The Atlantic Charter Is Scrapped*

ROOSEVELT WAS REELECTED. THE RESULTS JUSTIFIED, FROM A political consideration, the wisdom of his alliance with Hillman and Browder. During the campaign, Roosevelt had denied vehemently that he had sought the support of Communists. Actually his name appeared as the candidate of the American Labor Party dominated by Browder and Hillman entirely. And he had accepted its nomination. He had also accepted nomination at the hands of the American Liberal Party, the pink fringe dangling somewhere between the fascist planned society and Stalin's proletarian dictatorship. In the election, Thomas E. Dewey actually got over 500,000 more votes on the Republican ticket than Roosevelt got on the Democratic ticket in New York State. It was Roosevelt's 490,000 votes from Browder and Hillman's American Labor Party and the 339,000 votes from the Pinkos that gave him his majority. While Dewey carried only 12 states in the North, the Roosevelt majority in many of those he carried was thin and would have been wiped out if the Browder-Hillman votes had not been given to Roosevelt. The administration was now the hopeless prisoner of these demanding and ruthless radical labor leaders, who had shown their ability to elect or defeat the Democratic party, who had filled all the departments and

bureaus with their agents and who had insinuated their experts into the CIO labor unions and their propagandists into the radio, the movies and all the great instruments of communication and opinion—a fact which Mr. Roosevelt's successors would have to face when the war ended.

In the meantime, the war engrossed the attention of the people. And very soon after the election, stories about the conference at Teheran, details of which had been guarded very carefully, began to appear. It was being said that all the little liberated countries to which Roosevelt had made such definite promises and whose nationals in this country had been so solicitously courted during the campaign had been betrayed at Teheran. The dominant note in these criticisms was that at Teheran Roosevelt had scrapped the Atlantic Charter. That bold document had asserted that the high contracting parties "desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed desires of the peoples concerned, that they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." The Teheran agreement violated every phrase and syllable of this pledge.

What had become of the Atlantic Charter? On December 20, 1944, the President at a press conference was asked about the Charter which he and Churchill had signed. His reply literally bowled over the correspondents. There was not and never had been a complete Atlantic Charter signed by him and Churchill, he replied. Then where is the Charter now, he was asked. He replied: "There wasn't any copy of the Atlantic Charter so far as I know." It was just a press release. It was scribbled on a piece of paper by him and Churchill and Sumner Welles and Sir Alexander Cadogan. It was just handed to the radio operator aboard the British and American warships to put on the air as a news release. Further inquiry revealed that Stephen Early had handed it out on his own with the signatures of Churchill and Roosevelt attached. And over on the wall of the National Museum in Washington, beautifully framed and illuminated after the manner of an ancient document

—like Magna Carta or the Declaration of Independence—was the great Atlantic Charter itself, with the signatures of Roosevelt and Churchill. Daily visitors stood before it as before some great historic document. John O'Donnell, of the New York *Daily News*, asked the curator where he got it. He answered that it came from the Office of War Information. They had “loaned” the precious document to the National Museum. By inquiry at the OWI—that prolific fountain of phony news—O'Donnell learned that OWI had gotten it up and affixed the names of Roosevelt and Churchill. They had printed 240,000 copies of it. O'Donnell went back to the Museum with this information. And lo! the great Charter was gone. An attendant told him it had been ordered off the wall twenty minutes before. Thus ended the story of this wretched fraud. The fake document which was never signed and was nothing more than a publicity stunt to conceal the real purposes of the Atlantic meeting had been slain by its chief sponsor and, of course, all its high-sounding professions, after Teheran, had become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.

Not long after this Cordell Hull resigned as Secretary of State and Edward Stettinius was named to succeed him. Hull was notoriously a sick man. He had been bypassed, even ignored, on numerous important issues and frequently kept in the dark. Sumner Welles, who was personally close to both Roosevelt and Mrs. Roosevelt, who had a far more active mind and a wider knowledge of foreign affairs than Hull, gradually elbowed him aside until a bitter feud grew up between the two men. As early as 1939, when Roosevelt was maneuvering for his third-term nomination, James A. Farley confided to Hull his own troubles. Hull exploded: “God, Jim! You don't know what troubles are. Roosevelt is going over my head to Welles and Berle. I was never even consulted on the Welles' trip to Europe. Then he's going over my head to ambassadors. He is in communication constantly with British leaders and others. He doesn't consult with me or confide in me and I have to feel my way in the dark. I have the devil's own time keeping him from issuing statements that would be most detrimental. He only discusses matters with me when he feels obliged to do so because of their importance.”¹⁰⁰

13 } The Final Betrayal

ON JANUARY 20, 1945, ROOSEVELT WAS SWORN IN AS PRESIDENT of the United States for a fourth term. Three days later he left Norfolk on the heavy cruiser *Quincy* for what was to be his last act in the hapless drama of peace.

By this time Hitler's hard-pressed armies had been driven from all the territories they had seized in the east, save Czechoslovakia, Austria and part of Hungary. Practically all their hard-won aggressive prizes were lost. Cordell Hull had resigned and Edward Stettinius was Secretary of State.

Roosevelt had named former Justice James F. Byrnes as Director of Economic Stabilization in May. He took Byrnes along to Yalta as his adviser. The trip to this rendezvous throws a revealing light on the methods which characterized Roosevelt's costly improvisations in foreign affairs. He asked Byrnes to accompany him some time before Christmas. He did not mention the subject again until the night before his departure, when he repeated his insistent invitation that Byrnes go with him. Secretary Stettinius was to join them in Malta. Hopkins, who was ill in London, would also meet the party at Malta. On the journey over Roosevelt was ill. He kept to his room all the way save for lunch and dinner and a moving picture at night. He did not discuss the conference problems with Byrnes before leaving and on the way over his other advisers were not along and he avoided discussion with Byrnes. The Department of State had prepared an elaborate study of all the problems likely to arise, extensively documented. Byrnes did not learn of its existence until he arrived at Malta.¹⁰¹ It is difficult to believe that a responsible

statesman, unattended by his advisers and handicapped by a grave physical disability, could go to so momentous a meeting with two such astute colleagues as Stalin and Churchill without preparation.

The conference was held at the Livadia Palace, a former summer home of the Czars in the Crimea. It opened February 4, 1945. The chief questions were (1) the adoption of the Dumbarton Oaks plan for the United Nations, (2) the conditions of the approaching German surrender, (3) the treatment of Poland and the other liberated countries.

The United Nations plan, which had been agreed to in principle by Russia long before, was no longer an issue. There was the question of voting to be settled and this was done without any difficulty according to the usual prescription, by agreeing in full to Russia's desires, and a conference was announced to be held soon at San Francisco to prepare the charter. The governments of France and China were to be invited to join in sponsoring the invitations to the world for that event.

The Polish question was "settled." The formal proposal to hand over eastern Poland—east of the Curzon line—*was made by Roosevelt himself*.¹⁰² As to western Poland, Stalin already had a government there named by him and composed of Communists representing no one but Stalin himself. Stalin wanted to be certain to retain that government. He agreed, however, that this provisional government should be "reorganized" to include "democratic leaders from Poles abroad." It was to be called the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity. He agreed to hold an election, which he said "he could do in a month." Did Roosevelt believe Stalin would hold a free election anywhere? He could hardly have been so naive. Actually the election was not held for 23 months and Poland ended with nothing but Communists in the government of a country where they did not represent 10 per cent of the people, while the other elements fled Poland for their lives.

Then, to seemingly correct this wrong, they agreed upon another one. To compensate Poland for that half wrung from her by Russia it was agreed to give Poland a part of East Prussia—a totally German land. The terrible lesson learned in Alsace and Lorraine, in

the Sudeten lands, in the Polish Corridor settlements made in other wars which sowed the seeds of inevitable new wars, was totally ignored.

The conference also decided upon the partition of Germany into three zones, each to be occupied provisionally by the Russian, British and American armies, and to be separately administered. A reparations commission was set up to study the amounts. Russia wanted the amount to be 20 billion dollars of which she would take half. It was agreed that labor might be taken as a possible source of reparations. This was just a diplomatic way of authorizing the seizure of human beings to work as slaves after the war ended and is the basis of that dreadful crime perpetrated after hostilities ceased to which the President of the United States agreed. On this he must have agreed with a guilty conscience, for it was kept from Mr. Byrnes who did not learn of it until later.¹⁰³

On the question of the war in the Pacific, Stalin now agreed specifically that he would come in against the Japs three months after Germany's defeat, provided the United States assisted in building the necessary reserve supplies and provided the *political aspects of Russia's participation had been clarified*. Stalin later gave our military mission a list of what he wanted in the Far East—fuel, food, transport equipment and other supplies for 1,500,000 men, 3000 tanks, 5000 planes. Stalin outlined his plan of attack—"his main effort to be with a highly mobile force that would sweep down from the Lake Baikal area through Outer and Inner Mongolia. The purpose of this wide movement was to separate the Japanese forces in Manchuria from those in China."¹⁰⁴ Of course his purpose was also to turn Manchuria into a Russian puppet state, which was precisely what Chiang Kai-shek so bitterly and properly opposed.

As the conference ended, Roosevelt remained an extra day because Stalin wanted to talk with him. He did so alone. What he wanted settled was "the political aspects of Russia's participation" in the Pacific. This he was able to do very quickly and to his complete satisfaction. In return for Russian participation in the Pacific, Roosevelt agreed that the Kuriles Islands would be handed to Russia, who would also get Sakhalin Island, internationalization of the Port of

Dairen, the lease of Port Arthur as a naval base and joint operation with China of the Eastern and Southern Manchurian railroads. And Roosevelt promised to use his influence with Chiang to force him to agree. This secret agreement, like the one supporting the use of slave labor, was not made public and was concealed even from Byrnes who was Roosevelt's adviser at Yalta. He did not hear of it until after Mr. Roosevelt's death. Then he saw a reference to it in a Russian dispatch. By that time he was Secretary of State. He asked President Truman to have the White House records searched for this and any other secret outstanding I.O.U.'s.¹⁰⁵

Russia had another demand. Stalin wanted Russia to have four votes in the assembly of the United Nations against the United States' one. He wanted three Soviet states, Byelorussia, the Ukraine and Lithuania—the latter of which he had just stolen and put under a puppet government—to have votes along with Russia. Roosevelt made a feeble protest against this, but it was put over later without a protest after Stettinius had agreed to give Stalin three votes. Roosevelt, before he went to Yalta, had boasted that if Stalin tried to get more than one vote he would demand a vote for each of the 48 states. Of course he did nothing of the kind. He did suggest that to avoid criticism at home the United States be given three votes too. And Stalin agreed. When Byrnes got back to the United States he found a note from Roosevelt instructing him not to discuss this agreement even in private. Later Roosevelt decided not to ask for the three votes for the United States. Byrnes says he never discovered the reason.¹⁰⁶

When this conference ended, Roosevelt went to Egypt where he boarded the *Quincy* again and sailed into the Mediterranean. He was a very weary man, worn and spent with disease. He was trying now to get a little rest and quiet in this soft, sunshiny sea. But he received aboard the *Quincy* three kings—Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. King Ibn Saud, one of the most powerful personalities in the Near East and a man of the most direct methods, had one great problem on his mind—Palestine. At this visit, according to Roosevelt himself, the President assured him that "no decision would be taken with regard to the

basic situation in that country (Palestine) without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews." He assured Ibn Saud that "*I would take no action in my capacity as Chief of the Executive branch of the government, which might prove hostile to the Arab people.*" This did not become known until October, 1945, after Roosevelt's death.¹⁰⁷ To seal and cement these assurances of friendship Roosevelt presented Ibn Saud with his own wheel chair, which the King had admired, and an airplane belonging to the American Navy.

Roosevelt took a leisurely trip home, to Alexandria, to Algiers, Gibraltar and then to the open sea. Sam Rosenman joined him to prepare the speech he would deliver to Congress on his return, for he considered this the great crowning incident of policy for binding up the wounds of the war-torn world. On the way home General Watson, his military secretary, died suddenly of heart disease. Roosevelt reached Washington the end of February. On March 1 he appeared before a joint session of Congress. He told the Congress that "more than ever before the major allies are closely united," that "the ideal of lasting peace will become a reality." There was no hint that the surrender which was now formally announced with respect to eastern Poland was in fact a major defeat. The disappearance of the Baltic states and practically all the Balkans behind Stalin's iron curtain was not announced in any other terms than as a great forward step in the liberation of Europe. As for western Poland, there were heavy overtones of guilt and frustration unintentionally evident. After all, there was no such nation as Poland before the First World War, said the President; *after all* most of the inhabitants of eastern Poland were not really Poles; *after all* the Poles were getting a big chunk of East Prussia as compensation; *after all* "the political and economic policy of the liberated areas will be the joint responsibility of all three governments."

He told Congress "our objective was to create a strong, independent and prosperous nation (in Poland). That's the thing always to remember, those words, agreed to by Russia, by Britain and by me, the objective of making Poland a strong, independent and prosperous nation with a government ultimately to be selected by the Polish people themselves."

He ended by assuring Congress that the Crimean conference "marked the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances and spheres of influence and balances of power and all the other expedients that have been tried for centuries and have always failed."

In two months Roosevelt was dead. Truman became President. Shortly after, in May, the German army surrendered. The fighting war in the West was over.

It is worth observing how statesmen can control their emotions to suit their policies. Poland had been thrown to the wolves in the new era of appeasement. When the Polish Premier Mikolajczyk, alarmed at the rumors rife about the undisclosed agreements at Teheran, asked Churchill pointedly what guarantee there was that what remained of Poland would be respected, Churchill grew angry. He told Mikolajczyk he was crazy. And he declared bluntly that he was not going to wreck the peace of Europe because of a quarrel between Poles.¹⁰⁸ Of course it was not a quarrel between Poles, but between Poles and the tyrant who had succeeded Hitler in the role of aggressor. It was only a few years before that Churchill had heaped his scorn upon Neville Chamberlain who appeased Hitler at Munich. In his best House of Commons manner he intoned the requiem of Czechoslovakia. "All is over," he said. "Silent, mournful, broken Czechoslovakia recedes into the darkness. She has suffered in every respect by her association with the Western democracies." Chamberlain appeased Hitler and averted war. Churchill got for England both a war and appeasement.

It must be said in fairness that Churchill's problem was profoundly complicated in the end. He at least was thinking in terms of the interests of the country he had sworn to represent. Roosevelt seemed quite indifferent to the position in which his country would stand at the end of the war, fixing his gaze instead upon a goal which, however noble in purpose, was, in the circumstances, utterly futile because of the man he was dealing with. Also, in Churchill's case, he was confronted with the double difficulty of protecting his own country at the same time from the wiles of Stalin and the gullibility of Roosevelt.

While the next meeting—the Potsdam conference—was not held until after Roosevelt's death and Truman had become President, it is necessary, to complete this story of our foreign affairs, to include a brief account of it.

The end of the war against Germany came in May. On July 3, James F. Byrnes was named Secretary of State. And on July 15 he and President Truman, with Stalin and Churchill, began the Potsdam conference at Berlin.

Potsdam became a term of odium among the critics of the allied post-war agreements. At Potsdam the agreement reached covered most of the subjects that had been included in the earlier conferences. The humiliating failure of our whole post-war policy has been described as the fruit of Potsdam. Writing of this, William Henry Chamberlain sums up the verdict as follows:

"Were the terms of the Potsdam agreement to be carried over any long term of years, they would lead to one of the greatest crimes or greatest follies in human history. Should they be rigorously enforced without giving Germany relief, a gigantic Buchanwald or Belsen would be created in the heart of Europe. Millions, perhaps tens of millions, of Germans would perish of malnutrition and associated diseases. It would literally be more human to select a quarter or a third of the German population and extinguish their lives quickly by means of firing squads or gas chamber."¹⁰⁹

He quotes Sir William Beveridge as saying it was done "in a black moment of anger and confusion." And he adds that if common humanity should rebel at the spectacle our alternative would be to pour in hundreds of millions of dollars a year to escape the consequences of our own vengeance.

All this is true. But it is, I think, a complete mistake to lay these crimes at the door of the men who went to Potsdam for us. All the major decisions which make up the incredible record of surrender, blunder and savagery had already been made long before President Truman and Secretary Byrnes went to Potsdam. What Truman and Byrnes could have done at Potsdam other than they did is difficult to discover. The war was over. Europe lay in ruins. Roosevelt had

conceded everything to Stalin. The only things he got on his own demand were the United Nations, which he got as Stalin wished it, and the Morgenthau plan. It would be well for us if we could lay the latter, too, at the door of Stalin, with whose ruthless philosophy it is as perfectly in accord as it is repugnant to ours.

It is the simple truth to say that Stalin had out-generaled Roosevelt at every point. Or perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say that Roosevelt had out-generaled himself. Stalin had merely to sit tight, to make known his wishes and Roosevelt laid them in his lap with eager compliance in the notion that he could thus soften Stalin. It is all the more incredible when we remember that the things he was laying in Stalin's lap were the existence of little nations and the rights of little peoples we had sworn to defend. And when Truman and Byrnes went to Potsdam what confronted them was an appalling mess.

On the other hand, they must bear their share of responsibility for the power that was put into Roosevelt's hands. But here again it is but just to say that Messrs. Truman and Byrnes knew little of what had happened at the preceding conferences. Roosevelt not only made agreements secret from the people but secret from his closest advisers in the government. He made agreements with Stalin hostile to the objectives of Churchill and kept secret from Churchill. He made secret agreements with Chiang Kai-shek, secret from both Churchill and Stalin, and secret agreements in derogation of Chiang Kai-shek's interests without his knowledge. And he made many secret agreements which no one in our State Department knew about until his death and then learned about them the hard way, by having them flung in their faces at embarrassing moments by Molotov.

The actual agreements at Potsdam may be summed up as follows: A blueprint for the control of Germany was made, based on the Morgenthau plan, which had already been agreed to, but relieved in some small degree of its original horrible severity. A council of foreign ministers was formed, including France, China, Russia, Britain and the United States, to draw up peace treaties. And the

carrying out of all the agreements was to be supervised by the Council of Foreign Ministers.

The net result of all these various conferences and agreements was that our government put into Stalin's hands the means of seizing a great slab of the continent of Europe, then stood aside while he took it and finally acquiesced in his conquests. We gave him the planes, tanks, motor transport, guns, oil and other supplies to the extent of over 11 billion dollars without which he would have been helpless. We withheld our attack on Fortress Europe against the advice of all our military leaders until the prize was almost in Stalin's grasp. Then in a series of conferences with him we yielded it all in return for his promise to come into the United Nations on terms which enabled him to wreck that as an instrument of settling any serious international dispute.

It will not do to say that all we yielded was eastern Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and parts of Rumania; that as to Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, Stalin took these over by violating the agreement he made with us to hold free elections. Did Roosevelt really think Stalin would hold free elections when he agreed to let the Russian dictator conduct the elections—Stalin who had been exhibiting for years his idea of "free elections" in Russia?

At the end of all this, Russia held in her hands a vast belt of land running from the Baltic sea in the north to the Black Sea in the south, comprising eleven nations with a population of 100 million people. These she held, not as parts of the Soviet Union, but as puppet states, presided over by Red Quislings of Stalin's own selection who represented him and not the people they governed, any more than Quisling represented the people of Norway.

14 } The President's Death

THE STORY OF ANY MAN'S DECLINE INTO DISEASE AND DEATH naturally excites the sympathy of the human heart. The illness which caused Roosevelt's death was a personal misfortune. It was, in another sense, a misfortune for those who held power by virtue of his position. But it was an act of immeasurable gravity to involve the nation and, perhaps, the world, in that misfortune. The million young men in our armed forces who were killed or who were crippled, blinded or ruined for life in the war were no less the victims of misfortune and their plight, too, touches deeply the sympathies of the human heart. Did the nation not owe to them too, something, at least to the extent of not throwing away the fruits of their sufferings in order to gratify the ambitions of one man, even though he might be sick and dying?

It is, of course, easy to say that Roosevelt, broken on the wheel of service, was with tremendous courage giving the last ounce of his waning strength in the service of his country. But after all, his country in that critical moment of history was entitled to something more in a leader than the *last ineffectual ounces of his strength*. Throughout the war momentous decisions had to be made on military matters. But there were military leaders capable of making them. Once made, they had to be carried out on the field by fighting men. But the moment was close at hand when the decisions to be made were in the field of diplomacy and they would have to be made by Roosevelt himself; and when made would have to be carried out by him in conference with, and to some extent against, our allies. As I write a judge who is blind is being subjected to proceed-

ings for his removal because, though he may be a good man, he is incapable of discharging his functions. A president, too ill to do more than few hours work a day, whose hands trembled, whose energies were feeble, whose mind was weary and who, at times, was only partially conscious of his surroundings, was not the kind of representative America needed to confront the far more experienced and subtle Churchill and Stalin in the disposition of the affairs of the world. A chief of staff in Roosevelt's condition would have been summarily removed if he did not have the decency to resign. A department head in peacetime as feeble as Roosevelt would have been promptly relieved. Yet this America, so powerful in her economic energies, so tremendous upon the seas, in the air, upon the battlefield, whose might astonished the world, now, in the crucial moment of victory when she would capture or lose the fruits of the victory, put her fortunes into the hands of a drooping, jaded and haggard man, a mere shell, drifting wearily to the grave. But America did not know this.

The people of the United States are generous. We were at war and the President was the leader. A generous and patriotic disposition of the people is to submerge their critical feelings and to give the leader unquestioning loyalty. It was a sin of the first order to take advantage of this generous attitude to deceive the people. There were, to sensitive eyes, obvious evidences of Roosevelt's illness during the campaign for the presidency in 1944, despite all the devices to conceal them. But when the people were told that he was well and strong and active, that "he was in tip-top condition," that he was enjoying "excellent health for a man of his age," that he was a bit tired, to be sure, under the galling burdens of the war—as who would not be—the people believed these untruths. And when these guarantees of his health came from an admiral in the Navy delegated to watch over the President's health, they resented the suggestions of those who told them the truth. They did not suspect that the admiral was, if telling the truth, doing so, as Merriam Smith, United Press correspondent, says in the admiral's defense, in such a way as to be "misleading."

The truth is that Roosevelt was a dying man when he was elected,

that many of those around him knew it, that the most elaborate care was exercised to conceal the fact from the people and that the misgivings of those who observed it were justified by events, since he died less than three months after his fourth inauguration. The progress of that illness and the means employed to deceive the people must be examined.

So much speculation followed Roosevelt's death and so much criticism was leveled against his official family that Rear Admiral Ross T. McIntire, his official physician, felt called upon to put in a book his formal apologia. The volume offers a connected account of Roosevelt's illness and pretends to be the candid statement of a man of science. During the campaign of 1944, Admiral McIntire made three public statements that the President was in perfect health.¹¹⁰ He was severely criticized for this. He was a naval officer employed by the people to watch over the President's health and these statements had the effect of deceiving the employers of the President and of the Admiral—namely the people. Fairness to McIntire calls for some scrutiny of this charge. He was the President's physician employed by the government in that role. But he was not the President's personal physician in the sense in which one understands that relationship in private life. He was the President's physician but not the President's employee. However, it must be conceded that he could not discharge his functions as physician unless he enjoyed completely the President's confidence about his health. He could not hope to have this and discharge his functions intelligently if he issued statements disclosing the diseases and infirmities from which the President suffered. He would be within his rights, therefore, if, when queried about the President's health, he refused to make any disclosures. However, if it was proper for him to remain silent about the President's ailments, it was equally his duty to his employers—the people—not to issue statements in order to influence the course of a political campaign and advance the political ambitions of the President. Mr. Merriam Smith, the correspondent who covered the White House for the United Press, says in defense of McIntire that: "To his credit, McIntire never lied about Roosevelt's condition. He told the truth

*but in language that could easily be misleading."*¹¹¹ The object of an artfully devised statement that contained technically the truth but which was designed to mislead becomes a grave matter when we reflect that the persons to be misled were the Admiral's employers, the people.

As far as we know, Roosevelt's descent into that condition which took his life began after he returned from the Teheran conference in December, 1943. He went to Hyde Park for the Christmas holidays. There, according to Dr. McIntire, he suffered a brief attack of influenza followed by a bronchial infection. Whatever laid him low that Christmas week, the fact remains that from that time on he spent, until the day he died, less than half his time in the White House. During the year 1944 he was absent from the White House 175 days. Thirty of these were on a trip to the Pacific lasting something over 30 days. There were perhaps two weeks consumed by the campaign. There was less than a week at the Quebec conference. The balance—much over 100 days—were spent at Hobcaw Barony in South Carolina recuperating or at Hyde Park or at a hide-out the President had in Maryland.

We have seen how, following the illness at Hyde Park in Christmas week, 1943, Roosevelt was indisposed continuously until finally doctors called into consultation advised that he go into the sun of the South and he went to Baruch's estate on the ocean in South Carolina, where he spent a full month in an effort to recuperate. And we have seen how, before he returned to the White House, Dr. McIntire put him on a daily schedule which limited him to four hours' work a day, ten hours of sleep at night, an hour and a half for meals in his private room and the balance of the time lying down, getting treatments or resting. This, we must recall, was the essential condition not until he recovered his health, but for the rest of his life if he wished to live—a program suited only to a man in semi-retirement at most. But Dr. McIntire never disclosed this until after Roosevelt's death, and for some strange reason did not even then realize that no man could discharge the grave responsibilities of the war on such a schedule and that the very necessity of such a schedule rendered him incapable of continuing in his high office.

What disease Roosevelt suffered from at Hyde Park and later, that produced such grave consequences, we do not know save upon the statements of Dr. McIntire. Many other doctors were called in to examine the patient, but none of these men has ever made any statements. However, while the illness seemingly began at Hyde Park after the return from Teheran, there is at least some evidence that he was far from sound before that time. Three men have written about the trip to Cairo and Teheran—Dr. McIntire, Mike Reilly, chief of the President's Secret Service guard, and Elliott Roosevelt. The President went to Cairo by sea. But he wanted to fly from there to Teheran. Reilly tells us that Admiral McIntire "did not want to submit some of the members of the party to the rigors of high altitude flight" but that "the President was not one of these members."¹¹² And McIntire volunteers the information that Roosevelt suffered no discomfort on high altitude flights and had shown no signs of anoxemia when flying at altitudes of 10,000 to 12,000 feet.¹¹³ You might suppose from this Roosevelt was quite a flier. Yet he had never been in a plane since he flew to Chicago for his first acceptance speech 11 years before until he made the trip to Casablanca—his only flight while President before Teheran. However, Elliott Roosevelt in his book defeats these yarns. He tells how McIntire was worried about Father's projected flight. "I'm serious, Elliott," said McIntire. "I think he could fly only as far as Basra and then go on by train." Elliott wanted to know what height his father might fly, to which McIntire replied: "Nothing over 7500 feet—and *that's tops*."¹¹⁴

Elliott talked to the President's proposed pilot, Major Otis Bryan who, with Mike Reilly, made an inspection flight from Teheran to Basra and back and reported that the trip could be made without going higher than 7000 feet, which, says Elliott, "pleased Father very much."¹¹⁵ Thus McIntire and Reilly are both caught red-handed misleading their readers. This was before Teheran.

Whatever malady struck Roosevelt down at Hyde Park in December and kept him pretty much out of circulation until nearly the middle of May, 1944, we know that McIntire at that time caused a heart specialist from Boston to be inducted into the service to

remain continuously at Roosevelt's side and that this heart specialist, Dr. Howard Bruenn, said a year later at Warm Springs that he "never let Roosevelt get out of his sight," which is a most unusual performance in the case of a patient whose "stout heart never failed him," as Dr. McIntire puts it.

A great mystery surrounded this illness. Secretary Frances Perkins says that all "the cabinet knew about it was that it was not an ordinary cold." As cabinet meetings were skipped "they became concerned." When he did return it was understood that he had had a cold, "perhaps a touch of pneumonia, although one was not told and did not ask."¹¹⁶ Why this secrecy even with the cabinet? He spent little time in the White House but that fact was not revealed. All during March he practically disappeared from the news, save once on March 17 when he emerged to call upon the Finns to quit fighting our noble ally Russia. On April 7, he appeared at his office and next day left for Hobcaw Barony for a month's rest. He was examined by two specialists before going there. McIntire says they found "a moderate degree of arteriosclerosis and some changes in the cardiac tracings."¹¹⁷ Since McIntire brought in a heart specialist as Roosevelt's constant attendant and since it was arteriosclerosis which turned him into an old man who looked ten years older than the 69-year-old Churchill and which killed him a year later, we have a right to assume that the admiral-doctor was not dealing fairly with the American people in the rosy statements he issued about the President's health.

As a matter of fact, Dr. McIntire admits that while he was issuing these misleading statements to the American people, he was talking very differently to Roosevelt in private. He told the President, according to his book: "You may feel fine but you don't look it. Your neck is scrawny and your face is gulled by a lot of lines that have aged you ten years."¹¹⁸ What did McIntire think had made Roosevelt's neck so scrawny, his face so thin and had imprinted on it those lines that "aged him ten years"? It was certainly not attributable to that "tip-top" condition, that "excellent health" which he was reporting to the public. He had Roosevelt examined by five specialists before he permitted him to leave the Hobcaw Barony retreat and, to be certain, he called in two more. When Roosevelt

did go back to Washington on his four-hour day he spent little time at the White House. He wanted a retreat close by Washington and caused to be built a settlement for himself in the Catoctin Mountains in Maryland. There was a large cabin for him, one for the Secret Service guards, a guest cabin, a cottage for the secretaries and staff, a mess hall for the hired help, and a pool. The existence and location of this retreat were never made known. Roosevelt referred to it among the correspondents as Shangri-La. And it was to this isolated hideaway he went to escape the pressing duties of the presidency. It was here, perhaps, unknown to the public, he spent much of his time. This was the condition of the invalided President who was now preparing for a fourth try at the presidency on the theory that he was the only man in America capable of representing us in the peace negotiations and of standing up to the iron man in the Kremlin.

We must recall how, as the Democratic Convention was assembling in Chicago in July, Roosevelt started on his trip to the Pacific, stopping at Chicago to confer with Hannegan and at San Diego to make his acceptance speech. It was the picture taken of him as he spoke at San Diego that shocked the people. McIntire blamed this revealing photograph upon the photographers, as if they had committed some offense in not touching it up to suppress the truth. We are asked to believe that Roosevelt exposed himself to the "rigors" of this trip as part of his duty as Commander-in-chief. An executive who had been forced to remain away from his desk so long, now absented himself for another month just to inspect troops, hospitals and island bases, far from the only place where, as executive, he could make decisions—namely in Washington where all the military, naval and diplomatic services were centered. His conference with MacArthur and Nimitz lasted only a few hours. This whole trip was a long vacation for Roosevelt, aside from the purely theatrical and incidental emphasis upon the Commander-in-chief out in the thick of the battle-torn Pacific. However, on this trip his appalling physical condition was revealed to the commanders in Honolulu. They were shocked at his appearance, despite the long,

restful sea trip. Here for the first time we hear of his conversation falling into intervals of irrelevance. Here at a dinner he sat reading a short speech. Suddenly he faltered and paused, his eyes became glassy, consciousness drifted from him. The man at his side nudged him, shook him a little, pointed to the place in the manuscript at which he broke off and said: "Here, Mr. President, is your place." With an effort he resumed.¹¹⁹ As he was wheeled from his quarters, officers noticed his head drooping forward, his jaw hanging loosely. He returned to Washington on August 18. It was a long, restful interlude. Yet, though he was mentally refreshed, Merriam Smith, the UP correspondent, said "he was physically tired." But all this was concealed from the voters.

Roosevelt planned to take little part in the campaign because he was unequal to it, but he decided to make a few speeches at Washington, New York, Boston and Chicago and a few short ones at way stations. The speeches at Washington and New York convinced some of the doctors with whom I talked that he was approaching the end of his life. The brain is the control room of the body. From some compartment in that extraordinary instrument-room every part of the body is controlled. The face is one of the most complex muscular organisms in the body. It is capable of performing a great number of complex muscular operations simultaneously—sneering, smiling, wrinkling the brows, moving the eyes, and with the aid of the lips and the tongue, forming our entire vocabulary. And all these several functions are directed from various separate sections of the brain. A specialist looking at such a face in the movies and hearing its speech there or over the air can detect the difficulty or failure with which the brain obeys the commands of the will, the mumbled syllables, and uncompleted words, the flaccid and unresponding facial muscles, all of which signify to the expert that there is a cerebral disturbance of some kind. Physicians, and particularly neurologists, who saw these pictures of Roosevelt or heard his voice over the air predicted he would be dead within a year. But Dr. McIntire seemed to be blind to these warnings. Certainly Sidney Hillman and Henry Wallace knew it. And thus we saw that cabal

to seize the Presidency of the United States for Wallace by way of his renomination for Vice-President—a scheme which, with Roosevelt's aid, came very near to success.

Everything that was done in the campaign was designed, while taxing Roosevelt's brain and heart the least, to create the impression that he was well and strong. The speech at the Teamsters' dinner was prepared by Robert Sherwood and was a dramatist's maneuver to cast Roosevelt in the role of a happy, merry, carefree jokester. The trip to New York around the streets was to exhibit him as a rugged campaigner. The rain which drenched it was not planned, but it added to the effect. Of course he sat the entire time in a large limousine, wrapped in heavy furs, with an electric heater under the seat and another at his feet. Whether the rain did him any good or not we cannot say. But it was quite successful in lulling the populace into supposing that the President was hail and hearty. On election night he was, as usual, at Hyde Park. Merriam Smith writes that as he came onto the porch after the returns indicated the result "he looked older than I had ever seen him and he made an irrelevant speech." At the Nelson House in Poughkeepsie that night the reporters sat around talking politics. Smith says they were "arguing entirely about the chances of his living out his fourth term. Those who believed he would were in the decided minority." ¹²⁰

After the election, Roosevelt dropped out of the news for some time. A story is told that shortly before election he had had another one of those lapses of complete consciousness much the same as happened to him at Honolulu. He remained at Hyde Park until November 10 and then dropped out of the news until November 28. That day he went to Warm Springs for another rest until December 23 and then to Hyde Park for the Christmas holidays. Dr. McIntire attempts to convince us that all the trouble stemmed from his refusal to adhere to the semi-retirement schedule worked out for him. From election day to January 1, he was in almost complete retirement. He was not even up to the meager routine prescribed by McIntire.

As the fourth inauguration approached, one or two cabinet meet-

ings were omitted. Secretary Perkins says it was understood the President was very much occupied. As he was about to absent himself for the conference at Yalta, it was assumed he was putting in much time preparing himself. Dr. McIntire remonstrated with him, but he says Roosevelt would not listen. Dr. McIntire kept in mind the advice that if his patient wanted to live he could work only four hours a day. It did not occur to him, apparently, that if he wanted to be President he could not do that. The day before the inauguration a cabinet meeting was held. Secretary Perkins says Roosevelt didn't look well. His clothes seemed too big for him, his face was thin, his color gray, his eyes dull. Everyone in the room sensed it and felt they must not tire him. After the cabinet meeting, Miss Perkins asked to see him. She had told him she intended to retire and had packed her papers for departure. She wanted a farewell talk. As she entered his room "he looked awful." He had the "pallor, the deep gray color of a man who had been long ill." He sat in an office chair with his hands to his head as if to hold it up. The two-hour cabinet meeting had wrecked him. His hands shook. He begged her piteously not to leave the cabinet yet. As she left she whispered to an attendant to bring his chair and to make him lie down. She tells how she went to her office frightened. She called her secretary to her office and closed the door. She said: "Don't tell a soul . . . I can't stand it. The President looks horrible. I am afraid he is ill." And some days later Henry Wallace's wife told Frances Perkins that she too was frightened. They agreed to keep quiet about it.¹²¹ The spectacle of this dying man was naturally enough to crush a woman who was among his oldest friends, who had had great honors at his hands and who was devoted to him. It was enough to frighten her. But this man was about to be sworn in, within 24 hours, as President of the United States for another four years. It was this gray and fading ghost of a man who was about to be re-endowed with the authority and duty of going, within 48 hours, to meet the grim and resolute dictator of the Russians to rearrange the affairs of the world.

He left for Yalta the day after the inauguration. On the way over he was confined to his room. He was, as we have seen, unable to

have any conferences with Mr. Byrnes, who was going as his adviser. He emerged from his room only for meals or a movie to which he was wheeled. Yet McIntire says he "reached Yalta in fine fettle." Pictures taken there and published shocked the nation. It was all the fault of the photographers, says McIntire. But why didn't the same pictures reveal Churchill, seven years older, and Stalin, two years older than Roosevelt, as gray, wan and ill? When the conference ended, Roosevelt started home. McIntire said: "Vital was the word for Roosevelt."¹²² He described the President on the way home as spending most of the day with Sam Rosenman in the "drudging business" of preparing his speech to Congress. But the UP reporter Smith said he spent much of the day sitting on the deck in the sun, playing solitaire and reading detective stories.

McIntire admits that while delivering the Yalta speech, Roosevelt exhibited signs of fatigue. When it was over he went to Warm Springs to rest. But he was planning more trips—more gruelling trips, as McIntire thought of them when he was interested in explaining Roosevelt's rugged life. He planned to go to San Francisco for the inaugural meeting of the United Nations and then on to the Pacific and into China. Obviously there was no important duty of the presidency that required him to go to the Pacific or to travel in China. His duties were at home. But these trips, despite the ballyhoo, were planned as escape voyages, expedients to avoid the drudgery of the Presidency which he was utterly incapable of facing, long restful days on shipboard in rest, idleness and sleep.

Roosevelt got to Warm Springs on March 30. On April 12 he was dead. But his doctors never flagged in their determination to exhibit him as a well man. McIntire says that by April 5 he "was feeling fine." Yet on that very day the correspondents, admitted to his cottage when he was receiving President Osmena of the Philippines in a purely formal call, described him as being in a sad way. His hands shook "more than ever," which implies that they habitually trembled but this day worse than before. He could hardly get a cigarette out of the package because of this trembling. Smith writes that in the last six months his hearing had become gravely affected and that his voice, once so strong that it could shake the

windows, was now so thin that he could not always be understood. Yet when he died and the reporters reached his cottage, Dr. Bruenn's first words were: "He'd been feeling fine. He was awfully tired when he first came down here. But you saw him the other day (April 5)—*wasn't he in fine spirits?*" Smith answered: "Yes, he was in fine spirits. But he didn't look healthy."¹²³ Only his doctors seemingly were blind to that fact.

Admiral McIntire in his book bears down heavily on the terrible ordeal of travel to which Roosevelt was subjected. After describing the trips and shrewdly exaggerating their rigors, he says: "I submit that a sick and failing man could not have withstood these journeys, calling for mental and physical effort."

The doctor plays upon the average reader's conception of travel as he does it himself—rushing for trains, standing in line for tickets, jostling depot crowds. The President didn't travel that way. Without a thought about arrangements, his limousine took him to a specially constructed private station, then into his wheel-chair and onto an elevator built into the private car fitted with a large staff and every luxury. The car was specially built for him and presented by the railroads whose managers he loved to castigate as economic royalists. Then to a great war vessel specially outfitted with ramps and elevators for him at the cost of a hundred thousand dollars or more and with a numerous staff to answer his every call. These trips, involving long days on the ocean and only a few days at the destinations, afforded him time for complete rest and sleep in his cabin and on the deck in the sun. No sick man could ask for a more delightful form of rest—ten days across the Pacific and as many back, doctors watching over him, masseurs to give him exercise without any effort on his part, every whim anticipated and satisfied. The chief purpose of the long trips was rest. He might have flown, as he did to Casablanca, but the long ocean voyages were chosen as restoratives and not as harrying drafts upon his energies.

One of the rumors about Roosevelt that had wide currency was that he had had a heart attack or a stroke. McIntire writes: "The President never had a stroke, never had a serious heart condition and never underwent other operations than the removal of a wen

and the extraction of an infected tooth.”¹²⁴ Similarly Mike Reilly, head of his Secret Service detail, writes: “I will swear on everything I love or believe that the Boss never had a heart attack and that he was never seriously ill in the ten years that I worked for him until the day he died.”¹²⁵

Let us scrutinize these statements. I think it is true that Roosevelt never had a heart attack. As to having a stroke, that is another matter. The word “stroke” has a technical meaning. It may be used to describe an extensive cerebral thrombosis or clot in one of the important vessels of the brain, or a hemorrhage by rupture of a vessel—and cause death or paralysis in some part of the body. However, a man in Roosevelt’s condition could suffer a condition that would be less serious—a blood vessel spasm which produces a sudden and transient semi-unconsciousness, such as Roosevelt had at the dinner in Honolulu and which only those very close to him perceived. He had a similar condition in the White House in the presence of an eminent visitor only a few days before the New York campaign trip. This would be called, not a stroke, but a cerebral vascular spasm. In the case of a cerebral hemorrhage a rupture of a blood vessel in the brain occurs, flooding the adjacent tissues and putting out of business the sections thus affected and hence paralyzing the functions of those areas of the body served by the flooded portions. If sufficiently severe or continuous it will produce death. An intermittent claudication or cerebral occlusion is the result not of a rupture but of the narrowing of the blood vessels in the brain—usually with lime deposits—diminishing off the flow of blood or shutting it off entirely to a section of the brain for a moment or two or even a few minutes and producing an interval of mental vagueness or semi-consciousness or full unconsciousness until the spasm ceases and the blood resumes its course. It is similar to what is known as angina pectoris in which the vessels supplying the heart are shut off or occluded. But the heart cannot go without blood for more than two minutes without death and such attacks as Roosevelt suffered in the brain from cerebral occlusion would have been fatal in the heart.

Roosevelt may not have had a stroke, but he certainly suffered

more than once a cerebral occlusion as distinguished from a hemorrhage. He may not have had an anginal attack but he did have something that threatened his heart, that produced a rapid physical deterioration and that led Dr. McIntire to put him for more than a year under the constant surveillance of a heart specialist.

Admiral McIntire puts much faith in a series of check-ups, some of which he publishes in his book and which, he assures us, revealed Roosevelt in a generally sound organic condition. But of what value were these check-ups when before his eyes his patient was gradually withering away, losing weight, growing pallid, drifting occasionally into irrelevance in his talk, becoming ever more listless and glassy-eyed? Everybody who came near Roosevelt saw this. Reporters commented on it. Miss Perkins was horrified at his inauguration. Ed Flynn, his campaign manager, writes that he had noticed Roosevelt's mental deterioration before his election for a third term, his delayed reactions for instance. Merriam Smith noticed his trembling hands, his halting speech, his irrelevant talks, his weak voice.

There is in fact no escape for the men immediately around Roosevelt. He was utterly unfit for his high office long before the election. He was dying slowly at first, rapidly later. And at his side as his chief adviser was another dying man—Harry Hopkins. Hopkins had had a portion of his stomach removed for ulcers and what was known as a gastro-enterotomy performed. After this his liver troubled him and the gall bladder failed to supply satisfactorily the essential bile necessary to digestion. He depended on tablets to supply bile by mouth. A second operation was performed and an attempt made to remedy the condition. Cancer of the pylorus was the most likely diagnosis, but it was never found, and the final opinion was that he actually died of sprue. At any rate, after the second operation he was slowly starving to death and sitting at times in a condition when he was only half conscious of his environment. These two dying men, floating slowly out of life, were deliberately put into power through a fourth-term election by a carefully arranged deception practiced upon the American people and upon some, at least, of the party leaders. Here was a crime committed against a great nation which had made tremendous sacrifices and

against the peace and security of the world in a moment of the gravest danger. History will pronounce its verdict upon all who were guilty.

After Roosevelt's death a whole train of rumors began to circulate about the causes. And these rumors still persist. He was stricken at 1:15 P.M. and died at 4:35 P.M. Dr. McIntire was immediately notified of the stroke, in Washington and he, Mrs. Roosevelt and Steve Early left at once by plane for Warm Springs, arriving there at 11 P.M. They immediately decided to have no autopsy. The body was consigned to its coffin and orders issued not to open it. It was taken from Warm Springs next morning at 9 o'clock. It reached Washington next day—the 14th—and after lying for a few hours without ever being opened was taken that night to Hyde Park for interment next day. It has been the custom in the past for the remains of deceased Presidents to lie in state in the Capitol. This was not done. Present in the cottage when the President was stricken were the artist, Mrs. Schoumatoff, who was painting his portrait, his two cousins, his valet and several others. The artist, a Russian, was ordered to leave at once. She took train without delay and was not located until two days later at Locust Valley, L. I. Being a Russian, weird stories that the President had been shot were built upon this circumstance. Other tales are to the effect that he shot himself, that he took poison or was poisoned and still another that he drove to the top of a nearby cliff and off to his death and that the body was reclaimed and brought back into the house, that the undertaker when he arrived found a bloody bandage on his head, and so on.

There is, of course, no truth in these stories. There were three persons in the room when the President suffered the final cerebral hemorrhage. His Negro valet saw him immediately after and carried him to his room. Later Dr. Howard Bruenn, Dr. James Paullin and Major George Fox, his masseur were at his bedside and at one time Mike Reilly was there. There were three in the room when the President died. There is no reason whatever to suppose that the circumstances and cause of his death were not precisely as they have been officially described. He died of a cerebral hemorrhage caused by arteriosclerosis which had been slowly progressing during

the preceding year and a half. The stroke was merely the final episode of an illness which had manifested every usual symptom and which was concealed from the American people.

Admiral McIntire is not the first physician to get himself into a stew about his distinguished patient and find it necessary to write a book in his own defense. At St. Helena the British government provided its illustrious prisoner, Napoleon I, with a physician. He was Dr. Francesco Antomarchi, a Corsican, who however, did not seem particularly fond of his fallen countryman and who failed signally to win Napoleon's confidence. Dr. Antomarchi persisted to the end in the belief that his royal patient was not seriously ill. Napoleon convinced himself that his physician did not know what he was doing and that the medicines he was prescribing were actually injuring him. Napoleon watched his chance and when the doctor's back was turned, handed the mixture just prepared for him to an aide who swallowed it and was immediately taken with a violent internal disturbance. The Emperor denounced Antomarchi as an assassin. Dr. MacLaurin,¹²⁶ who has written interestingly of this case, observes that from the symptoms now known to be present and even in the then state of medical knowledge at that period, the veriest blockhead would have known that the Emperor was seriously ill. Napoleon died shortly after the incident described above of cancer of the stomach. In this case, instead of passing up the autopsy, Antomarchi performed one himself in order to prove that there were no symptoms present to inform him of the presence of cancer and he wrote a book upon the subject.

Roosevelt died of a massive cerebral hemorrhage resulting from a progressive arteriosclerosis which Dr. McIntire says he did not observe and he insists that medical knowledge has not advanced to the point where an impending cerebral hemorrhage can be forecast. He tells us he discussed the matter with many excellent pathologists and that he has yet to find one willing to say "that one can tell *when* a man will have a cerebral hemorrhage or *when he will not*." ¹²⁷ (Italics added.) A careful analysis of this statement makes it very clear that the doctor is depending upon the hurried reading which the casual person will give his words. Of course few doctors

will say they can tell "when" a man will have a cerebral hemorrhage and "when" he will not. That is not the point. Few doctors can tell how long the blood vessels will hold out against the strain put upon them in cases of arteriosclerosis. They cannot forecast *the time* when a hemorrhage will occur. But they can tell that a man will have such an attack at some unpredictable time, and they can make a reasonable estimate of the so-called prognosis. They cannot, as the doctor artfully infers, say that it will not happen tomorrow or next week or next month. But they can say that the conditions making for such a disaster at some undetermined time are present. Even in January, 1944, the doctors found what McIntire called a "moderate degree" of arteriosclerosis. And it is certain that this was the disease which produced the stroke of April 12, 1945. And it is certain that there were obvious, even to casual observers, evidences of great deterioration both physically and mentally—the trembling hands, the loss of weight and the shocking emaciation, the terrible fatigue, the lack of ability to coordinate the muscles of the face, the intervals of irrelevance in the talk, and more than one instance of cerebral occlusion. Certainly there was something critically wrong with this patient and certainly he died from the very disease and cause which doctors who merely saw Roosevelt occasionally or in the pictures or heard him over the air predicted he would. McIntire, like Antomarchi, wrote a book about his patient and his death, but unlike Antomarchi he did not perform an autopsy. An autopsy might have disclosed other prior attacks.

It is not merely a question as to the disease that ended Roosevelt's life. Roosevelt's death is not the serious point. After all, when a president dies there is a vice-president to succeed him. The serious offense lay in palming off upon the country a hopeless invalid, by McIntire's own account incapable of discharging the duties of the presidency in a great and terrible national emergency.¹²⁸

15 } The Roosevelt Myth

WHEN THE WAR DRUMS ROLLED A GREAT GOLDEN VEIL CAME DOWN upon the American scene through which its actors would be viewed. Behind it they postured—statesmen and generals and admirals—in the role of heroes. And lifted above them all, posing in the full glory of the stage lights, decorated by propaganda with the virtues of a national god, was the figure of the Leader. When the battlefield is so far away, war is the greatest of all shows. It is the greatest of all booms. The money flows in rushing streams and for millions it becomes and remains the dizziest and most abundant memory of their lives. The lights have been going out, the bands have ceased playing, the propaganda machines are being slowly silenced and little by little life, scenery and actors are assuming their normal dimensions. Despite all this, many good people in America still cherish the illusion that Roosevelt performed some amazing feat of regeneration for this country. They believe he took our economic system when it was in utter disrepair and restored it again to vitality; that he took over our political system when it was at its lowest estate and restored it again to its full strength. He put himself on the side of the underprivileged masses. He transferred power from the great corporate barons to the simple working people of America. He curbed the adventurers of Wall Street, and gave security to the humble men and women of the country. And above all he led us through a great war for democracy and freedom and saved the civilization of Europe.

But not one of these claims can be sustained. He did not restore

our economic system to vitality. He changed it. The system he blundered us into is more like the managed and bureaucratized, state-supported system of Germany before World War I than our own traditional order. Before his regime we lived in a system which depended for its expansion upon private investment in private enterprise. Today we live in a system which depends for its expansion and vitality upon the government. This is a pre-war European importation—imported at the moment when it had fallen into complete disintegration in Europe. In America today every fourth person depends for his livelihood upon employment either directly by the government or indirectly in some industry supported by government funds. In this substituted system the government confiscates by taxes or borrowings the savings of all the citizens and invests them in non-wealth-producing enterprises in order to create work. Behold the picture of American economy today: taxes which confiscate the savings of every citizen, a public debt of 250 billion dollars as against a pre-Roosevelt debt of 19 billions, a government budget of 40 billions instead of four before Roosevelt, inflation doubling the prices and reducing the lower-bracket employed workers to a state of pauperism as bad as that of the unemployed in the depression, more people on various kinds of government relief than when we had 11 million unemployed, Americans trapped in the economic disasters and the political quarrels of every nation on earth and a system of permanent militarism closely resembling that we beheld with horror in Europe for decades, bureaucrats swarming over every field of life and the President calling for more power, more price-fixing, more regulation and more billions. Does this look like the traditional American scene? Or does it not look rather like the system built by Bismarck in Germany in the last century and imitated by all the lesser Bismarcks in Europe?

No, Roosevelt did not restore our economic system. He did not construct a new one. He substituted an old one which lives upon permanent crises and an armament economy. And he did this not by a process of orderly architecture and building, but by a succession of blunders, moving one step at a time, in flight from one problem to another, until we are now arrived at that kind of state-

supported economic system that will continue to devour a little at a time the private system until it disappears altogether.

He did not restore our political system to its full strength. One may like the shape into which he battered it, but it cannot be called a repair job. He changed our political system with two weapons—blank-check congressional appropriations and blank-check congressional legislation. In 1933, Congress abdicated much of its power when it put billions into his hands by a blanket appropriation to be spent at his sweet will and when it passed general laws, leaving it to him, through great government bureaus of his appointment, to fill in the details of legislation.

These two baleful mistakes gave him a power which he used ruthlessly. He used it to break down the power of the states and to move that power to Washington and to break down the power of Congress and concentrate it in the hands of the executive. The end of these two betrayals—the smashing of our economic system and the twisting of our political system—can only be the Planned Economic State, which, either in the form of Communism or Fascism, dominates the entire continent of Europe today. The capitalist system cannot live under these conditions. Free representative government cannot survive a Planned Economy. Such an economy can be managed only by a dictatorial government capable of enforcing the directives it issues. The only result of our present system—unless we reverse the drift—must be the gradual extension of the fascist sector and the gradual disappearance of the system of free enterprise under a free representative government.

There are men who honestly defend this transformation. They at least are honest. They believe in the Planned Economy. They believe in the highly centralized government operated by a powerful executive. They do not say Roosevelt saved our system. They say he has given us a new one. That is logical. But no one can praise Roosevelt for doing this and then insist that he restored our traditional political and economic systems to their former vitality.

The most tragic illusion about this man is that built up by the ceaseless repetition of the false statement that he gave us a system of security.

Security for whom? For the aged? An old-age security bill was passed during his first administration which provides for workers who reach the age of 65 a pension of \$8 a week at most. And even this meager and still very badly constructed plan had to be pushed through against a strange inertness on his part. Roosevelt's mind ran in curious circles. People have forgotten his procrastination about putting through the social security bill until in the 1934 congressional elections the Republicans denounced him for his tardiness. It is difficult to believe this now after all the propaganda that has washed over people's minds. And when he did finally consent to a bill, like so many good ideas that went into his mind, it came out badly twisted. It contained a plan for building a huge reserve fund that would have amounted to nothing more than a scheme to extract billions from the workers' payrolls without any adequate return. Over the protest of the President, the Congress finally took that incredible joker out of the law. But it is in every respect a pathetically inadequate law. Does anyone imagine that \$8 a week is security for anyone, particularly since Roosevelt's inflation has cut the value of that in half?

But what of the millions of people who through long years of thrift and saving have been providing their own security? What of the millions who have been scratching for years to pay for their life insurance and annuities, putting money in savings banks, commercial banks, buying government and corporation bonds to protect themselves in their old age? What of the millions of teachers, police, firemen, civil employees of states and cities and the government, of the armed services and the army of men and women entitled to retirement funds from private corporations—railroads, industrial and commercial? These thrifty people have seen one-half their retirement benefits wiped out by the Roosevelt inflation that has cut the purchasing power of the dollar in two. Roosevelt struck the most terrible blow at the security of the masses of the people while posing as the generous donor of "security for all." During the war boom and in the post-war boom created by spending 40 billion dollars a year the illusion of security is sustained. The full measure

of Roosevelt's hopeless misunderstanding of this subject will come when security will be most needed—and most absent.

To say that Roosevelt roused in the people a social consciousness is absurd. There has always been a social consciousness in our people. And when Roosevelt as governor in New York took his first steps in this field, he was merely following in the footsteps of Al Smith, who made him governor. Of course when the depression arrived, its grave necessities stirred the minds of our people to social measures upon a greater scale. Roosevelt had never given the subject a thought until he was elected governor. However, has anyone ever bothered to consult those fruitful studies in social problems which Herbert Hoover caused to be made while he was Secretary of Commerce and President before the onset of the crisis brought this subject to everyone's mind?

As for the great war for freedom and democracy, it would be well to get that clear in our minds. In one breath we are told that Roosevelt did not take us into that war—that we were dragged in by the dastardly attack by the Japs at Pearl Harbor, while Roosevelt was trying to keep out. In the next breath we are told he took us into that war for freedom and democracy. But how has it advanced the cause of democracy? We liberated Europe from Hitler and turned it over to the mercies of a far more terrible tyrant and actually tried to sell him to the people as a savior of civilization. Behold Europe! Does one refer to the wreckage there as liberation and salvation? Is anyone so naive as to suppose that democracy and free capitalism have been restored in Europe? Fascism has departed from Germany, but a hybrid system of socialism and capitalism in chains has come to England, which is called social democracy but is on its way to Fascism with all the controls without which such a system cannot exist. And in America the price of the war is that fatal deformity of our own economic and political system which Roosevelt effected under the impact of the war necessities.

Roosevelt's star was waning sadly in 1938 when he had 11 million unemployed and when Hitler made his first war moves in Europe. All his promises had been defaulted on. The cities were filling with

idle workers. Taxes were rising. The debt was soaring. The war rescued him and he seized upon it like a drowning man. By leading his country into the fringes of the war at first and then deep into its center all over the world he was able to do the only things that could save him—spend incomprehensible billions, whip up spending in the hot flames of war hysteria, put every man and his wife and grandparents into the war mills, while under the pressure of patriotic inhibitions, he could silence criticism and work up the illusion of the war leader. Of course the war against Germany was won—America with her 140 million people, Russia with her 180 million, France, England and the Commonwealth with another 100 million, with practically all the naval power and with the choice of the earth's resources, against 70 million of the enemy—of course we won. But at what price to our institutions? And then, while the war was still raging and as victory appeared, Roosevelt disappeared from the scene. The staggering debts, the larcenous inflation, the insoluble division amongst the victors, the appalling consequences of his fantastic surrenders to Moscow—all this is left in the hands of his successors, after the ballyhoo is spent, the fireworks extinguished, the martial music silenced and the money nearly gone, leaving only the great spectacle of a disordered, divided and bankrupt world.

On the moral side, let me say that I have barely touched that subject. It will all yet be told. But go back through the years, read the speeches and platforms and judgments he made and consider them in the light of what he did. Look up the promises of thrift in public office, of balanced budgets and lower taxes, of disbanded bureaucrats, of honesty in government and of security for all. Read again the warnings he uttered to his own people against those wicked men who would seize upon a war in Europe to entangle them upon specious visions of false war abundance. Read the speeches he made never, never again to send our sons to fight in foreign wars. Look up the promises he made, not to our own people, but to the Chinese, to Poland, to Czechoslovakia, to the Baltic peoples in Lithuania and Latvia and Estonia, to the Jews out of one side of his mouth and to the Arabs out of the other side. He broke every promise. He betrayed all who trusted him. If any escaped it

was the British and the Russians because they were represented by two strong men who, in dealing with Roosevelt, were inflexible realists who knew what they were about, who played the game with him upon the basis of solid realism, as they should, who remembered their own countries and held him with iron resolution to his incredible pledges.

The figure of Roosevelt exhibited before the eyes of our people is a fiction. There was no such being as that noble, selfless, hard-headed, wise and farseeing combination of philosopher, philanthropist and warrior which has been fabricated out of pure propaganda and which a small collection of dangerous cliques in this country are using to advance their own evil ends.

THE END

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119. This was related to me by a high-ranking officer who sat only a few yards away from Roosevelt during the incident described and is corroborated by others present at the time.
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128. In examining the facts about Roosevelt's death I have had the guidance of eminent medical authorities.

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DAY OF DECEIT

THE TRUTH ABOUT
FDR

AND PEARL HARBOR

ROBERT B. STINNETT
WITH A NEW AFTERWORD

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ALSO BY ROBERT B. STINNETT



George Bush: His World War II Years

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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED TO THE LATE UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN John Moss (D., CA), the author of America's Freedom of Information Act. Without the FOIA the information revealed in this book would never have surfaced. I was able to express my gratitude to the Congressman when he was honored by the Society of Professional Journalists during an awards dinner in San Francisco, March 18, 1997.

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PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS

The following are listed in the order of their appearance in the book. Rank/status is as of December 1, 1941.

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ADMIRAL HUSBAND E. KIMMEL, Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Fleet.

VICE ADMIRAL JAMES O. RICHARDSON, former Commander-in-Chief, United States Fleet.

ADMIRAL HAROLD STARK, Chief of Naval Operations, Washington, DC.

ADMIRAL THOMAS HART, Commander-in-Chief, US Asiatic Fleet, Manila.

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LIEUTENANT COMMANDER EDWIN LAYTON, Intelligence Officer, Pacific Fleet, Pearl Harbor.

ADMIRAL ISOROKU YAMAMOTO, Commander-in-Chief, Imperial Japanese Navy (Operational command).

ADOLF A. BERLE, JR., Assistant Secretary of State, Washington, DC.

J. EDGAR HOOVER, Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation.

COMMANDER VINCENT R. MURPHY, War Plans Officer for US Fleet.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL WALTER SHORT, Commander of US Army's Hawaiian Department, Fort Shafter, Oahu.

CHIEF RADIOMAN HOMER KISNER, Radio Traffic Chief, Station H, Oahu.

TADASHI MORIMURA, Assumed name of Japanese naval spy assigned to Hawaii, March–December 1941. His true name, Ensign Takeo Yoshikawa.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, Commander of Far East Forces, US Army, Manila.

COMMANDER LAURANCE SAFFORD, Officer-in-Charge, Station US.

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LIEUTENANT COMMANDER THOMAS DYER. Chief Cryptanalyst, Station HYPO, Pearl Harbor.

PREFACE

THIS BOOK CONTRADICTS AND QUESTIONS MUCH OF WHAT HAS BEEN written about the events and decisions that led to Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. My sole purpose is to uncover the true story of events leading up to the devastating attack on the naval base and adjoining Army facilities, and to document that it was not a surprise to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and many of his top military and policy advisors.

This is an unvarnished account of how the United States got into a bloody conflict that threatened the free world. It is not an attempt to question the wisdom of America's entry into the war.

As a veteran of the Pacific War, I felt a sense of outrage as I uncovered secrets that had been hidden from Americans for more than fifty years. But I understood the agonizing dilemma faced by President Roosevelt. He was forced to find circuitous means to persuade an isolationist America to join in a fight for freedom. He knew this would cost lives. How many, he could not have known.

The country was disillusioned by the failure of America's idealistic commitment to make "the world safe for democracy" in World War I. Many Americans had chosen isolationism to shelter their young from the horrors of another war, and believed that Roosevelt would "not send their sons to fight in foreign wars." Roosevelt believed that his countrymen would rally only to oppose an overt act of war on the United States. The decision he made, in concert with his advisors, was to provoke Japan through a series of actions into an overt act: the Pearl Harbor attack.

As I have discovered in the course of seventeen years of archival research and personal interviews with US Navy cryptographers, the answer to Roosevelt's dilemma is found in an extraordinary number of documents whose release I have been able to obtain through Freedom of Information Act requests. These papers outline deliberate steps that were planned and implemented to elicit the overt action that catapulted America into the war, and devastated military forces at Pearl Harbor and other Pacific bases. Eight steps were suggested to provoke a Japanese attack. Shortly after reviewing these, Roosevelt put them into effect. After the eighth provocation had been taken, Japan responded. On November 27 and 28, 1941, US military commanders were given this order: "The United States desires that Japan commit the first overt act." According to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, the order came directly from President Roosevelt.

There has been a controversy over American foreknowledge of the events of December 7, 1941. We have long known that Japanese diplomatic cables—which pointed toward hostilities—were intercepted and decoded. What I have discovered, however, is that we knew much more. Not only did we undertake provocative steps, we intercepted and decoded military cables. We knew the attack was coming.

By provoking the attack, Roosevelt accepted the terrible truth that America's military forces—including the Pacific Fleet and the civilian population in the Pacific—would sit squarely in harm's way, exposed to enormous risks. The commanders in Hawaii, Admiral Husband Kimmel and Lieutenant General Walter Short, were deprived of intelligence that might have made them more alert to the risks entailed in Roosevelt's policy, but they obeyed his direct order: "The United States desires that Japan commit the first overt act." More than 200,000 documents and interviews have led me to these conclusions. I am indebted to the Freedom of Information Act and its author, the late Congressman John Moss (D., CA) for making it possible for me to tell this story.

Painful though they surely were, Roosevelt's decisions were strategically calculated to lead to the ultimate victory of allied forces over the Axis nations that threatened the liberties we all cherish. The advisors who formulated the provocative policies were staunch in their support though aware of the risks. I am mindful that it is easier to take a critical view of this policy a half century removed than to understand fully what went on in Roosevelt's mind in the year prior to Pearl Harbor. Yet history asks questions and makes judgments. Historians must grapple with what is knowable, and as documented as human action and thought can be. It is in this spirit that I offer the fruits of my research.

THE BIGGEST STORY OF MY LIFE

WASHINGTON
DECEMBER 8, 1941
ABOUT 1:00 A.M.

EDWARD R. MURROW COULDN'T SLEEP. HIS WIFE, JANET, WATCHED him pace in their hotel room. He was chain-smoking. Murrow, the CBS radio newsman, had just returned from a midnight meeting with President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the White House. Japan's carrier and submarine raid on Pearl Harbor had taken place twelve hours earlier, and the full impact of the military disaster was slowly sinking in for FDR and the American people.¹

During their twenty-five-minute discussion in the second-floor Oval Study, the President provided Murrow with something—we will never know exactly what—that any reporter would kill for. That night he told his wife, "It's the biggest story of my life, but I don't know if it's my duty to tell it or forget it." Long after the war ended, Murrow was asked about this meeting by author-journalist John Gunther. After a long pause, Murrow replied: "That story would send Casey Murrow through college, and if you think I'm going to give it to you, you're out of your mind."

Earlier in the week, the Murrows had accepted a personal dinner invitation from the Roosevelts. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt personally prepared, cooked, and served supper for two dozen guests. Her specialty was scrambled eggs and sausage, cooked in an electric chafing dish that sat atop a long buffet table in the family dining room. It was the invariable menu. Since the regular White House staff was given Sunday off, she did the cooking while the President mixed the cocktails.²

After he heard the first news flashes about the Pearl Harbor raid, Murrow checked with the White House to see if the supper was still on. Told that it was, he and Janet then walked across Lafayette Park, crossed Pennsylvania Avenue, and entered the mansion through the North Portico. After the Murrows were ushered into the dining room, Mrs. Roosevelt explained that the President was meeting with congressional leaders and military officers and could not join them for supper.

Outside on Pennsylvania Avenue a small crowd had gathered. The White House was ablaze with light. No one inside the mansion thought to pull the window shades or institute blackouts on the first day of war—that would come later. An Associated Press photographer took a picture from Lafayette Park. It shows a window in the family dining room with a silhouette of a tall figure—probably the First Lady—presiding over her scrambled eggs.

During the dinner, White House chief usher Howell Crim asked Murrow to remain for an informal meeting with FDR. After Janet Murrow returned to their hotel, her husband went to the second floor and waited outside Roosevelt's Oval Study—not to be confused with the Oval Office—in the West Wing of the White House. Soon Murrow was joined by William "Wild Bill" Donovan, Roosevelt's Coordinator of Information and later founder of the wartime Office of Strategic Services, the forerunner of the CIA.

Donovan had not been present at dinner but had been summoned by the President from New York, where he had been watching a football game at the Polo Grounds. Football fans heard an unusual announcement over the public address system about 2:30 that afternoon: "Colonel William Donovan, come to the box office at once. There is an important phone message." The message was from James Roosevelt, the President's son and a member of Donovan's staff; he told Donovan about the Japanese attack.³

Throughout the evening of December 7, Roosevelt conferred with congressional and military leaders. He decided his first wartime move would come the next morning, December 8, when he would ask Congress to declare that a state of war existed between Japan and the United States. He prepared a rough draft of what later became his "Day of Infamy" speech. Then he invited Murrow and Donovan into the study for a midnight snack of sandwiches and cold beer. Chief Usher Crim noted that the three men spent twenty-five minutes together in the study before Roosevelt retired to his adjoining bedroom. Crim's arrival and departure notations in the Usher Book comprise the only official record; there were no official minutes of the meeting.

Only Donovan has hinted at what went on: the conversation was mostly about public reaction to the attack. He sensed that

this was FDR's overriding concern. In 1953, while he served as ambassador to Thailand, Donovan disclosed the details of the meeting to his executive assistant, William J. vanden Heuvel, who summarized the recollections in his diary. The President asked Murrow and Donovan whether they thought the attack was a clear case of a first Japanese move that would unite Americans behind a declaration of war against the Axis powers. Both guests thought it would indeed have that effect.

Donovan believed that Roosevelt welcomed the attack and that it was less of a surprise to him than it was to others in the White House. FDR claimed he sent an advance warning to Pearl Harbor that an attack by Japan was imminent. "They caught our ships like lame ducks! Lame ducks, Bill. We told them, at Pearl Harbor and everywhere else, to have the lookouts manned. But they still took us by surprise."⁴

Still not convinced that America's isolationist sentiments would change after this attack, FDR then read to the two men from a message he had received from a British Foreign Office official, T. North Whitehead: "The dictator powers have presented us with a united America." Roosevelt wondered whether Whitehead's assessment was correct. Again he asked, would America now support a declaration of war? Donovan and Murrow again replied in the affirmative.

Whitehead was an influential member of the Foreign Office and an advisor to Prime Minister Winston Churchill on matters affecting America's aid to the British in 1940 and 1941. He evaluated American public opinion and "read" FDR's mind for the Prime Minister. In written comments to Churchill in the fall of 1940, Whitehead had warned of continued United States isolationism, but predicted it could be overcome: "America is not in the bag. However, the President is engaged in carefully calculated steps to give us full assistance."⁵

Several years later Murrow made a brief, circumspect broadcast that in part addressed the question of what the President had known before the Japanese hit Pearl Harbor. According to Murrow's biographer Ann Sperber, "The broadcast itself was a response to an article by John Chamberlain in *LIFE* magazine charging Roosevelt with foreknowledge of the attack. Murrow did not believe it and said so on the air, making it clear that he had only his instinct to go on."⁶

In the end, Murrow's big story remained unwritten and unbroadcast. Sperber believed that the meeting concerned damage reports. Whatever it was, it weighed heavily on Murrow's mind. "But he couldn't forget it either, blaming himself at times thereafter for not going with the story, never determining to his satisfaction where his duties lay that night or what had been in the subtle mind of FDR," Sperber wrote. Murrow took the story to his grave. He died April 7, 1965, two days past his fifty-seventh birthday.⁷

Had FDR revealed something that night about his foreknowledge? Damage reports emerged immediately in local Hawaii papers, though the full details of the American losses were not released to the nation's news media until December 16, 1941, by Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox. He confirmed the initial report by the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin*. Secretary Knox named the seven warships sunk: USS *Arizona*, USS *Utah*, USS *Oklahoma*, USS *Cassin*, USS *Downes*, USS *Shaw*, and USS *Oglala*. He said the human toll on Oahu was 2897 Americans killed, 879 wounded, and 26 missing. There was severe damage to the Army's aircraft and hangars on Oahu. Knox said the Japanese planes came from aircraft carriers and had the "most tremendously detailed" information of the naval layout at Pearl Harbor. He listed Japan's losses at forty-one planes shot down, and disclosed the American capture of a Japanese two-man midget submarine that had gone aground on an Oahu beach and the sinking of four other Japanese midget subs.⁸

Once the nation's news media reported the attack details on December 16, 1941, there was no "big story" left to report on the main events at Pearl Harbor. None—except speculation about Roosevelt's foreknowledge. Certain words and phrases cited by Donovan hinted at what he and Murrow were told by FDR. William vanden Heuvel's diary, according to author Anthony Cave Brown, is tantalizing: "The President's surprise was not as great as that of other men around him. Nor was the attack unwelcome. It had ended the past months of uncertainty caused by FDR's decision that Japan must be seen to make the first overt move."⁹

Any conclusion about the Murrow meeting must remain speculative, because the participants refused to tell the story. However, there are many more direct pieces of evidence from the days and weeks leading up to December 7 that put the question of FDR's foreknowledge definitively to rest. Previous accounts have claimed that the United States had not cracked Japanese military codes prior to the attack. We now know this is wrong. Previous accounts have insisted that the Japanese fleet maintained strict radio silence. This, too, is wrong. The truth is clear: FDR knew.

The real question is even more intriguing: did he deliberately provoke the attack? Were there earlier covert moves by the United States? According to a secret strategy memo, dated October 7, 1940, and adopted by the President, there were.

FDR'S BACK DOOR TO WAR

NAVY HEADQUARTERS
WASHINGTON
OCTOBER 7, 1940

AS WARFARE RAGED IN EUROPE AND PORTIONS OF AFRICA AND Japan, Germany and Italy threatened countries in three continents, a memorandum circulated in Washington. Originating in the Office of Naval Intelligence and addressed to two of FDR's most trusted advisors, it suggested a shocking new American foreign policy. It called for provoking Japan into an overt act of war against the United States. It was written by Lieutenant Commander Arthur H. McCollum, head of the Far East desk of the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) (see Appendix A).¹

McCollum had a unique background for formulating American tactics and strategy against Japan. Born to Baptist missionary parents in Nagasaki in 1898, McCollum spent his youth in various Japanese cities. He understood the Japanese culture, and spoke the language before learning English. After the death of his father in Japan, the McCollum family returned to Alabama. At eighteen McCollum was appointed to the Naval Academy. After graduation, the twenty-two-year-old ensign was posted to the US embassy in Tokyo as a naval attaché and took a refresher course in Japanese there. McCollum was no stuffed shirt. He enjoyed parties and the favorite drink of Japan's naval community—Johnny Walker Black Label Scotch. He was never at a loss for words. After telling a long story, he'd pause with his favorite phrases, "In other words," then go into an even longer version.

In 1923, as the fads of the Roaring Twenties swept the world, members of the Japanese imperial household were anxious to learn the Charleston. McCollum knew the latest dance routines, so the embassy assigned him to instruct Crown Prince Hirohito, the future Emperor, in slapping his knees to those jazz-age rhythms. Later that year, McCollum helped coordinate the US Navy relief operations following the great Tokyo earthquake. Though the American assistance was well intentioned, McCollum learned that the proud, self-sufficient Japanese resented the *anjin* (foreign) relief operations. Nearly twenty years later, McCollum took it upon himself to multiply this resentment a hundredfold by pushing for American interference in Japan's brutal policies of domination in the Pacific.²

Lieutenant Commander McCollum's five-page memorandum of October 1940 (hereafter referred to as the eight-action memo) put forward a startling plan—a plan intended to engineer a situation that would mobilize a reluctant America into joining Britain's struggle against the German armed forces then overrunning Europe. Its eight actions called for virtually inciting a Japanese attack on American ground, air, and naval forces in Hawaii, as well as on British and Dutch colonial outposts in the Pacific region.

Opinion polls in the summer of 1940 indicated that a majority of Americans did not want the country involved in Europe's wars. Yet FDR's military and State Department leaders agreed that a victorious Nazi Germany would threaten the national security of the United States. They felt that Americans needed a call to action.

McCollum would be an essential part of this plan. His code name was F-2.³ He oversaw the routing of communications intelligence to FDR from early 1940 to December 7, 1941, and provided the President with intelligence reports on Japanese military and diplomatic strategy. Every intercepted and decoded Japanese military and diplomatic report destined for the White House went through the Far East Asia section of ONI, which he oversaw. The section served as a clearinghouse for all categories of intelligence reports, not only on Japan but on all the other nations of eastern Asia.

Each report prepared by McCollum for the President was based on radio intercepts gathered and decoded by a worldwide network of American military cryptographers and radio intercept operators. McCollum's office was an element of Station US, a secret American cryptographic center located at the main naval headquarters at 18th Street and Constitution Avenue N.W., about four blocks from the White House.

Few people in America's government or military knew as much about Japan's activities and intentions as Lieutenant

Commander Arthur H. McCollum. He felt that war with Japan was inevitable and that the United States should provoke it at a time which suited US interests. In his October 1940 memorandum McCollum advocated eight actions that he predicted would lead to a Japanese attack on the United States:

1. Make an arrangement with Britain for the use of British bases in the Pacific, particularly Singapore.
2. Make an arrangement with Holland for the use of base facilities and acquisition of supplies in the Dutch East Indies [now Indonesia].
3. Give all possible aid to the Chinese government of Chiang Kai-shek.
4. Send a division of long-range heavy cruisers to the Orient, Philippines, or Singapore.
5. Send two divisions of submarines to the Orient.
6. Keep the main strength of the US Fleet, now in the Pacific, in the vicinity of the Hawaiian Islands.
7. Insist that the Dutch refuse to grant Japanese demands for undue economic concessions, particularly oil.
8. Completely embargo all trade with Japan, in collaboration with a similar embargo imposed by the British Empire.⁴

McCollum's eight-action memo was dated October 7, 1940, and was addressed and forwarded to two of Roosevelt's most trusted military advisors: Navy captains Walter S. Anderson and Dudley W. Knox. Anderson was the Director of the Office of Naval Intelligence and had direct White House access to FDR. Knox was a naval strategist and chief of the ONI library. He served as mentor to Admiral Ernest J. King, another of the President's military advisors in 1940–41 and commander of the Navy's Atlantic Squadron (later the Atlantic Fleet). Knox agreed with McCollum's eight actions and immediately forwarded the memorandum to Anderson with this restrained comment: "I concur in your courses of action. We must be ready on both sides and probably strong enough to care for both."⁵ He recognized Britain's precarious military position: "It is unquestionably to our general interest that Britain be not licked. Just now she has a stalemate and probably can't do better." Knox did not discuss maneuvering Japan into committing an overt act of war, though he cautioned: "We should not precipitate anything in the Orient."⁶

The paper trail of the McCollum memo ends with the Knox endorsement. Although the proposal was addressed to Anderson, no specific record has been found by the author indicating whether he or Roosevelt actually ever saw it.⁷ However, a series of secret presidential routing logs plus collateral intelligence information in Navy files offer conclusive evidence that they did see it.⁸ Beginning the very next day, with FDR's involvement, McCollum's proposals were systematically put into effect.

Throughout 1941, it seems, provoking Japan into an overt act of war was the principal policy that guided FDR's actions toward Japan. Army and Navy directives containing the "overt act" phrase were sent to Pacific commanders. Roosevelt's cabinet members, most notably Secretary of War Henry Stimson, are on record favoring the policy, according to Stimson's diary.⁹ Stimson's diary entries of 1941 place him with nine other Americans who knew or were associated with this policy of provocation during 1941.¹⁰

Roosevelt's "fingerprints" can be found on each of McCollum's proposals. One of the most shocking was Action D, the deliberate deployment of American warships within or adjacent to the territorial waters of Japan.¹¹ During secret White House meetings, Roosevelt personally took charge of Action D. He called the provocations "pop-up" cruises: "I just want them to keep popping up here and there and keep the Japs guessing. I don't mind losing one or two cruisers, but do not take a chance on losing five or six."¹² Admiral Husband Kimmel, the Pacific Fleet commander, objected to the pop-up cruises, saying: "It is ill-advised and will result in war if we make this move."¹³

One of the catalysts for Action D may have been British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. On October 4, 1940, he requested that a squadron of US cruisers be sent to Singapore. McCollum included the request as a suggestion in his eight-action memo. As it turned out, however, no cruisers were sent to Singapore.¹⁴

From March through July 1941, White House records show that FDR ignored international law and dispatched naval task groups into Japanese waters on three such pop-up cruises.¹⁵ One of the most provocative was a sortie into the Bungo Strait southeast of Honshu, the principal access to Japan's Inland Sea.¹⁶ The strait separates the home islands of Kyushu and Shikoku, and was a favored operational area for the warships of the Imperial Japanese Navy in 1941.

Japan's naval ministry registered a protest with Ambassador Joseph Grew in Tokyo: "On the night of July 31, 1941, Japanese fleet units at anchor in Sukumo Bay (in the Bungo Strait, off the island of Shikoku) picked up the sound of propellers approaching Bungo Channel from the eastward. Duty destroyers of the Japanese navy investigated and sighted two darkened cruisers that disappeared in a southerly direction behind a smoke screen when they were challenged." The protest concluded: "Japanese naval officers believe the vessels were United States cruisers."¹⁷

Action D was very risky and could have resulted in a loss of American lives approaching that of Pearl Harbor. In the end,

however, no shots were fired during the cruises. It would take not just one, but all eight of McCollum's proposals to accomplish that.

Two major decisions involving Japan and the Far East took place on October 8, 1940—the day after McCollum wrote his memo. First, the State Department told Americans to evacuate Far East countries as quickly as possible.¹⁸ Then President Roosevelt brought about Action F—keep the United States Fleet based in Hawaiian waters—during an extended Oval Office luncheon with the fleet's commander, Admiral James O. Richardson, and former Chief of Naval Operations Admiral William D. Leahy, a favored presidential confidant.¹⁹ When Richardson heard the proposal, he exploded: “Mr. President, senior officers of the Navy do not have the trust and confidence in the civilian leadership of this country that is essential for the successful prosecution of a war in the Pacific.”²⁰ Richardson did not approve of Roosevelt's plan to place the fleet in harm's way. He strongly disagreed with two of FDR's lunchtime points: 1. FDR's willingness to sacrifice a ship of the Navy in order to provoke what he called a Japanese “mistake,” and 2. Richardson quoted the President as saying: “Sooner or later the Japanese would commit an overt act against the United States and the nation would be willing to enter the war.”²¹

After Richardson and Leahy left the Oval Office luncheon, dishes were cleared and reporters were ushered in for a 4:00 P.M. press conference. The ever-affable FDR used humor to lead reporters astray:

Q: Can you tell us anything, Mr. President, about your conference this afternoon with Admiral Richardson and Admiral Leahy?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, we were just studying maps.

Q: Did the conference touch upon frontiers in the Far East?

THE PRESIDENT: We studied maps.

Q: Pacific maps?

THE PRESIDENT: We studied maps and are learning geography.

Q: Were they mostly in the Eastern Hemisphere?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q: We thought mostly maps of the Eastern Hemisphere.

THE PRESIDENT: All three hemispheres.

Q: O.K. (*Laughter*)²²

For Richardson, the safety of his men and warships was paramount and the policy was no laughing matter. Richardson stood up to Roosevelt. Doing so ended his naval career. On October 26, 1940, a White House leak to the Washington-based *Kiplinger Newsletter* predicted that Richardson would be removed as commander-in-chief.²³

The admiral was relieved of his command on February 1, 1941, during a major restructuring of the Navy. The sea command held by Richardson—Commander in Chief, United States Fleet (CINCUS)—was modified. In his restructuring, Roosevelt approved a two-ocean Navy and created the Atlantic Fleet and the Pacific Fleet. Skipping over more senior naval officers the President picked Rear Admiral Husband Kimmel to head the Pacific Fleet and promoted him to four-star rank. The job had been offered to Rear Admiral Chester Nimitz in the fall of 1940, but Nimitz “begged off” because he lacked seniority.²⁴

Roosevelt had carefully selected and placed naval officers in key fleetcommand positions who would not obstruct his provocation policies. One of them was Admiral Harold Stark, his chief of naval operations since August 1939, an all too faithful servant of the President. Outgoing Admiral Richardson criticized Stark as “professionally negligent” for kowtowing to FDR and agreeing to place the fleet in jeopardy. He said Stark had been derelict and had suffered a major professional lapse due to “taking orders from above.” In Richardson's opinion, Stark could have protested the orders to keep the fleet at Pearl Harbor or at least questioned the policy in proper but forceful fashion. After the success of the December 7 attack, Richardson claimed FDR turned his back on Stark: “The President said that he did not give a damn what happened to Stark so long as he was gotten out of Washington as soon as practical.”²⁵

There is no evidence that Admiral Kimmel knew of the action plans advocated by McCollum, because Admiral Richardson never told him of them. “The Roosevelt strategy of maneuvering the Japanese into striking the first blow at America was unknown to us,” Kimmel wrote in his book, *Admiral Kimmel's Story*, published in 1954. His first suspicions that someone in high office in Washington had consciously pursued a policy that led straight to Pearl Harbor “did not occur to him until after December 7, 1941.” Kimmel said he accepted the command of the Pacific Fleet “in the firm belief that the Navy Department would supply me promptly with all pertinent information available and particularly with all information that indicated an attack on the fleet at Pearl Harbor.”²⁶

Not until Japan surrendered in 1945 did Richardson break his fouryear vow of silence and turn on Stark. He said he shared Kimmel's belief and he denounced Stark's failure in harsh terms: “I consider ‘Betty’ Stark, in failing to ensure that Kimmel was furnished all the information available from the breaking of Japanese dispatches, to have been to a marked degree professionally negligent in carrying out his duties as Chief of Naval Operations.”²⁷ Richardson continued: “This offense

compounded, since in writing Stark had assured the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Fleet twice that the Commander-in-Chief was being kept advised on all matters within his own knowledge.” Richardson cited Stark’s promise: “You may rest assured that just as soon as I get anything of definite interest, I shall fire it along.”²⁸

Kimmel received his promotion to admiral and was designated CINCPAC (Commander in Chief, Pacific Fleet). Then, depending upon their missions, forces were either assigned to the Atlantic Fleet, whose commander was Admiral Ernest J. King as CINCLANT, to the Pacific Fleet with Kimmel as CINCPAC, or to the small Asiatic Fleet, commanded by Admiral Thomas Hart in Manila as CINCAF.

Richardson’s removal on February 1, 1941, strengthened the position of McCollum. Only five months earlier, in mid-September 1940, Germany and her Axis partner, Italy, had signed a mutual-assistance alliance with Japan. The Tripartite Pact committed the three partners to assist each other in the event of an attack on any one of them. McCollum saw the alliance as a golden opportunity. If Japan could be provoked into committing an overt act of war against the United States, then the Pact’s mutual assistance provisions would kick in. It was a back-door approach: Germany and Italy would come to Japan’s aid and thus directly involve the United States in the European war.²⁹

McCollum predicted a domino effect if Germany overwhelmed Britain. He was certain that Canada and the British territories in Central and South America and in the Caribbean would succumb to some degree of Nazi control. The strategic danger to the United States was from Germany, not Japan. In his eight-action memorandum, McCollum cited these six military factors in promoting his proposals:

1. All of continental Europe was under the military control of the German-Italian Axis.
2. Only the British Empire actively opposed the growing world dominance of the Axis powers.
3. Axis propaganda successfully promoted American indifference to the European war.
4. United States security in the Western Hemisphere was threatened by the Axis fomenting revolution in Central and South American countries.
5. Upon the defeat of England, the United States could expect an immediate attack from Germany.
6. Warships of the Royal Navy would fall under the control of the Axis when the British were defeated.³⁰

His dire predictions were undoubtedly right. The number one problem for the United States, according to McCollum, was mobilizing public support for a declaration of war against the Axis powers. He saw little chance that Congress would send American troops to Europe. Over the objections of the majority of the populace, who still felt that European alarmists were creating much ado about nothing, he called for the Administration to create what he called “more ado”: “It is not believed,” wrote McCollum, “that in the present state of political opinion the United States government is capable of declaring war against Japan without more ado.”³¹

His solution to the political stalemate: use the eight proposed actions to provoke Japan into committing an overt act of war against the United States, thus triggering military responses from the two other signers of the Tripartite Pact. An allusion to McCollum’s eight actions was recorded by Assistant Secretary of State Breckenridge Long. He wrote that on October 7, 1940, he learned of a series of steps involving the US Navy and that one included concentrating the fleet at Honolulu to be ready for any eventuality. “It looks to me as if little by little we will face a situation which will bring us into conflict with Japan,” Long wrote in his diary.³²

A link to some of McCollum’s provocations surfaced earlier in 1940 but did not produce a written directive. McCollum’s proposal, triggered by the Tripartite Pact, is the only verifiable evidence of the American policy. The links started in May 1940, when FDR met with Secretary of State Cordell Hull and Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox and discussed permanently basing the United States Fleet in Hawaii. Their suggestion raised the immediate ire of Richardson, who began a five-month argument to return the fleet to the West Coast.³³ He lost the battle on October 8, a day after McCollum wrote his memorandum.

Earlier in 1940, an influential citizens’ group urged withholding war materials from Japan as punishment for what they perceived as her aggression in China. But their embargo advocacy called for stopping the Japan-China conflict—not enticing an overt act of war.³⁴

Arthur McCollum continued his close ties to Japan. In 1928, the Navy sent him back to Tokyo, this time as a language instructor. The thirty-year-old McCollum taught a Japanese language class that included three other officers of about the same

age. All four were destined to provide FDR with secret intelligence on Japanese war preparations during the 1940–41 prelude to Pearl Harbor. They were also to become lifelong friends.³⁵

Eventually these four men became leading naval intelligence officers in World War II: Joseph J. Rochefort, cofounder of the Navy's communication intelligence section; Edwin Layton, the intelligence officer for the Pacific Fleet, 1940–45; Lieutenant Commander Ethelbert Watts, as assistant to McCollum in 1940–41; and McCollum himself, head of the Far East desk of the Office of Naval Intelligence. Every pre-Pearl Harbor intercept of Japanese radio communications would pass through their hands. Rochefort became commander of Station HYPO, the combat intelligence center for the Pacific Fleet, one of America's most important cryptographic centers, at the Pearl Harbor Naval Yard. (HYPO, a part of the Navy's phonetic alphabet, stood for the letter H—Hawaii.) McCollum and Watts supervised the communications intelligence pipeline to Roosevelt. Layton directed information to the Pacific Fleet commanders: Richardson in 1940, Kimmel in 1941, and Nimitz in 1942–45.

Naval intelligence established a secret delivery system for Japanese military and diplomatic intelligence for Roosevelt in the winter of 1940. McCollum was the distribution officer on 151 routing slips found by the author in the National Archives. These Navy routing slips provide a trail to a massive collection of Army and Navy documents that resulted from monitoring Japanese communications and that were available to Roosevelt and key members of his Administration between February 1940 and December 7, 1941. Sometimes when he had a hot item McCollum personally delivered the report to FDR;³⁶ otherwise the President's naval aide made the delivery. This twenty-two-month monitoring program allowed the American government to anticipate and then study Japan's reactions to the provocations advocated by McCollum.

McCollum dispatched his first intelligence reports to the White House on February 23, 1940. There were two, both in a diplomatic code. McCollum marked both: "Original to Aide to President" and sent them to FDR. At the time, the President and seven members of his staff, including naval aide Captain Daniel J. Callaghan, had reached the midpoint of an eighteen-day fishing cruise aboard the cruiser USS *Tuscaloosa* in Pacific waters off the west coast of Panama. Naval seaplanes landed alongside the warship and delivered the documents to Callaghan.

In the first message, Roosevelt learned that Japan was applying diplomatic pressure to obtain oil export rights in Portuguese Timor, a small island east of the Dutch East Indies. The other dealt with Japanese Army plans to send "advisors" to Bolivia, which had vast resources of tin needed by Japan's military-industrial complex. McCollum noted that both reports were based on "highly reliable information," a standard oblique reference to intercepted communications.

Extraordinary secrecy surrounded the delivery system. The Japanese intercepts destined for FDR were placed in special folders. Captain Callaghan as naval aide was responsible for the safety of the documents. Roosevelt read the original copy but did not retain any of the intercepts. Each original was eventually returned to the folder and stored in McCollum's safe at Station US in Washington. There they remained, available for White House review. Shortly after December 7, when Congressional critics began to question the Administration's failure to prevent the Hawaii attack, all records involving the Japanese radio intercept program—including the White House route logs and their secret contents—were locked away in vaults controlled by Navy communications officials.³⁷

During the spring and summer of 1940 the diplomatic intercepts provided valuable insights into Japanese foreign policy. Through the intercepts, FDR could follow Japan's continued pressure on Portugal to supply her Empire with raw materials from Timor, its colony in the East Indies. After Nazi armies conquered France in May 1940, Japan expanded her quest for raw materials and pushed for access to the French colony of Indochina, today's Vietnam.

That August, Hitler's Luftwaffe began all-out bombing of England, targeting airfields, aircraft factories, and radar stations. A massive attack by 2500 planes of the Luftwaffe hit London on *Adler Tag* (Eagle Day), August 16. The next day the Führer declared a total blockade of the British Isles. By August 31, Germany claimed victory in the Battle of Britain and Hitler began to assemble barges and ships for Operation Sea Lion, the invasion of Britain, which would never take place.

Roosevelt's third-term nomination heartened internationalist-minded Democrats at the party's convention in Chicago. He was forced to campaign against a Republican antiwar platform led by its nominee, Wendell Willkie. A Gallup Poll taken in early September showed that 88 percent of Americans agreed with the views of an isolationist bloc, led by aviation hero Charles Lindbergh and industrialist Henry Ford, that advocated staying away from Europe's wars. Yet Roosevelt outmaneuvered the isolationists and persuaded Congress to pass (by one vote) the Draft Act, then sent fifty World War I destroyers to England as part of what would become the Lend-Lease program of aid to the allied powers, including the Soviet Union. During the campaign, he promised American mothers and fathers: "Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."³⁸ But according to FDR biographer Robert Sherwood, the President assured members of his staff during a campaign swing through New England, "Of course, we'll fight if we are attacked. If somebody attacks us, then it isn't a foreign war, is it?" McCollum's eight-action memo would soon make the President's words a reality.³⁹

McCollum's concept for his memo's Action F—keeping the fleet in Hawaiian waters—had its beginning in April 1940,

when major portions of the US fleet moved from their West Coast bases and joined warships of the Hawaiian Detachment (later named the Pacific Fleet) for an annual training exercise. Once the exercise was completed, Admiral Richardson planned to send the fleet (less the Hawaiian Detachment) back to the West Coast.⁴⁰

The fleet never returned. Washington slowly put the brakes on Richardson's plan and issued specious explanations for keeping the fleet in Hawaii. Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles answered Richardson's objections by predicting a "diplomatic disaster"⁴¹ if the fleet returned to the Pacific Coast. In late April, Welles' rationale was touched on in a message sent to Richardson by Admiral Stark, who offered his own version of the potential "diplomatic disaster." He told Richardson the fleet might receive instructions to remain in Hawaiian waters "in view of the possibility of Italy becoming an active belligerent and maybe you won't."⁴²

There was no adequate explanation for connecting Italian threats to the United States and basing the fleet in Hawaii. The "might" and "maybe" in the dispatches made no sense to Richardson. He requested a meeting directly with Roosevelt. The admiral disagreed with what he sensed was the "Europe First" priority in the White House.⁴³

As commander of America's major sea command, Richardson's first duty was to carry out the orders of Roosevelt and his military chiefs. He reluctantly obeyed the orders but stated his objections for the record. He would not sacrifice his ships and men to what he saw as a flawed policy. Richardson listed five objections to basing the fleet in Hawaii:

1. Lack of fundamental training facilities.
2. Lack of large-scale ammunition and fuel supplies.
3. Lack of support craft such as tugs and repair ships.
4. Morale problems of men kept away from their families.
5. Lack of overhaul facilities such as dry docking and machine shops.⁴⁴

He objected in vain. Roosevelt wanted the fleet kept in Hawaiian waters. All Admiral Richardson received from his protests were more indecisive orders from the administration. A dispatch of May 4 is an example:

IT LOOKS PROBABLE BUT NOT FINAL THAT THE FLEET WILL REMAIN IN HAWAIIAN WATERS FOR A SHORT TIME AFTER MAY 9TH.⁴⁵

He was particularly displeased on May 7, 1940, when he was ordered to issue a press release saying that he had asked to keep the fleet in Hawaii. "There was no logical reason for me to make such a request," Richardson wrote. "It made a perfect nitwit out of me."⁴⁶

The rationale behind the directives became even less convincing on May 15, when the warships were ordered to "stay in Hawaiian waters for some time." Richardson thought he had a chance to dissuade Roosevelt and asked for a meeting in the White House. The two met alone for lunch on July 8, 1940. The meeting was a disappointment for Richardson. "I came away with the impression that, despite his spoken word, the President was fully determined to put the United States into the war if Great Britain could hold out until he was reelected." But the admiral gave no details of the White House conversation except to say that FDR had promised not to send the fleet to the Far East under "any foreseeable conditions."⁴⁷

In the "illogical basing of the fleet at Hawaii," Admiral Richardson saw a disaster in the making. He was responsible for 69,000 sailors under his Pacific command, and he grew increasingly alarmed at using them and his 217 ships in what he saw as a provocative scheme. He asked, "Are we here as a stepping-off place for belligerent activity?"⁴⁸ Exasperated, he complained, "The President and Mr. Hull [Secretary of State Cordell Hull] never seem to take it into consideration that Japan is led by military men, who evaluate military moves, largely on a military basis."⁴⁹ Richardson missed the point. White House strategy was based precisely on the premise that Japan's militant right wing would push for an act of force against the United States. Though he got nowhere with Roosevelt, Richardson bided his time.

During midsummer of 1940, with his third-term presidential campaign in mind, Roosevelt issued a licensing plan—McCullum's proposals had not yet been adopted—that appeared to curtail Japanese access to petroleum products and scrap iron in America. The San Francisco *Call-Bulletin* photographed stevedores in July and October 1940 at San Francisco docks, loading the Japanese vessels *Tasukawa Maru* and *Bordeau Maru* with scrap iron, an apparent violation of FDR's embargo. The ships loaded up with tons of scrap iron, slipped out through the Golden Gate, and headed for Japan.

The oil-licensing system was also a sham in that it did not apply to the refineries on America's West Coast. The White House essentially allowed Japan to obtain petroleum supplies sufficient to maintain its ability to make war. Japan's consul-general in San Francisco assured his government that the Roosevelt administration was not enforcing the embargo; oil and gasoline supplies were available. "All our export permits have been granted. These American agencies from whom the oil is

bought go ahead and make suitable arrangements with the government authorities at Washington.”⁵⁰

The consul-general wrote that he had purchased “special blend crude oil” and easily evaded Roosevelt’s embargo. He then detailed Japanese purchases of over 44,000 tons (321,000 barrels) from the Associated Oil Company. In concluding his secret dispatch, the consul-general told Japan’s military leaders: “American oil dealers in the San Francisco area selling to Mitsui and Mitsubishi, of which the principal one is the Associated Oil Company, feel that there will be no difficulty about continuing the shipment of ordinary gasoline to Japan.”⁵¹

The consul-general’s “no difficulty” dispatch was routed to FDR on September 16, 1940. But no one in the White House enforced the petroleum embargo. Instead, export of oil to Japan received the green light. Japanese oil and gasoline tankers, with the tacit approval of the Administration, rushed back and forth across the Pacific loading up at oil refineries in Pacific Coast ports.⁵² Naval radio direction finders, on orders from Washington, tracked the tankers to the Japanese naval oil depot at Tokuyama, located at the southern tip of Honshu on the Suo Nada, an arm of the Inland Sea.⁵³

Between July 1940 and April 1941, during a period when American petroleum supplies were supposedly under embargo, nearly 9,200,000 barrels of gasoline were licensed for export to Japan. Approval for 2,000,000 additional barrels was pending late in April 1941. From October 1940 to December 1941, the Japanese tankers were under constant electronic surveillance by the Navy. Washington closely followed the tankers.

Transportation of the petroleum to Japan was monitored at Station SAIL, control center for the Navy’s West Coast Communications Intelligence Network (WCCI) near Seattle (SAIL being the Navy phonetic for the letter S—Seattle). Commercial radio facilities of Mackay Radio & Telegraph, Pan American Airways, RCA Communications, and Globe Wireless provided information used in the surveillance. This vast monitoring network extended along the entire West Coast from Imperial Beach, California, to Dutch Harbor, Alaska.⁵⁴

The surveillance yielded important intelligence for the White House by tracing the movement of oil supplies, watching for signs of Japan withdrawing merchant vessels from the world’s oceans, and identifying the radio transmitter characteristics of each vessel. Code breakers at SAIL and the West Coast network produced Tracking Chart 1 based on radio-direction-finding reports that traced the Pacific Ocean routes taken by eight of Japan’s tankers from October 1 to December 6, 1940. From the tracking chart, US Navy officials learned that most of the petroleum was obtained from the Associated Oil Company refinery at Port Costa, California, and transported directly to Tokuyama—the principal oil storage facility for warships. President Roosevelt obtained his confirmation that Japan was evading his embargo from the consul-general’s “no difficulty” intercept.

Naval intercept operators easily followed the tankers. During their round-trip voyages, they diligently used their radio transmitters and provided their positions to the Navy’s radio direction finders. Navy intelligence in San Francisco identified all the tankers by their Japanese radio call signs.⁵⁵ Two of the tankers, the *Kyokuto Maru* and the *HIMJS Shiriya*, were destined to be included in the Pearl Harbor strike force. Both vessels sailed into San Francisco Bay throughout 1940 and 1941, picked up their cargoes of American oil, and returned to fill the Tokuyama storage facility. A year later, the *Kyokuto Maru*’s radio signal was instantly identified when she became the flagship of the eight-vessel tanker train that refueled the warships of the Pearl Harbor force. *Maru* derives from the Japanese word *maru*, meaning “circle.” Merchant ships, but not warships, have the word added to their name for good luck as they encounter the perils of the high seas in the belief that *Marus* complete the voyage to the distant port and return to a joyous homecoming, thus completing the circle. In 1940 and 1941, the *Kyokuto Maru* would make many circles between ports in America and Japan.⁵⁶

During the last days of September and first week of October 1940, a team of Army and Navy cryptographers solved the two principal Japanese government code systems: Purple, the major diplomatic code, and portions of the *Kaigun Ango*, a series of twenty-nine separate Japanese naval operational codes used for radio contact with warships, merchant vessels, naval bases, and personnel in overseas posts, such as naval attachés. Much has been made of the Purple Code and far too little of the navy codes. Historians have made misleading references to the Purple Code by confusing its use and purpose. It was used solely by the Japanese Foreign Ministry for encoding diplomatic messages dispatched by radio between Tokyo and selected overseas embassies and consulates. In the United States, Japan issued the Purple system to its Washington embassy and to its consulate in Manila, but not to the Honolulu consulate. The Purple Code was never used by the Japanese Navy.⁵⁷

Leading historical publications in the United States have confused readers by publishing erroneous details on Purple. The truth of Pearl Harbor is found in the naval codes, not in the diplomatic codes. As recently as December 1997, *Naval History*, a magazine published by the US Naval Institute, printed an article which claimed that the American naval victory at Midway resulted from breaking the Japanese Purple cipher.⁵⁸ In fact, however, the Midway victory came about because US Navy cryptographers had broken Japan’s Code Book D, one of the twenty-nine code systems in the *Kaigun Ango*. Throughout 1941 and most of 1942, United States naval cryptographers and intercept operators referred to Code Book D as the 5-Num code,

because a group of five numbers represented a Japanese word or phrase. Japan's navy assigned thousands of different five-number combinations to represent their language for radio transmission purposes. On November 19, 1941, the five-number group for the carrier *Akagi*, the flagship of Japan's Hawaii force, was 28494. It was up to US Navy code breakers to solve the meaning of 28494 (and subsequent revisions). And they did, starting in October 1940.⁵⁹

Cryptographers have their own jargon. To them, "recovered value" or "solution" means that they had solved and knew the meaning of 28494. In addition to the 5-Num code, American cryptographers solved and could recover values from three other code systems of the *Kaigun Ango*: Merchant Marine Code (Code Book S); radio call signs (*Yobidashi Fugo*) issued to every category of Japanese warships, units, individual officers, and vessels of the Japanese Merchant Marine, known as *Marus*; and Japan's naval movement code in which warships, *Marus*, and individuals reported their arrivals, departures, and destinations. These four naval systems were used by Japan's navy for radio messages in the pre-Pearl Harbor period and throughout the Pacific War. The US success in solving the diplomatic and naval code systems was a closely guarded American secret. President Roosevelt regularly received copies of Japanese messages decoded and translated from both the Purple Code and the *Kaigun Ango*.

Controversy surrounds the timing of the successful decryption of the four code systems of the *Kaigun Ango* by American code breakers. Testimony given to various Pearl Harbor investigations suggests that the navy codes were not solved until Spring 1942. The author's research proves otherwise. Their solution emerged in the early fall of 1940, at about the same time Arthur McCollum's memorandum reached the Oval Office.

Rear Admiral Royal Ingersoll, Assistant Chief of Naval Operations, revealed America's ability to detect and predict Japan's naval war strategy and tactical operations to the US Navy's two Pacific commanders, Admirals James Richardson and Thomas Hart, in a letter dated October 4, 1940. Ingersoll was specific: The Navy began tracking the movement and location of Japanese warships in October 1940. "Every major movement of the Orange (America's code name for Japan) Fleet has been predicted, and a continuous flow of information concerning Orange diplomatic activities has been made available."⁶⁰ He said that Navy cryptographers had solved the Japanese naval merchant ship code. "The system itself is 99 percent readable," reported Ingersoll.⁶¹

Japan's main naval radio system, the "Operations Code" (the 5-Num code) remained a problem for cryptographers. A full solution was expected by April 1941. "Recovery was well defined," wrote Ingersoll, "but demanded laborious work sometimes requiring from only an hour to as many as several days to decode each message."⁶² To speed up decryption time, the Navy constructed a special decoding machine. Mystery still surrounds the workings of the machine—as is typical of nearly sixty years of Navy secrecy concerning all aspects of the 5-Num code. The machine has not been turned over to the National Archives. Neither have the original Japanese naval intercepts in the 5-Num code that were obtained by US Navy cryptographers. The author contends that this extraordinary secrecy, which still remains in effect in 1999, is intended to distance the American government and particularly FDR from foreknowledge of Japanese attack plans.

But Ingersoll's 1940 letter, sheds a light on the 5-Num system that was never intended by the pre-Pearl Harbor naval censors. Recovery was effected before April. By the end of January 1941, President Roosevelt was on the receiving list of the *Kaigun Ango*, according to the White House route logs prepared by Arthur McCollum.

On January 30, Station CAST, the navy's Philippine cryptographic center on Corregidor Island in Manila Bay, placed the first Japanese military intelligence in FDR's hands. It informed Roosevelt of a large build-up of Japanese warships in the South China Sea off French Indochina. It was an ominous beginning.

THE WHITE HOUSE DECIDES

ARTHUR MCCOLLUM WAS NOT CONVINCED THAT THE PUBLIC AND American industry could be mobilized in sufficient time to fight off the Axis powers. His memorandum of October 7, 1940, circulated among Navy and White House officials while a torrent of bad news poured in from the European front. England was nearly on its knees, threatened with invasion and beginning to feel the impact of the German U-boat assault on its shipping lifeline. Hitler had instituted the early stages of what would later be called the Holocaust.

At home, Wendell Willkie, campaigning for the presidency, stumped across America and closed to within a few percentage points of Roosevelt's lead.¹ In early September the President took four steps to move the country toward war:

1. He sent America's first peacetime Draft Act to Congress. The act called for conscripting men into military service and sought the authority to seize industrial plants for defense production.
2. He called up National Guard units to active duty throughout the country.
3. He traded fifty old US Navy destroyers to England in exchange for the lease of bases in Bermuda, the Bahamas, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Trinidad, and British Guiana.
4. He signed \$5 billion in legislation, creating a two-ocean Navy that would eventually include 100 aircraft carriers.²

Roosevelt haters had a political field day. A fistfight broke out in the House of Representatives when Representative Beverly Vincent (D., KY) tried to trip Representative Martin L. Sweeney (D., OH) in the House aisle. Sweeney had just delivered an anti-FDR speech. The Associated Press reported it as hand-to-hand combat. Each congressman took, and gave, about six blows to the face.³

Willkie condemned the destroyer trade as the most "arbitrary and dictatorial action ever taken by a president in the history of the United States."⁴ Other Republicans agreed: "The destroyer trade is an "outright declaration of war," said Senator Gerald Nye (R., ND). "It's a belligerent act and will weaken our own defenses. If Britain should be defeated, why should we supply her with destroyers to surrender to Germany?" Republicans continued to snap at FDR's heels during a defense-plant inspection trip. "A cheap publicity stunt to make political capital out of national defense," charged Senator Styles Bridges (R., NH). Major newspapers joined in the fray. "An Act of War," editorialized the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Carl Ackerman, dean of the Columbia University School of Journalism, complained to Willkie: "If the act becomes law the President may classify all education institutions as defense facilities, and our schools will be regimented as they are in Germany, Italy, and Russia."⁵

Throughout the fall of 1940, Roosevelt worked to unite Americans in their country's defense. He rallied public support while traveling by train on "inspection trips" of defense plants throughout the eastern states. Many Americans listening to the President approved of his policies and agreed with the sentiments of his "no foreign war" promise. An audience in Great Smoky Mountain National Park in Tennessee cheered and applauded when FDR asked for American preparedness against "the greatest attack that has ever been launched against freedom of the individual. We must prepare beforehand, not afterward."⁶

The president called for constructing new military bases for the defense of our shores. "Men and women must be taught to create the supplies that we need. Liberty through democracy can, I believe, be preserved in future years if we want to preserve it." Then FDR took aim at his detractors in America: "We must counter the agents of dictators within our country."⁷

Perhaps Roosevelt's most famous call for preparedness came when he proposed lending military supplies and goods to

England. This was FDR using his finest communications skills, in a brilliant analogy: when your neighbor's house is on fire, you lend him your garden hose. He made the analogy during a press conference in mid-December when he claimed he had no news for the correspondents, then revealed his ideas and plans for a Lend-Lease program to help the nations fighting the Axis powers. "Suppose my neighbor's home catches fire, and I have got a length of garden hose four or five hundred feet away: but, my Heaven, if he can take my garden hose and connect it up with his hydrant, I may help him put out his fire. Now, what do I do? I don't say to him before that operation, 'Neighbor, my garden hose cost me \$15; you have got to pay me \$15 for it.' What is the transaction that goes on? I don't want the \$15—I want my garden hose back after the fire is over."⁸ Though there was opposition from the isolationist bloc, Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act. Military aid went directly to England and later to Russia when Germany invaded that country. But isolationists like Styles Bridges continued to brand the President's call for action as "dragging America to war."⁹

Audio recordings from the Oval Office in the fall of 1940 indicate Roosevelt's concern over the isolationists painting him as a "dictator leading us to war." The recording was done on an RCA photo-film machine secreted in the basement of the West Wing of the White House directly below the Oval Office. Roosevelt planned the recording equipment installation with David Sarnoff, president of RCA, during a thirty-minute meeting in the Oval Office on June 14, 1940. It was in service from mid-August to early November.

RCA engineers hid a voice-activated microphone in a lamp on FDR's desk; wires led to an on/off switch that he controlled from his desk drawer; most of the time he forgot to turn it off. The device was installed because the President had been angered over news accounts which contained misquotes from Oval Office press conferences. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., wrote that FDR's anger stemmed from a report which quoted him as saying that America's frontier was on the Rhine River, implying that Roosevelt planned war with Germany. The President never uttered the remark, according to Schlesinger's research; to protect himself from future misquotes during the third-term election, he installed the recorder.¹⁰

One recording reveals FDR's animosity toward press baron Roy Howard, who rankled the President by privately furnishing Willkie with a bitter assessment of Administration policies in the Far East. FDR learned that Howard, head of the Scripps-Howard News Alliance, had also denigrated the Administration's foreign policy in discussions with State Department officials in Southeast Asia. On September 2, 1940, Howard met with Hugh G. Grant, the American consul-general in Thailand, and attacked the President personally. The news executive charged that FDR was "down and out physically and mentally" and was mishandling US relations with Japan. A loyal Grant wrote a report giving details of Howard's Far East travels to the State Department. Roosevelt read Grant's secret dispatch to the members of his cabinet during a meeting on September 6. The concealed microphone recorded a furious President seeking advice on ways to handle Howard; FDR wanted to expose the publisher for acting as Willkie's mouthpiece.

One of those present, speaking with a Southern accent—perhaps Secretary of State Cordell Hull—cautioned the President: "No sir. I wouldn't say any more. He might do an awful lot of harm and undoubtedly he is gathering this material for Willkie. There is no chance whatsoever of stopping Howard. If we tip him off that we know about his actions it might operate to his advantage."¹¹

Roosevelt believed that American political opposition to his defense plans was directed from Germany, Italy, and Japan. He scornfully denounced an editorial in the *New York Times*¹² which expressed doubts that the Axis powers were involved in American politics. Pounding on his desk, FDR blasted the *Times*' comments and asserted: "It's perfectly true the Axis powers will give anything in the world to have me licked on the fifth of November."¹³

Contrasting the *Times*' news reporting with its editorials, Roosevelt said he was quite amused—the editorial-page writers didn't read the front-page news articles. For proof he cited a news report from Herbert L. Matthews, the *Times*' bureau chief in Rome. Matthews reported a meeting between Hitler and Mussolini held at the Brenner Pass, on the border between Austria and Italy, on October 4. "The Axis," wrote Matthews, "is out to defeat President Roosevelt not as a measure of internal policies of the United States but because of the President's foreign policy."¹⁴ McCollum also supplied confidential evidence which confirmed that the two Axis leaders "attempted by every method within their power to foster a continuation of American indifference to the outcome of the struggle in Europe."¹⁵

While Roosevelt fumed over the *New York Times*' editorial policies, a Tokyo dispatch written by his "old friend" Roy Howard, brought him "more worry than anything else in the world."¹⁶ United Press and the Scripps-Howard News Alliance distributed the publisher's story to its worldwide clients. FDR was startled to read of a Japanese spokesman calling on the United States to "demilitarize its bases at Wake, Midway, and Pearl Harbor."¹⁷ The Oval Office's secret microphone recorded the President's anger in a telephone conversation with an unidentified caller: "God! That's the first time that any damn Jap has told us to get out of Hawaii. And that has me more worried than any other thing in the world."¹⁸

When the first election returns came in on November 5, they indicated a Willkie victory. FDR retreated to his Hyde Park study and told his Secret Service chief, Mike Reilly, to lock the doors and keep everyone out. But the news soon brightened. Roosevelt won a huge popular vote and his third landslide victory with 429 electoral votes to Willkie's 51.¹⁹ He emerged from his study and told a cheering throng gathered in front of his mansion's portico: "We are facing difficult days in this country, but

I think you will find me in the future just the same Franklin Roosevelt you have known a great many years.”²⁰ His only bad news: Republicans continued to control the isolationist agenda. But a different agenda was perceived by the British government of Churchill. Admiral Stark wired Hart in Manila that the British expected the United States to be at war a few days after the reelection of Roosevelt.²¹

As McCollum’s eight action proposals began to be applied, relations with Japan deteriorated. With the New Year, three of his actions were in place: Action E, the dispatch of twenty-four US Navy submarines to Manila; Action F, retaining the US Fleet in Hawaiian waters; and Action G, the Dutch now refusing to supply Japan with oil and raw materials. Navy intelligence detected the new Japanese attitude from an intercepted diplomatic radio message sent by Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka on January 30, 1941: “In view of the critical situation between the two countries we must be prepared for the worst.”²² Matsuoka directed his ambassador in Washington to change from what he called publicity and propaganda work and establish an espionage-gathering network within the United States. He wanted details on the movement of warships and on military maneuvers, and figures for aircraft production and shipbuilding throughout the United States.

The heart of the Japanese policy was an economic strategy called the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere—a Japanese economic plan establishing a Yen (¥) monetary bloc comprising the East Asian countries. The plan diminished the economic influence of America, Britain, and the Netherlands for the sake of Japanese economic interests. Its aim was to gain access to the region’s vital natural resources, resources nonexistent within Japan. To appease militant nationalist elements within the government, a bottom line was added: if and when worse came to worst Japan would go to war with the United States and her allies.

Foreign Minister Matsuoka’s worse-to-worst policy revealed Japan’s breaking point.²³ Arthur McCollum knew it would occur whenever the United States tightened the screws by putting his eight actions into effect. They were soon to come: the pop-up US cruises into Japanese territorial waters and the final action, H, the total embargo intended to strangle Japan’s economy.

The civilians in Japan’s government still wished to do everything possible to avoid war and to negotiate a diplomatic settlement with the United States. But in an effort to gain support Japan’s moderates accommodated her military authorities and authorized a fallback position of general war preparations should diplomatic efforts fail to gain access to Southeast Asia resources.

This fallback position included preparation for an attack on the US Fleet and military bases in Hawaii. It was right out of McCollum’s proposed Action F. Though some historians have cited talk about Japanese war planning dating to the 1920s, that was only talk. In 1940, the Japanese military bases in the Central Pacific were totally inadequate for warfare. They consisted of deep-water anchorages without any established military installations. There was no oil storage for warships, no dry docks or repair facilities. Air-war-support structures such as hangars, refueling equipment for aircraft, and landing fields were nonexistent. Military communications at these Central Pacific bases were primitive.

Japan’s initial planning for the attack began in the fall of 1940, about a month after McCollum’s action recommendations were sent to the White House. Naval Minister Admiral Koshiro Oikawa moved quickly. In mid-November he promoted Vice Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto to full admiral and gave him operational command of the Imperial Japanese Navy. Yamamoto was called to the red-brick Victorian building housing the Naval Ministry in downtown Tokyo. The two admirals informally discussed strategy in opening a war with England and America. They agreed that a surprise air raid on Pearl Harbor should start Japan’s military offensive.²⁴

By mid-January 1941, Yamamoto had secretly sketched out his Pearl Harbor strategy and appointed key staff members to work out the tactical details. Pearl Harbor would be the bottom line when worse finally came to worst.

On January 24, while Admiral Yamamoto initiated planning for the attack, Roosevelt’s Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox, warned of perils to Pearl Harbor. Knox cited the naval base’s military vulnerability to air bombing attack, air torpedo-plane attack, sabotage, submarine attack, mining of the waters in Hawaii by Japan, and bombardment by gunfire from Japanese warships.²⁵

Soon after Yamamoto began circulating his Pearl Harbor strategy among trusted Japanese naval officers, the general attack plan was leaked to the US embassy in Tokyo. Max W. Bishop, Third Secretary at the embassy, was standing in a teller line in the Tokyo branch of the National City Bank of New York converting some yen to American dollars. A tap on the shoulder caused Bishop to look up; he recognized the face of the Peruvian minister to Japan, Dr. Ricardo Rivera Schreiber. Motioning Bishop to a side alcove, Schreiber revealed “fantastic” information: “Japanese military forces were planning, in the event of trouble with the United States, to attempt a surprise mass attack on Pearl Harbor using all their military resources.”

Bishop had confidence in Schreiber. He had met the minister on a number of occasions and had played golf with members of Peru’s legion. Bishop writes that the conversation was completely confidential: “I did not think it odd that he took me to one side in the bank for a brief talk. It was the duty of all diplomatic officers to seek and obtain as much information as possible.”

Cutting short his noon lunch break, Bishop hurried back to the US embassy and prepared a confidential dispatch for the State Department. Ambassador Joseph Grew approved the draft of the message. By 6:00 P.M. Tokyo Time it was encoded in an unbreakable State Department cryptographic system, taken across the street to the Japanese Telegraph office, and sent via

radiotelegraph to Washington.²⁶

The next morning, on January 27, Secretary of State Cordell Hull read the message:

MY PERUVIAN COLLEAGUE TOLD A MEMBER OF MY STAFF THAT HE HAD HEARD FROM MANY SOURCES INCLUDING A JAPANESE SOURCE THAT THE JAPANESE MILITARY FORCES PLANNED IN THE EVENT OF TROUBLE WITH THE UNITED STATES, TO ATTEMPT A SURPRISE ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR USING ALL OF THEIR MILITARY FACILITIES. HE ADDED THAT ALTHOUGH THE PROJECT SEEMED FANTASTIC THE FACT THAT HE HAD HEARD IT FROM MANY SOURCES PROMPTED HIM TO PASS THE INFORMATION. GREW²⁷

Hull distributed copies of the Grew cable to Army intelligence and the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI). Arthur McCollum was directed to provide the ONI's analysis. However, he immediately faced a quandary. By his own analysis as spelled out in his action memo, an attack on Hawaii was just what was needed. As a youngster growing up in Japan, he knew of the Japanese propensity for surprise attacks. As a six-year-old McCollum was living in Japan in February 1904 when Japanese torpedo boats surprised the Russian Fleet at Port Arthur on the Bay of Korea. A stunned world learned of the destruction of the Russian warships, which were ambushed in a surprise attack.

McCollum remembered his history. From his viewpoint, Grew's cable proved the effectiveness of the goad strategy. But instead of alerting the Pacific Fleet that Action F—the American fleet's presence at Pearl—was luring Japan into war, McCollum discounted Grew's information as “rumor.” On February 1, 1941, he sent this analysis to the newly appointed commander of the Pacific Fleet, Admiral Husband E. Kimmel: “The Division of Naval Intelligence places no credence in these rumors. Furthermore, based on known data regarding the present disposition and employment of Japanese naval and army forces, no move against Pearl Harbor appears imminent or planned for in the foreseeable future.”²⁸

Two days earlier, thirty Hollywood movie stars, including Lana Turner, George Raft, and Red Skelton, had been invited to a gala luncheon at the White House to help celebrate the President's birthday. They kicked off a series of fund-raising celebrations held in all forty-eight states to raise money for research on and treatment of polio—a disease that had crippled FDR for nineteen years. It was on the same day that he received his first intelligence based on Japanese naval intercepts.²⁹

The President began to track the movement of Japanese ships and command officers to the coastal waters of French Indochina. Two naval units left the Kure naval base and joined other Japanese warships at Hainan Island in the Gulf of Tonkin.

By the time the birthday celebrations began in the forty-eight states that evening, Roosevelt had a clear intelligence picture of an emerging Japanese strategy involving Southeast Asia. McCollum had proposed that Southeast Asian countries controlled by Britain and the Netherlands cut off their exports of natural resources to Japan, which they had done. Now FDR would see the effectiveness of the move.

According to the cryptographer's summary, Japanese Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka had orchestrated border clashes between the Southeast Asia nations of Siam (Thailand) and French Indochina. An armistice—cease fire was proposed, to take effect on January 31, 1941. Japan expected to work out the details during a conference scheduled on the deck of the light cruiser *HIMJS Natori*, in Saigon's harbor. A final peace settlement was scheduled to be signed at Tokyo later in the year.

Japanese warships, including the flattops of Carrier Division Two, were dispatched to the coastal waters off French Indochina (F.I.C.) in a show of force. Their purpose was to ensure that F.I.C., Siam, and the countries of Southeast Asia would support the yen financial bloc and provide Japan with access to raw materials.

Meanwhile, Roosevelt was celebrating his birthday in the White House with the movie stars at the luncheon, and that evening the First Lady presided at the fund-raising galas in Washington. Afterward, Mrs. Roosevelt and a retinue of movie stars made the rounds of the major hotels and danced to such popular songs as “Frenesi,” “I Hear a Rhapsody,” and a British favorite that mourned the Nazi bombing of London, “A Nightingale Sang in Berkeley Square.”

Just before midnight, Roosevelt concluded his part in the birthday celebration by delivering a radio address to the nation in which he thanked “every man, woman, and child” who had labored to raise funds for polio, the disease that had robbed him of the use of his leg and thigh muscles. After the microphones were turned off, FDR looked over his presents. They were an impressive lot. He received a five-foot-high, 300-pound birthday cake from the nation's labor unions, a “Happy Birthday” editorial from the *New York Times*, and a denunciation of his international policies by Adolf Hitler.

A Gallup Poll released that day measured America's attitude toward war. An overwhelming 79 percent of the nation opposed Charles Lindbergh's proposal for a negotiated peace with Hitler, but an even greater majority, 88 percent, continued to oppose United States entry into the European war.³⁰

FDR's overhaul of the Navy's seagoing command structure took effect on February 1, 1941, aboard the USS *Pennsylvania* at Pearl Harbor. Four new stars glistened on the white dress uniform of Admiral Husband E. Kimmel as he spoke into a CBS News radio microphone, reading the orders authorized by President Franklin D. Roosevelt that placed him in command of the newly created Pacific Fleet. About eight feet away and to the admiral's right stood Admiral James O. Richardson, whom

Kimmel was succeeding. Outwardly Richardson bore no enmity toward the President. He realized the commander-in-chief had the right to dismiss officers who didn't agree with White House policies: "The President packed my sea bag for me." Privately, though, he was shocked and "deeply disappointed in my detachment."³¹

Although few on the *Pennsylvania* were aware of the change, a monitor of the unfolding provocation policy was now inserted into the Pacific Fleet command structure. Roosevelt personally promoted the Director of Naval Intelligence, Captain Walter Anderson, to rear admiral and gave him command of all Pacific Fleet battleships with the title Commander Battleships. Anderson's reputation as a naval officer was less than sterling. A sixty-year-old career officer and a naval-academy graduate, his military service was nearing an end. Though he had served aboard warships from 1912 to 1933, he was not a distinguished sailor.

Admiral Richardson has written that Anderson did not have the respect and confidence of other naval officers.³² Admiral Stark apologized for sending Anderson to the Pacific Fleet. He wrote to Kimmel: "The appointment was forced on us by the White House. Anderson is a good man to handle the battleships, but I do not commit myself one inch beyond that." He then warned, "Don't promise Anderson a promotion. He's always looking ahead for a new job."³³

Rear Admiral Chester Nimitz, the Navy's personnel chief, gave Anderson the good news: he was slated to be the number three officer commanding the soon-to-be Pacific Fleet—first as a vice admiral with three stars, then later, in April 1941, a full admiral with four stars. A delighted Captain Anderson ordered new white uniforms for the tropical climate of Hawaii. They were adorned with gold hash marks on his sleeves and admiral's stars on the shoulders. Gold braid trimmed his new hat.

Then it all crashed. A week later Nimitz broke the bad news: "You're only getting two stars as rear admiral. The other stars are going to Ernie King, who will become commander of the new Atlantic Fleet." Anderson was crushed. "I was unhappy with my rank of rear admiral. All twenty previous commanders of the battleships took over the job as vice admiral, I didn't."³⁴ But he took the position anyway.

Privately, Anderson did not blame King for the loss of his stars. "I knew Admiral King intimately. We had been friends since 1912 when we both served on Atlantic warships." Instead, Anderson blamed Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox. In 1940, Knox took a dislike to Anderson when the latter refused to send *Chicago Daily News* reporters to North Africa as confidential ONI agents. "The proposal knocked me off balance. Oh, Mr. Secretary, we couldn't do that."³⁵ Knox, former publisher of the *News*, had planned to scoop the *Chicago Tribune* with eyewitness war accounts from the North Africa front.

Neither Nimitz nor Knox was America's designated admiral maker. That was President Roosevelt's prerogative. In May 1939 the President moved Anderson from the London naval attaché post and made him Director of Naval Intelligence in Washington. Anderson's reign in naval intelligence was marked by poor morale in the agency. "ONI was the haven for the ignorant and well connected," according to Marine Corps Colonel John W. Thomason, Jr., at the time head of the ONI Latin American desk.³⁶

At least three times a week, Anderson met with FDR. "It was usually in the late afternoon in the President's private office."³⁷ Two other officials, Major General Edwin "Pa" Watson, the military aide, and Colonel John Magruder, then the Army intelligence chief, would join them. During his ONI tenure, Anderson also developed very close friendships with FBI director J. Edgar Hoover and Adolf Berle, Jr., FDR's Assistant Secretary of State. Three days before McCollum put his eight action provocations in writing, Anderson met secretly with a group of Roosevelt's staff in the HayAdams Hotel, across Lafayette Park from the White House. The group included Berle, Attorney General Francis Biddle, FCC Commissioner James Fly, and Lowell Mellett, a presidential political advisor.

The group, according to Berle's diary entry,³⁸ discussed the isolationist movement and ways to form an integral mechanism to combat the kind of propaganda spreading across the country. Their concerns echoed those enunciated by Roosevelt on the secret recordings, but, Berle wrote, the group was unable to agree on a policy. Three days later, in his proposal to Anderson, McCollum advocated uniting the country by creating "ado" with its eight provocations. Throughout 1940 and 1941, Anderson lent McCollum to Hoover for consultation and advice.³⁹

The new two-star admiral left Washington in mid-January 1941 and assumed command on January 31. Anderson obviously believed in the McCollum strategy and went to Hawaii knowing of the risks inherent in increasing American pressure on a militant Japan. Yet in an oral-history interview conducted by Columbia University in March 1962, he claimed to know nothing of the Richardson-Roosevelt discussion concerning keeping the fleet in Hawaiian waters.⁴⁰

Most of the Pacific Fleet's senior officers and the crew of the *Pennsylvania* watched the Kimmel/Richardson change-of-command ceremony on February 1, unaware of its full significance. Northeast trade winds gently cooled the deck of the big battleship and tempered the brilliant tropical sun. Resplendent in crisp white uniforms, the officers and men were gathered on the fantail's main deck under the battery of No. 4 turret. Many were destined to die in December.⁴¹

Richardson showed no emotion as he read out to all those assembled the order removing him from America's top naval command. He was reassigned to a relatively insignificant desk job in Washington. Six newsmen stood high atop the turret and looked down on the main deck but probably none guessed the real reason for the ceremony. Richardson had been fired because he would not agree to place the fleet at risk. He promised Admiral Stark not to rock the boat: "I shall keep my lips sealed and

my eyes in the boat and put my weight on the oar to any duty assigned.”⁴² Before leaving Hawaii, Richardson apparently told Kimmel of a “disagreement with authorities in Washington” concerning basing the fleet at Pearl Harbor. There is no record indicating that he ever revealed the details of his confrontation in the Oval Office to Kimmel.⁴³

Looking toward the stern of the *Pennsylvania*, both Richardson and Kimmel could see the newly ordained Commander Battleships of the Pacific Fleet, Rear Admiral Walter Stratton Anderson, standing at attention among a group of senior naval officers. During naval ceremonies the previous day, Anderson, the man who would preside over the devastation at Pearl, had read aloud Roosevelt’s orders placing him in command of the fleet’s nine battleships.⁴⁴

The new Commander Battleships’ poor reputation among the Navy’s high command was recalled by Richardson and Kimmel. Just days before, Kimmel had been warned to beware of Anderson by Admiral Stark, who did not mince words. The appointment was not Stark’s idea. The Anderson promotion was dictated by the White House: “It’s their prerogative and believe me the White House decides these days.”⁴⁵ Stark also told Kimmel that the shake-up of the Fleet was done under duress: “Our hand was forced, we wanted to run this whole schedule differently.”⁴⁶ In 1939, Richardson told FDR that he had little respect or confidence in Anderson as a naval officer.⁴⁷

Anderson was sent to Hawaii as an intelligence gatekeeper. He had powerful connections in the Navy Department and the FBI. Declining military living quarters on the Pearl Harbor base, he rented a house on Diamond Head Road located on the makai (Hawaiian for “toward the water”) side of the famed Waikiki landmark.⁴⁸ From his living-room windows, Anderson could see the southern Hawaiian islands of Maui, Molokai, and Lanai. The sky-jutting cliffsides of the Diamond Head crater cut off all views of Pearl Harbor. Battleship Row and his flagship, the USS *Maryland*, were out of Anderson’s sight. Kimmel’s assigned residence was among his officers and men. He lived on Makalapa Hill, a naval residential area about 600 yards from Pacific Fleet headquarters. From the front lanai of his quarters he had a commanding view of the entire warship anchorage, including Battleship Row.

On December 7, Anderson’s eight battleships (the ninth, the USS *Colorado*, was on the West Coast) would receive the brunt of the Japanese attack. Heavy loss of life and injuries were sustained aboard the *Arizona*, *Oklahoma*, *West Virginia*, *Nevada*, *Tennessee*, *California*, *Maryland*, and the Pacific Fleet flagship, the *Pennsylvania*.⁴⁹ Anderson was not aboard any of the battleships. He spent that fatal weekend at his Diamond Head Road residence.⁵⁰

As Director of Naval Intelligence from June 1939 to December 1940, Anderson had been at the center of policy making. He had direct access to Roosevelt in the White House and met weekly with FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. Most important, he knew of the American success in breaking the Japanese military and diplomatic codes. When he arrived on the quarter-deck of Kimmel’s flagship Anderson had one moral duty: to inform his commander-in-chief of the cryptographic triumphs. He failed to do so, and deliberately excluded Kimmel from the decryption success. “I can’t understand, may never understand why I was deprived of the information available in Washington,” a bewildered Kimmel wrote after the war.⁵¹

Had he been briefed, Kimmel could have requested that Purple decryptions be sent to him from either Washington or Corregidor. But without the machine, he did not have the capability to decode them. Ironically, the Army’s monitor station on Hawaii, Station FIVE, was a principal interceptor of Purple code messages; the intercepts were forwarded immediately by radio to Washington, where they were decrypted on the Station US machine for the White House. Decryption was speedy. Most of Station FIVE’s intercepts of Purple encoded messages were decoded on the Station US Purple machine and translated within a day’s time, according to the White House route logs kept by Arthur McCollum. Incredibly, copies were not sent to Hawaii. Like Admiral Husband Kimmel, Lieutenant General Walter Short, Hawaii’s Army commander, was not told of the secrets of Purple, even though the messages were being intercepted just steps from his command post at Fort Shafter.⁵²

Both Admiral Anderson and Commander Vincent R. Murphy, Kimmel’s assistant war plans officer, knew of McCollum’s proposal to keep the fleet in harm’s way. Either or both should have told Kimmel everything they knew about America’s ability to learn Japan’s strategic and tactical intentions from the intercepts. By mid-February, soon after taking command of the Pacific Fleet, Kimmel sensed his exclusion from the intelligence loop. On February 18 he asked Admiral Stark to fix responsibility for disseminating reports of a “secret nature so there will be no misunderstanding.”⁵³

Kimmel received Stark’s answer on March 22: “Naval Intelligence is fully aware of its responsibility in keeping you adequately informed.”⁵⁴ Determined to plug into the loop, Kimmel tried again. On May 26 he requested the establishment of what he called a “cardinal principle”: “Inform the Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Fleet immediately of all important developments as they occur by the quickest means available.”⁵⁵ His requests were ignored. What information he got from Washington, for almost the entire time prior to the attack, did not provide him with a full understanding of Japan’s intentions. By late July 1941, he had been cut off completely from the communications intelligence generated in Washington.⁵⁶

WE ARE ALERT FOR AN ATTACK ON HAWAII

SELABINTANAH RESORT
JAVA
DUTCH EAST INDIES
OCTOBER 16, 1940

ROOSEVELT'S REVAMPING OF THE NAVY'S COMMAND STRUCTURE IN Hawaii lessened the chance that Japanese moves on Hawaii, spurred to action by Arthur McCollum's eight provocations, would be detected. As events would show, there were Americans ready to put all eight into effect. Among McCollum's proposals, the key provocations were actions B and G, which would cut off vital supplies to Japan and force her into a military mode to regain access. McCollum's action B proposed to "Make an arrangement with Holland for the use of base facilities and acquisition of supplies in the Dutch East Indies." Action G proposed that the United States "insist that the Dutch refuse to grant Japanese demands for undue economic concessions, particularly oil."¹

Japan's leaders reacted immediately and attempted to change the Dutch attitude after both provocations were put into effect in the fall of 1940 and early 1941. Intercepts in the diplomatic code, analyzed in Washington by McCollum, revealed the Japanese strategy; they disclosed that her diplomats speedily attempted to restore access to the Dutch-owned natural resources. But each attempt at reconciliation brought forth a classic case of tightening the screws.

During September 1940 Japan sensed the screw-tightening by the Dutch and arranged for a diplomatic conference in Java in an attempt to keep petroleum products and other natural resources flowing to the Empire. Its delegation was headed by Minister of Commerce Ichizo Kobayashi, who met with H. J. van Mook, Dutch minister for economic affairs. Commander Arthur McCollum's proposed role for the Dutch had not yet been written but his provocations—still at a latent stage—managed to surface during the initial Dutch-Japanese negotiations in late September and early October.

Japan's delegation felt right at home in the Dutch East Indies after their long sea journey. Tea gardens, tumbling waterfalls, and rice fields surrounded the conference site in the forested mountain resort near the hamlet of Selabintanah about 120 km southeast of Batavia. The beauty of the region reminded the diplomats of the heights leading to Mount Fuji in Japan.

But the heated diplomatic interchanges between Kobayashi and van Mook were in sharp contrast to the peaceful surroundings. Japan's diplomats angrily contended that the Netherlands delegates were mere puppets of Washington. On the table were proposals involving Japanese rights to obtain oil and petroleum products from Holland's enormous reserves in the Dutch East Indies. Japan called for the Dutch to provide a minimum of 3,150,000 metric tons of petroleum annually. One of the delegates, Japanese minister of commerce Ichizo Kobayashi, demanded that the Dutch guarantee a delivery schedule covering a five-year period. Kobayashi expressed the attitude of his government: "The Netherlands has been closely co-operating with the United Kingdom and the United States. Now is the time to shake hands with Japan."²

Dutch Minister H. J. van Mook reprimanded Kobayashi and labeled the oil demands preposterous. Besides, he said, the Netherlands government's role was only supervisory. Dutch oil firms controlled the production and sale of the petrol products, not the government.³

The Kobayashi mission started off on the wrong foot. When the *Nissho Maru*, carrying the Kobayashi delegation, arrived in Batavia Harbor on September 12, 1940, the captain committed a diplomatic faux pas: he failed to hoist the Netherlands flag, as required by protocol. But whether the *Nissho Maru* hoisted the colors or not the Japanese mission was doomed, because the Netherlands government went along with McCollum's actions B and G. Japan was not going to obtain any petroleum from the Dutch, despite her prolonged diplomatic overtures, which lasted until June 1941.

Though not mentioned by name, on October 16 President Roosevelt learned of Kobayashi's mission through a summary of a Purple intercept routed by McCollum to naval aide Captain Callaghan. The report mentioned the Japanese economic mission in

the Dutch East Indies and disclosed the Japanese interest in seizing the Dutch East Indies at the earliest opportunity. The Japanese Foreign Office officials including those in Selabintanah urged fast action in seizing Dutch territory, according to the intercept:

THE UNITED STATES IS INCAPABLE OF TAKING ACTION AT THE PRESENT TIME TO PREVENT JAPANESE SEIZURE OF THE DUTCH POSSESSIONS IN THE FAR EAST AND NO TIME SHOULD BE LOST IN EFFECTING SUCH A SEIZURE.⁴

Roosevelt doubted that America would go to war over the Dutch East Indies, for he felt there was little public support for intervention in the Southeastern Asian countries. He expressed his doubts during the October 8 White House luncheon with Admiral Richardson. “I asked the President if we were going to enter the war. He replied that if the Japanese attacked Thailand, or the Kra Peninsula, or the Dutch East Indies we would not enter the war, that if they even attacked the Philippines he doubted whether we would enter the war, but that they could not always avoid making mistakes and that as the war continued and the area of operations expanded, sooner or later they would make a mistake and we would enter the war.”⁵

An October 25 intercept provided additional details on the Kobayashi mission. Roosevelt learned that Japan sought a ground lease for the construction of a “technical base” that would be manned by “disguised troops.” Once completed, Japan intended to use the base “for military operations against the Netherlands.” Realizing the importance of the intercept to the Netherlands government, McCollum delivered a copy of the dispatch to the Dutch naval attaché, Captain Johan Ranneft, on the night of October 30, 1940. Ranneft forwarded the message to his government in exile in London. They refused to grant the lease.⁶

McCollum and Ranneft, an experienced naval-communications officer, worked closely together throughout 1940 and '41. The two shared Japanese intercepts obtained by their governments. Dutch cryptographers eavesdropped on the Japanese navy through a cryptographic unit called *Kamer 14* (Room 14) operated by the Royal Netherlands Army at Bandoeng, Java. There is no doubt of the close cooperation and exchange of naval intelligence between the United States, British, and Dutch forces prior to December 7. Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox assured Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State, that all US Navy intelligence personnel in the Far East were cooperating with British and Dutch naval intelligence by exchange of vital information of a special nature by rapid means. Admiral Hart, of the Asiatic Fleet, confirmed that a Dutch naval officer, Commander H. D. Linder, was assigned to his staff for such a purpose.⁷

Throughout the spring and summer of 1941, the White House manipulated the oil negotiations. On March 19, Roosevelt met with Netherlands Foreign Minister Dr. Eelco van Kleffens in the Oval Office. Van Kleffens, Roosevelt, and Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles conferred for seventy minutes and reiterated the strategy for frustrating Japanese acquisition of petroleum products as advocated by McCollum's actions B and G. When he left the meeting, van Kleffens went even further than his minister, van Mook, and accused Japan of aggressive behavior toward the Netherlands. He told reporters: “We have rejected every attempt by Japan to overstep and we will maintain that attitude.”⁸

The Dutch foreign minister then began a long journey to Batavia by way of San Francisco, where he boarded the trans-Pacific China Clipper through Hawaii. Van Kleffens was not shy with the press. His journey was punctuated by interviews in which he continued to aim provocative remarks at Japan. In Honolulu, the Japanese Consulate reported his arrival and departure for Batavia by radio to Tokyo. When he reached Batavia, van Kleffens outlined the current policy to the local Dutch officials. Japan was permitted to obtain oil but at a diminished rate. An extra impediment was added: Japanese tankers would be required for its transportation; there were no Dutch tankers available. “Japan was enraged,” reported Hallett Abend of the *New York Times*, “and suspected she had been outsmarted” by van Mook. She blamed him for the irksome provisions under which Japan must haul oil in her own tankers and pay for it in good American dollars.⁹

Van Kleffens and Ranneft maintained a connection with the Roosevelt Administration throughout 1941, exchanging Japanese military and diplomatic intelligence. In early December, Ranneft learned that the Japanese carrier forces were on the move. The reports came from the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) in Washington and located two separate movements. According to Ranneft's diary entries, one location was directly west of Hawaii; the other location involved a movement of carriers easterly from Japan. Ranneft did not provide location specifics in his diary. But the oceanic charts of the Pacific can help identify the two separate carrier locations reported by the Dutch naval attaché. The 21° North Latitude meridian leads directly west from Hawaii, past the Mariana Islands, and to the Philippine Sea. In early December 1941, units of Japanese Carrier Divisions Three and Four were in the Philippine Sea area preparing to support the Japanese invasion of Southeast Asia. Scratch Carrier Divisions Three and Four as a threat to Hawaii.

It's Ranneft's positioning of Japanese carriers on an easterly course from Japan that is most revealing—and the danger to Hawaii. As any nautical chart of the Pacific will prove, an easterly ocean course from Japan must originate somewhere from 32 to 45° North Latitude. In early December, Japan's Hawaii raiding force was proceeding easterly from Japan along the 40° North Latitude region of the North Pacific.

During his visit to ONI on December 2, Ranneft saw a naval intelligence plot (i.e., a route on a nautical chart) that placed two Japanese carriers leaving Japan on an easterly course. Again on Saturday, December 6, he saw an update of the Japanese warship plot maintained by ONI. This time Arthur McCollum and his boss, Director of Naval Intelligence Captain Theodore

Wilkinson, pointed to and isolated the Japanese flattops west of Honolulu.¹⁰ Although Ranneft has been criticized as a source, his diary account that he provided to historian John Toland is clear. It reads: “December 2, 1941. Meeting at Navy Department, the location of 2 Japanese carriers leaving Japan with eastern course are pointed out to me on the map.”

Official United States naval records also support Ranneft’s diary entry. Plottings on the naval intelligence map for December 2 were based on intercepted movement reports and radio direction-finder bearings obtained by the Navy’s monitoring stations. Each plot reflected intelligence obtained prior to December 2 and isolated two separate Japanese carrier movements from the Empire: Carrier Route 1 extended southwest toward the Philippines and Southeast Asia¹¹ and Carrier Route 2 continued northeast through waters of the North Pacific Ocean and east to Hawaii. Ranneft’s unnamed port could only be Hitokappu Bay on Route 2 on the Kurile island of Etorofu, northeast of the main Japanese islands.

There was no way Ranneft could mistake the southern Japanese carrier movement for an eastern foray. Three light carriers comprising units of Carrier Divisions Three and Four were tracked on Route 1, the southern route from the Empire. Each Japanese carrier division usually included two flattops, but Division Three was split. The light carrier *HIMJS Zuhio* took part in the invasion of the northern Philippines and Malaya while her sister carrier, *HIMJS Hosho*, remained in the Inland Sea. Carrier Division Four, the *HIMJS Ryujo* and *HIMJS Taiyo* (known to America as the *Kasuga Maru*) assembled at Palau and supported invasions on the east coast of the Philippines. Each of the three flattops and their carrier division commands show up constantly on Route 1 in the pre-Pearl Harbor intercepts of Station H, the Pacific Fleet’s radio intercept station on Oahu, which monitored Japan’s fleet broadcasts.

From mid-November onward, American radio monitors linked Carrier Divisions Three and Four with the Japanese battle force headed for the Southeast Asia region. Their sortie port was Sasebo on the southwest corner of Kyushu, the most westerly of Japan’s home islands. Reports issued by the monitor stations were emphatic. The two light carrier divisions were under the command of Japan’s Third Fleet and were headed for Southeast Asia. Missing from the southern-movement scenario were the six heavy flattops of Carrier Divisions One, Two, and Five. They were sailing to Pearl Harbor on Route 2.

By using the geographic term “eastern,”¹² Ranneft excluded the port of Sasebo and Japanese Carrier Divisions Three and Four, which were headed to the south. Navigation by sea eastward from Sasebo is impossible due to the Kyushu land-mass. Then where is the mystery sortie port for the eastern movement of “The Carriers” of Divisions One, Two, and Five? The answer came in a series of Japanese naval-radio broadcasts originated by the Hawaii-bound carriers, their commanders, and Admiral Yamamoto between November 18 and December 1, 1941. Most of the broadcasts were intercepted at Station H, one of eleven Navy monitor stations in the Pacific and the principal interceptor for the Pacific Fleet. Station H was part of the Navy’s Mid-Pacific Radio Intelligence Network, commanded by Lieutenant Commander Joseph Rochefort from Station HYPO. Both were on Oahu: HYPO in the Pearl Harbor Naval Yard and H at Heeia, a hamlet on the windward side of the island, fronting on Kaneohe Bay. Though their similar names can confuse those uninitiated into the methods of Navy code-breaking, each had separate functions. HYPO was the combat intelligence center for the Pacific Fleet and the Roosevelt Administration. In cryptographic jargon, HYPO processed (decoded and translated) Japanese naval-radio messages obtained by intercept operators listening to the Japanese broadcasts at the monitoring unit, Station H.

These intercepts and the corresponding radio logs of Station H are powerful evidence of American foreknowledge of the attack on Pearl Harbor. Americans do not know these records exist—all were excluded from the many investigations that took place from 1941 to 1946 and the congressional probe of 1995. The most potent evidence is two radio dispatches sent by Admiral Yamamoto to the First Air Fleet on November 25 while the thirty-one warships were anchored at Hitokappu Bay in the Kurile Islands awaiting instruction to sail to Hawaii. In his messages, Yamamoto provides the evidence that contradicts American and Japanese claims of radio silence and exclusion of the words Hawaii and Pearl Harbor from radio transmissions prior to December 7. Both claims are at the heart of the Pearl Harbor surprise-attack lore. Yamamoto broke radio silence and directed the Japanese First Air Fleet to depart Hitokappu Bay on November 26, advance into Hawaiian waters through the North Pacific, and attack the United States Fleet in Hawaii. He even provided the latitude and longitude for portions of Route 2.

In his first dispatch he wrote:

THE TASK FORCE, KEEPING ITS MOVEMENT STRICTLY SECRET, SHALL LEAVE HITOKAPPU BAY ON THE MORNING OF 26TH NOVEMBER AND ADVANCE TO 42° N. X 170° E. ON THE AFTERNOON OF 3 DECEMBER AND SPEEDILY COMPLETE REFUELING.¹³

In the second dispatch he continued:

THE TASK FORCE, KEEPING ITS MOVEMENT STRICTLY SECRET AND MAINTAINING CLOSE GUARD AGAINST SUBMARINES AND AIRCRAFT, SHALL ADVANCE INTO HAWAIIAN WATERS, AND UPON THE VERY OPENING OF HOSTILITIES SHALL ATTACK THE MAIN FORCE OF THE UNITED STATES FLEET IN HAWAII AND DEAL IT A MORTAL BLOW. THE FIRST AIR RAID IS PLANNED FOR THE DAWN OF X-DAY. EXACT DATE TO BE GIVEN BY LATER ORDER.

UPON COMPLETION OF THE AIR RAID, THE TASK FORCE, KEEPING CLOSE COORDINATION AND GUARDING AGAINST THE ENEMY’S COUNTERATTACK, SHALL SPEEDILY LEAVE THE ENEMY WATERS AND THEN RETURN TO JAPAN.

Both dispatches, stripped of all Japanese communication data and lacking the source of the intercept, can be found in two US naval histories: *Pearl Harbor* by Vice Admiral Homer N. Wallin and *The Campaigns of the Pacific War* prepared by the Naval Analysis Division of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey.¹⁵ The published text of the two messages follows the general form of intercepted Japanese naval radio dispatches obtained by US naval monitoring stations in 1941. Records of Station H indicate that Yamamoto, using the radio call sign RO SE 22, dispatched thirteen radio messages between 1:00 P.M. on November 24 and 3:54 P.M. on November 26. All thirteen are missing from the intercept file of Japanese naval messages released to the National Archives by President Jimmy Carter in 1979.¹⁶

By reconstructing records of Station H and Japanese naval records, the destination and the departure port for Ranneft's mystery force is made clear. Japan's fleet movement to Hawaii fitted into two time frames in late November: (1) assembly at standby locations on November 17–25, and (2) the sortie to the target November 25–December 7.¹⁷

Hitokappu Bay, an inlet on Etorofu Island in the Kurile Islands group, was the assembly location for the six carriers of the First Air Fleet—the offensive power of the Pearl Harbor raid. Joining the carriers in the anchorage were its support force of two battleships, two heavy cruisers, one light cruiser, eleven destroyers, and three “P” type submarines, plus the crucial supply train of seven tankers. Several warships committed a serious radio security breach during their sortie to the Hitokappu Bay anchorage: each transmitted coded movement reports—reports that could be read by American naval cryptographers in Washington, according to Albert Pelletier one of the Navy's top cryppies at Station US.¹⁸

These Japanese warship movement reports are substantiated by intercept records of Station H. None of the movement reports were shown to the 1945–46 congressional investigation or to the one in 1995. Instead, Congress was told that American radio intelligence had “lost” the warships because each Japanese naval vessel maintained radio silence. Admiral Kimmel's intelligence chief, Edwin Layton, substantiated this claim. During his Capitol Hill testimony in 1946, he said neither the Japanese carriers nor the carrier commanders were ever addressed or heard on Nippon radio frequencies in the twenty-five days preceding Pearl Harbor. But Layton was covering up. The radio intercept reports were available, but Layton failed to inform Admiral Kimmel of the Japanese movement to Hitokappu Bay.¹⁹

In fact, Navy radio monitoring stations at Corregidor, Guam, Hawaii, and Dutch Harbor, Alaska, intercepted the transmissions. Japanese warships and the commanding admirals of the thirty-one-ship Hawaii force broke radio silence and were addressed by Tokyo radio during the twenty-five days from about November 12 through the December 7 “surprise attack.”

One intercepted message on November 18 defied all security precautions and spelled out H-I-T-O-K-A-P-P-U-B-A-Y. The Roman letters were not even encoded—they were spelled out in clear. Confirmation of this is available from the Station H records, but Captain Duane Whitlock, the radio traffic analyst at CAST, denies that such a message was sent.

Other warships went on the Japanese naval air waves and confirmed that Hitokappu Bay was the standby location for the Hawaii force. British naval monitors at Singapore and their Dutch counterparts in Java heard the same broadcasts.²⁰ General Hein ter Poorten, commander of the Netherlands army forces in the DEI, said his cryptologists at *Kamer* 14 had evidence that “showed Japanese naval concentration near the Kuriles.”²¹

The plain-language dispatch of the words “Hitokappu Bay,” confirmed a prediction made on the basis of radio intercepts on October 22, 1941, by Joseph Rochefort, the commander of Station HYPO on Oahu, who told Admiral Kimmel that Japan was in the midst of a large-scale screening maneuver or operation involving air units. Rochefort laid out the operation for Kimmel.²² He predicted it would include a vast triangular area of the Pacific Ocean from the Kurile Islands in the north to the Marshall Islands in the south and Marcus Island in the east and extending to the southeast areas of Asia. For emphasis, Rochefort cited the Kurile Islands three times in the prediction. He had discovered Japan's secret sortie port for Route 2.

The contents of the Japanese message spelling out “Hitokappu Bay” were not revealed to Admiral Kimmel by Rochefort's Communication Summary dated November 19—the logical date for disclosure. The plain-language “Hitokappu Bay” reference does not appear in the summary though Rochefort wrote that Japanese naval circuits in the far north were intercepted. Dropping “Hitokappu Bay” from the typewritten summary may have been done deliberately to conceal American success in decoding Japanese naval communications. Admiral Harold Stark's testimony before the joint congressional investigation in 1945–46 indicates that he knew of the Hitokappu Bay rendezvous point prior to December 7, 1941.²³ But the plain-language “Hitokappu Bay” reference in the message of November 18 was never presented. Nor was it made available to the Pearl Harbor inquiry of Senator Strom Thurmond in 1995.²⁴

Between November 18 and November 30, some units of the First Air Fleet radioed movement reports as they sailed north in the Pacific from their home ports in Japan. Their route extended off the east coast of Shikoku and Honshu and past Hokkaido, Japan's most northerly home island. Navigating first to the northeast, then north, then northeast again, their course took them to Hitokappu Bay.

Japan's naval communications were controlled by six powerful radio shore stations in the home islands: Sasebo, Kure,

Maizuru, Tokyo, Yokosuka, and Ominato. In the Central Pacific, four stations were in control: Chichi Jima, Saipan, Truk, and Jaluit. For the Far East, the navy used Takao, Formosa; Shanghai, China; and Pusan, Korea, as radio control points. Three were designated super-stations: Sasebo controlled all radio transmissions to Southeast Asia, China and Korea; Yokosuka to the Central Pacific, and Ominato to the north, including the North Pacific.

For supersecret operations, Japan set up special communication zones known only to senior commanders. It was a way to conceal the operation's location from American and allied eavesdroppers. In mid-November, a special communication zone was assigned to the First Air Fleet at Hitokappu Bay in the Kurile Islands. Normally, Japan issued a 5-Num code equivalent for these special locations, but because Hitokappu had been selected at the last minute it was not on the code list. Tokyo had only one choice: they spelled it out.²⁵

After transmitting of the initial message, there were no more Hitokappu Bay plain-language radio leaks. But some warships disclosed their locations when they filed movement reports through various Japanese naval-radio communication zones. Their reports provided a dead giveaway to American cryptographers who could read the movement reports solved by Pelletier at Station US. First to leak their zonal locations were three of the long-range I-boat submarines assigned to the First Air Fleet, *I-19*, *I-21*, and *I-23*. Adhering to long-standing orders, the sub commanders reported moving northeast from Kure. Their radio reports indicated an advance through the Yokosuka Communication Zone, then the Ominato Zone, "to the communication zone of the First Air Fleet." The message was clear: The carriers of the First Air Fleet were in their own special communication zone. They could be reached by radio at Hitokappu Bay, northeast of Ominato.

HITOKAPPU BAY INTERCEPT

[overleaf]

Two versions of the Hitokappu Bay intercept, with and without blacked-out code numbers. The censored version, left, as released in 1979 under Presidential Executive Order, blacks out the code designator JN-25-B (a later designator for the 1941 version of the 5-Num code) and the five-number code groups in the text. The message was intercepted by an unidentified Station H operator with the initials SN, at 1932 hours (7:32 pm) on November 18, 1941, as indicated by the "TOI" (time of interception) info at top right. (The date, listed in the lower right-hand corner as "Navy Trans 4/24/46" indicates that the document was then translated or transcribed in 1946. Decryption, however, remains the critical question; Rochefort was fluent in Japanese.) SN said the message came in loud and clear in Hawaii; he rated it as G=good, no static. Radio Tokyo, HA FU 6, transmitted the message to all Japanese fleets U MO 2 on 4155 kilocycles. The original of this message has not been released by the US government. Based on the handwritten note by GZ (Navy designator for the translator) the original Japanese text was transmitted in a series of five-number code groups, each representing a Japanese word—except for HITOKAPPU WAN (Bay), which was spelled out in katakana. The intercept operators and Kisner had solved the Japanese naval radio call signs and knew HI N MA was the Operations Section Chief of the Japanese Naval General Staff; I A TO was the Ominato Naval Base and RI TA 358 was the First Air Fleet's Chief of Staff. Some historians have claimed that the original of this message was not even available until after December 7, but the time of interception is explicit. Immediately upon receipt, the source and recipients of this message would have been clear.

~~TOP SECRET ULTRA~~

(ed)

U NO 2 - All Fleets
DE
H. FU 6 - TOKYO Comm Unit.
W 34 - SU U

From: HI N MA
Action: I & TO
Info: HI TA 358

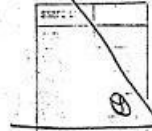
(Naval Comm. Staff 1st Section Chief)
(Chief of Staff CHINATO Guard District)
(Chief of Staff 1st Air Fleet)

1220/18 November 1941

(TOI 11/181932 G SN 3155 A) H

Please arrange to have SUZUKI (1776), who was sent to the
1st Air Fleet (X 31011) on business, picked up about 23 or 24 November at
HITOKAPPU Bay by (X 15905 unident^{ship}) of your secondary Naval Station.

GZ comm: HITOKAPPU BAY spelled out, not
from single code group.



CHIEF HAK

JN 6 1276 Z
DE OC

(JAPANESE)

(H) Navy Trans 4/24/46 X Apr 46
6 May 46

~~TOP SECRET ULTRA~~

DECLASSIFIED per E.O. 12065
by Director, NSA/Chief, CSS
1 June 1979

SRN. NO 116643

~~TOP SECRET ULTRA~~

(ed)

U NO 2 - All Fleets
DE
H. FU 6 - TOKYO Comm Unit.
W 34 - SU U

From: HI N MA
Action: I & TO
Info: HI TA 358

(Naval Comm. Staff 1st Section Chief)
(Chief of Staff CHINATO Guard District)
(Chief of Staff 1st Air Fleet)

1220/18 November 1941

(TOI 11/181932 G SN 3155 A) H

JN 25 B 62200

Please arrange to have SUZUKI (1776), who was sent to the
1st Air Fleet (X 31011) on business, picked up about 23 or 24 November at
HITOKAPPU Bay by (X 15905 unident^{ship}) of your secondary Naval Station.

GZ comm: HITOKAPPU BAY spelled out, not
from single code group.



CHIEF HAK

JN 6 1276 Z

(JAPANESE)

(H) Navy Trans 4/24/46 X Apr 46
6 May 46

~~TOP SECRET ULTRA~~

Radio direction finders of the US Navy confirmed the Japanese naval movements. The radio signals were picked up throughout the Pacific Rim. Stations at Corregidor, Guam, and Dutch Harbor provided "fixes" on the carriers *Akagi*, *Hiryu*,

and *Shokaku*, and of Carrier Divisions One, Two, and Five. Each flattop was plotted moving north by northeast by the radio operators at CAST on Corregidor. These plots were forwarded to Rochefort at Pearl Harbor's Station HYPO and then to President Roosevelt's routing officer Arthur McCollum in Washington by a special secure Navy radio code circuit called TESTM.²⁷

To those uninitiated in the methods of communications intelligence, Japan's radio call-sign system, known as the *Yobidashi Fugo*, looks like alphabet soup. But to the experienced radio intercept operator/cryptographer the call signs, when deciphered, are revealing. The flagship of the First Air Fleet, the 27,000-ton carrier HIMJS *Akagi*, shared triple radio duty. Its radio transmitter served three masters with different radio call signs: Captain Kiichi Hasegawa of the *Akagi*, whose radio code name was 8 YU NA, and Vice Admiral Chuichi Nagumo, who wore two hats: he was both Commander-in-Chief of the First Air Fleet, YO N 7, and Commander of Carrier Division One, SA SO 2.²⁸

Vice Admiral Nagumo continually broke radio silence by transmitting messages to his command using the *Akagi*'s radio facilities. But Nagumo was not the only offender. Captain Hasegawa added his transmissions to the traffic. So did Vice Admiral Gunichi Mikawa, the commander of the battleships and cruisers of Nagumo's force. Mikawa was detected by Station CAST using his secret Hawaii call sign, N WA 2. His radio transmissions, according to the CAST radio direction-finder bearings, placed his force off the east coast of Japan. Even worse for Japanese communications security, both admirals used their most secret call signs, which were reserved exclusively for the Hawaii attack.²⁹

Japan's navy revised the radio call signs for all warships on November 1, when they put a new radio-call list into effect. Nagumo and Mikawa thought the new coded radio-call signs hid them from detection by US listening posts. They were correct, as long as they kept their radio transmitters silent. But once the warships used the airwaves, the American naval intercept operators solved the new identities quickly.

Transmissions to and from the entire Japanese fleet were in radiotelegraphy, not voice. However, radio transmitters emit spurious sounds,³⁰ which can be identified by "radio fingerprinting." These sounds are unique to the transmitter; that is, no two transmitters sound alike. The US Navy used oscilloscopes to identify the wave patterns of these sounds. Experienced naval intercept operators could sometimes recognize individual Japanese radio operators by their unique use of the radiotelegraph key to send the dots and dashes of their code.

The new call list, List 9, thwarted the American code-breakers for a few days. But once the warships began transmitting, and "fingerprints" could be detected, the code-breakers were able to analyze the meaning of the various calls for individual ships or units. This wide use of radio transmissions was necessitated by the fact that Japan's navy and military operations extended over vast stretches of air, land, and sea. In a Thanksgiving Day assessment of Japanese carrier movements, the Pacific Fleet's radio intercept traffic chief, Homer Kisner,³¹ detected a separation of carrier commands. He noted that Carrier Divisions Three and Four were involved in "southern operations" and received their orders from the commander of Japan's Third Fleet, not from the Commander Carriers, Vice Admiral Nagumo. Kisner spotted another movement which he called "the Carrier Divisions": the six big carriers of the Japanese Fleet. These included Carrier Division One, *Akagi* and *Kaga*, commanded by Nagumo; Carrier Division Two, *Hiryu* and *Soryu*, commanded by Rear Admiral Tamon Yamaguchi; and Carrier Division Five, commanded by Rear Admiral Chuichi Hara, with the newest Japanese flattops, *Shokaku* and *Zuikaku*.

Pushing aside his cranberries and turkey, Kisner examined the pile of radio intercepts culled from the Japanese naval airwaves by his 65 radio operators. The thirty-one-year-old Kisner had assumed the duties of radio traffic chief in June 1941. He supervised the interception of all types of Japanese naval radio communications. His headquarters was Station H, a Navy radio receiving facility located at Heeia on Kaneohe Bay on the windward side of Oahu. Homer Kisner had learned to intercept Japanese radio broadcasts in a Navy classroom operated by Station US on the roof of Navy headquarters in Washington in 1933.³² After graduating from the three-month eavesdropping course, Kisner, then a radioman second class, traveled to Hawaii and placed Station H in operation that summer. In the ensuing years, he served in other monitor stations in the Pacific specializing in the interception of Japan's military and diplomatic radio broadcasts. His unique talent in eavesdropping on Japan's fleet was unsurpassed. His immediate boss, Commander Joseph Rochefort, regarded Kisner as tops in the specialized field of plucking Japanese radio broadcasts from the airwaves. From July 1941 to October 1942 Kisner served as the Pacific Fleet's radio traffic chief. For the next three years Kisner operated with the Pacific Fleet supervising various intercept operations. He observed Japan's early success followed by her defeat. He detected the Japanese advance on Hawaii in 1941 and also intercepted Japan's reaction to the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the initial peace feelers in 1945. President Harry Truman in 1946 awarded him the Bronze Star for his expertise. Promoted to full Commander in 1953, Kisner was sent to Korea for communications intelligence and earned a second Bronze Star from President Dwight Eisenhower.³³

Kisner's daily routine at Station H called for a quick examination of the intercepts for military information. Then he prepared a Daily Chronology and delivered the entire package to Rochefort's basement office at Pearl Harbor, about fifteen miles away on the lee side of Oahu. There were no teleprinters or two-way radio facilities to link the offices. A single telephone line from the Mutual Telephone Company was Kisner's only electronic means of alerting the US government to an emergency. But there was no way Kisner was going to use that telephone. It was a party line.

Every day Kisner packaged the Daily Chronology, intercept message sheets, and radio logs into a neat bundle, strapped a Colt .45 revolver to his hip, and drove to Pearl Harbor in a Navy half-ton pickup truck. He was carrying America's most precious intelligence secrets, and his daily route to Pearl Harbor took him directly past the Japanese Consulate, where a Japanese naval spy, Tadashi Morimura, prepared weekly espionage reports for Tokyo.

Modern freeways bypass Kisner's route today. But in 1941 he drove from Oahu's windward side and up the circuitous Pali Road, which cut through the Koolau Mountains. At the 1100-foot summit, the road became Nuuanu Avenue and followed a steep downhill descent to the Honolulu side. The Japanese Consulate was at the intersection of Nuuanu Avenue and Kuakini Street. One unlucky auto accident at that busy intersection and the Pacific War might have had a different outcome.

Kisner relied on Mama San's Laundry to hide Station H and his daily departures for Pearl Harbor from potential Japanese spies. Her residence, laundry, clotheslines, and huge banana trees fronted the entire side of the Station's property on Kamehameha Highway and cut off views of H from motorists traveling on the highway. He supervised the intercept operations from a large white concrete building with a sixteen-foot-high ceiling. His office view looked out to the turquoise-blue waters of the Royal Fish Pond at Heeia, built and maintained by Hawaiian kings over the centuries as a food source. Inside the building his 65 radio operators split among eight work stations. (The discovery of the two carrier commands was a monumental find, yet neither Kisner nor any of his 65 men nor the remaining hundred-odd intercept operators were ever called before any of the nine Pearl Harbor investigations, including the 1995 probe. The reason, our government would still claim fifty years after the fact, was that their testimony could compromise our national security.) They worked around the clock, including holidays, in rotating eight-hour shifts. Kisner required twenty-four operators for the three shifts every day. Station H logs indicate that in the weeks prior to the attack the work schedule was often junked. Operators doubled up and worked overtime in continuous sixteen-hour shifts. In the US Navy there is no such luxury as overtime pay. As American-Japanese relations deteriorated and approached the breaking point, many radiomen ate their meals and slept on the floor near their monitor positions.

When he wasn't analyzing the Japanese intercepts, Kisner watched his eight men, each at his work station. They sat in swivel chairs before a long bench stacked with radio equipment. Each wore earphones called "cans" connected by wire to banks of radio receivers tuned to the known Japanese naval frequencies. When a message was heard it was transcribed on a special code typewriter called an RIP-5. (RIP stands for Radio Intelligence Publication.) The machine had been secretly developed by the Underwood Typewriter Company³³ to convert the unique dot-dash radiotelegraphy code of the Imperial Japanese Navy to Latin-alphabet equivalents. To the untrained ear, Japan's naval telegraphy procedures sounded like International Morse Code. But each dot and dash had a non-Morse meaning. For example, in Morse Code, dash-dot-dot-dot is the letter B, but in the Japanese naval *katakana* telegraphic system the same sequence means the syllable HA. When an intercept operator typed B on the RIP-5 the *katakana* syllable HA was printed out.

Intercepting and transcribing Japanese fleet messages for FDR and his military leaders was a highly skilled task. In 1941, America had only 165 trained *katakana* operators. Kisner and his 65 operators at H were the best in the business. All had been chosen by Rochefort as the "pick of the crop."³⁴

Scanning the Thanksgiving Day intercepts, Kisner looked for Japanese commanders who appeared "bossiest." Kisner first assembled the intercepts in chronological order. He said the interception of "an unusually large number of [radio] messages indicated increased activity or movement of the Carriers." He connected Carrier Division Three with the Third Fleet and associated both commands with a southern movement from Japan toward Southeast Asia.

Kisner discovered other warships. All were destined to attack Pearl Harbor. He placed Destroyer Squadron One and the heavy cruiser HIMJS *Tone* with Carrier Divisions One, Two, and Five. From mid-November to December 6, this placement never changed.³⁵

Kisner tracked the Japanese fleet movements with radio direction finders that located Japanese warships when they used their radio transmitters. He included the bearings of Japanese warships obtained by the direction-finder stations in his Daily Chronology. The documentation of Japanese naval broadcasts compiled by Kisner and his radiomen from November 18 through 20 is compelling: Four broadcasts linked warships of the First Air Fleet with the Kurile Islands and Hitokappu Bay—a serious breach of Japanese naval security.

Nov. 18: Hitokappu Bay appeared in plain language text in a radio dispatch originated by naval headquarters, Tokyo. By using the plain words, the dispatch associated the First Air Fleet with Hitokappu Bay. Intercepted by operator SN at Station H at 7:32 P.M. Tokyo time.

Nov. 19: A Japanese naval submarine transmitted its coded radio call sign of RO TU 00 and filed a movement report to the flagship of the First Air Fleet in Hitokappu's communication zone. Intercepted at Station H by LF at 2:02 A.M. Tokyo time.

Nov. 20: Japanese naval Submarine Squadron Three reported that sub I-19 was underway from Yokosuka to Ominato, and then to the radio zone of the flagship of the First Air Fleet. Intercepted at Station H by radio operator Merrill Whiting, at 2:35 P.M. Tokyo time.

Nov. 20: Two and a half hours later, Whiting heard a third Japanese sub, TA YU 88, when it filed a movement report to the communication zone of the flagship, First Air Fleet.³⁶

Kisner was excluded from every Pearl Harbor investigation, including the 1995 inquiry. His first public comments on the pre-Pearl Harbor communications intelligence were made to the author in April 1988 when he examined the intercepts contained in the President Carter document release. Kisner confirmed their authenticity. He verified that several Japanese intercepts heard by his operators were transmitted in plain language prior to December 7. But after fifty-plus years Kisner could not recall the circumstances of the intercepts or why he failed to flag the plain-language HITOKAPPU BAY in his Daily Chronology on November 19. Emphasizing that he was not excusing himself for overlooking Japan's use of plain language in the radio dispatch, Kisner noted that Joseph Rochefort and his staff of analysts at Station HYPO should have been alerted by the words. On October 22, 1941, HYPO's Communication Summary predicted that Japan was planning a large-scale screening maneuver involving air forces, staged from the Kurile Islands.

In an interview in 1998, Kisner, then eighty-eight years old, was shown McCollum's memo by the author. His reaction to proposal F was the same as Admiral Richardson's—disbelief and outrage: "No one in the Navy would deliberately place warships and sailors in harm's way. If I had known of the plan, I'd have gone direct to Admiral Kimmel and warned him."³⁷

During the four years he served with the Pacific Fleet in communications intelligence, Kisner estimated that he and other staff members handled a minimum of 1,460,000 Japanese military intercepts. Kisner's full documentation for the pre-Pearl Harbor period is contained in the message sheets and separate radio intercept logs kept by his 65 operators, including Whiting and the unknown SN and LF. These Station H message sheets and the operator logs are still classified as among America's most secret documents. The Japanese warships and senior admirals of the First Air Fleet gave away their North Pacific Ocean locations during their sorties to Hitokappu Bay. US naval cryptographic monitors as well as their British and Dutch counterparts verified the movements.³⁸

Dutch code-breakers at *Kamer* 14 intercepted the same Japanese naval broadcasts and forwarded the information to their government-in-exile in London. These Dutch intercepts placed Japanese warships near the Kuriles toward the end of November 1941. Presumably the *Kamer* facility obtained Admiral Yamamoto's dispatches to the First Air Fleet, for two Dutch military officers, Lieutenant General Hein ter Poorten and Captain J. W. Henning, claim that intercepts of Japanese naval communications by Dutch code-breakers revealed a concentration of warships in the Kuriles. Both officers are credible. General ter Poorten was commander-in-chief of the Netherlands ground forces in the Dutch East Indies; Henning was cryptologist at *Kamer* 14. Adding to the credibility of the two Dutch army officers is the written assurance given November 8, 1941, by Frank Knox to Cordell Hull that there was a full exchange of intelligence information between the Dutch, British, and Americans in the Far East prior to Pearl Harbor.³⁹

The Dutch accounts placing the warships in the Kuriles were written in 1960, but they dovetail with the intercepts Kisner gathered in late November 1941. Unfortunately, the military records of the Netherlands East Indies were intentionally destroyed early in 1942 to make sure they would not fall into enemy hands when Japanese invasion forces overran the Dutch colony.

Skeptics argue that the concentration of warships in the Kuriles pointed not to Hawaii but to a Japanese invasion and attack on Russia or the Aleutian Islands of Alaska. But there were no invasion or expeditionary troop components detected in the Japanese warship movement to the Hitokappu Bay–Kuriles region. All the major Japanese expeditionary forces and their commanders were heading south toward Southeast Asia, the Philippines, and Palau. The Kurile concentration was a screening force, which verified Rochefort's October 22 prediction of a Japanese air movement eastward in the North Pacific Ocean.

According to Ranneft's account, the intercepts and chart plots clearly indicated an imminent clash with the United States. "No one among us mentions the possibility of an attack on Honolulu. I myself do not think about it because I believe that everyone in Honolulu is 100 percent on the alert, just like everyone here at ONI."⁴⁰

THE SPLENDID ARRANGEMENT

SINCE THE EARLY 1920S, AMERICA HAD BEEN EAVESDROPPING ON Japanese governmental communications. Roosevelt's military leaders called it a "splendid arrangement," a phrase coined by Admiral Stark.¹ It was America's intelligence backbone. In 1941 it comprised twenty-five Pacific Rim radio intercept stations, including four cryptographic centers that decoded Japanese military and diplomatic messages. Homer Kisner's Station H and Joseph Rochefort's cryptographic center, both on Oahu, Hawaii, were part of it. So were Station CAST on Corregidor Island and Station SAIL near Seattle.² Altogether it was an exceptional effort of extraordinary scope and achievement, and for years it had kept American officials aware of every intention and activity of the Japanese government.³

Joseph Rochefort⁴ and his Station HYPO would play a large part in the Pearl Harbor story and World War II's amazing decryption effort. In 1917, at the height of World War I, the seventeen-year-old Rochefort had joined the Navy while still in high school in Los Angeles. He was called to duty in April 1918 and sent to San Pedro. He wanted to be a naval aviator, but the Navy had different plans and sent him to an engineering school in New York. He graduated an ensign in 1919 and became engineering officer of the USS *Cuyama*, a tanker. In 1924, after five years of uneventful service, a fellow officer noted Rochefort's skills at auction bridge and solving crossword puzzles and recommended him for a Navy cryptanalysis class in Washington. There Rochefort found his true calling. He excelled in the cryptographic work, was promoted to full lieutenant, and was named assistant to Lieutenant Commander Laurance Safford, who was in the initial stages of organizing a communications-intelligence section for the Navy. When Safford was sent to sea duty in late 1924, Joseph Rochefort was named officer-in-charge of the small unit that eventually became Station US.⁵

Like Rochefort, the American military commanders in the Philippines, General Douglas MacArthur and Admiral Thomas Hart, were part of this "splendid arrangement"—but Hawaii's commanders, Lieutenant General Walter Short and Admiral Husband Kimmel, were not. President Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Churchill, and the Netherlands government-in-exile in London used the entire network, which extended from the West Coast of North America to China's east coast and from Dutch Harbor, Alaska, to Batavia on the island of Java in the Dutch East Indies. Fifteen of the monitoring stations were run by the United States, four by the British Royal Navy, and one by the Dutch army.

The US Pacific monitoring operation included twelve Navy stations and four operated by the Army. Command decisions rested with each service. The Navy controlled its cryptographic operations from Station US, located in Navy Headquarters at 18th Street and Constitution Avenue, N.W., in Washington; the Army's control was centered at the Signal Intelligence Service (SIS) in Army Headquarters, down the street at 20th Street and Constitution Avenue, N.W., known in 1941 as the Munitions Building. The Navy's Japanese monitoring program was the largest by far. SAIL, CAST, and HYPO were the regional control centers. Decoding and translating the intercepts took place at four processing centers: CAST and HYPO in the Pacific and Station US and the Army's SIS in Washington. Station SAIL was limited to intercept operations and dispatched its information by teleprinter to Station US for processing.

Britain's four stations in the Pacific, called WT stations for wireless-telegraph, were controlled from the Far East Combined Bureau, a cryptographic processing center in Singapore's Naval Dockyard. Its monitoring station was on Stonecutter's Island in Hong Kong's harbor. Two radio direction-finder stations in Canada, at Esquimalt and Ucluelet on British Columbia's Vancouver Island, formed the remainder of Britain's Pacific cryptographic efforts. *Kamer* 14, the Netherlands monitor and processing center at the Bandoeng Army Base in the Dutch East Indies, completed the "splendid arrangement."

America's small Asiatic Fleet, commanded by Admiral Thomas Hart, received its Japanese communications intelligence from CAST,⁶ a full-service facility under co-commanders Lieutenants Rudolph J. Fabian and John Lietwiler. The center was manned by 75 trained cryptographic specialists—including intercept operators, radio direction-finder experts, translators, and

cryptographers—who monitored Japanese diplomatic and military communications. CAST also served as the exchange center for sharing intercepts with the British and the Dutch.⁷

Rocheft's Station HYPO controlled the Mid-Pacific Network, which was the largest of the Navy's Pacific operations with about 140 radio intelligence specialists. Aside from the HYPO staff, 32 specialists manned five RDF stations: at Dutch Harbor, on Midway, on Samoa, and two on Oahu. Coast Guard cryptographers on Oahu also supplied intercepts to HYPO. It was a mammoth job, for about 1000 Japanese military intercepts were produced daily on Oahu and required careful scrutiny. The Mid-Pac Network concentrated only on Japanese naval communications and did not intercept diplomatic messages, since that was the mission of CAST and SAIL.

Rocheft created an accurate picture of Japan's preparations despite being unable to see a single warship, sailor, or aircraft of the perceived enemy. The nearest Japanese fleet unit was several thousand miles away. Station HYPO was housed in the basement of the administration building of the Fourteenth Naval District. It was fifteen feet underground in a windowless, damp cellar, dug into the volcanic rock and soil of the naval yard. There were no enclosed offices or partitions except for a wall divider that separated the special [and loud] IBM sorting machinery from the rest of the space. From his gray metal desk in the center, Lieutenant Commander Rocheft supervised the entire operation. Tall and lean, with close-cropped dark brown hair, the forty-one-year-old Rocheft was a model naval officer greatly admired by his handpicked staff of officers and enlisted men. The cryptanalysts at HYPO worked in the open around him. The cryptanalysts, or "cryppies," are among the greatest heroes of the war.

Hawaii's tropical temperatures, combined with the heat in the basement generated by the statistical machinery, made working conditions unbearable, so a powerful air conditioner was installed. To endure this chilled air, Rocheft wore a red smoking jacket over his neatly pressed khaki uniform. Then to ease the discomfort caused by the carpetless concrete floor, he wore cushioned slippers. Officially, the smoking jacket and slippers violated naval dress regulations, but whenever he left HYPO's basement to meet with Admiral Kimmel or attend FBI meetings in downtown Honolulu, Rocheft was properly and meticulously dressed.

Although Rocheft was considered the top cryptanalyst in the Navy's officer corps, he preferred sea duty to the draining mental effort that code-breaking demanded. Frustrations associated with the cryptographic chores ate at him twenty-four hours a day. He suffered from ulcers and at the end of the day needed two to three hours to unwind at his home in the Honolulu hills. He missed many meals with his wife Fay and their children, Janet and Joseph, Jr.

Rocheft lived by the credo: "An intelligence officer has one task, one job, one mission. This is to tell his commander, his superior, today, what the Japanese are going to do tomorrow. This is his job. If he doesn't do this, then he's failed." He was proud of his organization. "I would say with all modesty that this was the best communications intelligence organization this world has ever seen. It was due simply to the fact that our people were tops in their particular fields. All worked together as a team. They had been in this business anywhere from five to ten or twelve years. I had been involved in this thing since 1925 and I fancied myself as a translator." True to his mission, Rocheft did more than just translate, he predicted. "I was better prepared to indicate what was in the Japanese mind. That is why we always specified the meaning of Japanese naval operation orders. We also sent in judgments explaining what the Japanese intended to accomplish by the operation orders. That is where I differed from most intelligence organizations at that time."⁸

Rocheft defined the basic concept of communication intelligence thus: "You cannot always count on being able to read these messages forever. Enemy cryptographic systems are constantly changed to avoid detection. You've got to be able to put yourself in a position where you extract a lot of information just from the messages themselves without being able to read them. This generally is known as radio intelligence." Rocheft cited radio direction finding (RDF) as an important part of communications intelligence. He explained: "By means of radio direction finders you ascertain the geographical position of the enemy force. That's called direction finding—DF. That's a part of radio intelligence."⁹



Major sites on Oahu that figure in this book: Pearl Harbor Naval Base and Station HYPO (center lower); Station H (center right); Lualualei RDF (center left); Opnna Radar, Army early warning site (top center); Kaena Point, navigational base for both Japanese and American forces (upper left); (1) Fort Shafter, US Army Headquarters and site of Station FIVE; (2) Japanese Consulate; (3) Downtown Honolulu includes Aloha Tower, FBI Field office, Army and Navy espionage investigative office; (4) the Pali Road linked windward Oahu (east) with Honolulu; (5) Hamlet of Kalama; (6) Diamond Head residence of Rear Admiral Walter Anderson. Inset: Japan launched its attack on Hawaii from the North Pacific Ocean at the Prokofiev Seamount, about 200 miles north of Oahu.

Source: Map based on map from Hawaii Territorial Planning Board, 1940.

Unlike the interservice cryptographic cooperation in the Philippines, there was no liaison between HYPO and the Army's Station FIVE, an intercept station at Fort Shafter on Oahu. FIVE was under the administrative command of Lieutenant General Walter Short. It was an important link in the "splendid arrangement" but—inexplicably—intercepts were not shared between HYPO and FIVE. Short's operators intercepted Japanese diplomatic messages, including the all-important Purple code, but without the Purple decryption machine or help from CAST or Washington they were unable to decode them.

Apparently General Short learned of the importance of the Japanese radio messages intercepted at Station FIVE. On November 27 he requested that Rochefort instruct the Army's intercept operators at FIVE in solving what Short called the "Japanese telegraphic code." Rochefort received Short's request the next day but details are lacking, for censorship conceals both the text of the request and Rochefort's reaction. Apparently he did nothing to assist the general. A direct link to Short's letter—but not the letter itself—can be found referenced in a Fourteenth Naval District route slip in the National Archives at San Bruno. Rochefort initialed the slip and kept Short's original letter in HYPO's files. On January 1, 1942, a similar request again asked Rochefort's cooperation in the solution of enemy codes and ciphers. Again he acknowledged the request, signed his full signature, J. J. Rochefort, and retained the copy in HYPO's files.

Mysteriously, both the November 27 and January 1 letters have the same Army serial number. Short had been relieved of his duties on December 17, so the date of the second request is suspicious. The identical serial numbers suggest a deliberate attempt to make it appear that the request wasn't received until weeks after the attack. Neither letter has been released by the Navy or the Army. Their existence would not have come to light at all had not the route slips been discovered by the author.¹⁰

Lieutenant General Short never told Congress of Rochefort's failure to assist him in decrypting the intercepts. Asked directly about the Army's radio intercept facilities in Hawaii, Short told Senator Alben Barkley (D., KY), the chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee established to investigate the disaster in 1945–46, "I had no source of information outside Hawaii, except the War Department."¹¹

Short failed to mention Station FIVE or his November 27 request. His discourse with Barkley offered the opportunity to clear his reputation by focusing on the crucial intercepts denied to his command. Traffic encrypted in the two most important Japanese diplomatic code systems, Purple and the J series, passed through Station FIVE's radio receivers at Fort Shafter. These included the Tokyo–Berlin, Tokyo–Batavia, and Tokyo–Washington circuits encoded in the Purple code. FIVE also intercepted the J series, which Japan's Foreign Ministry called the Tsu code. It was the top code assigned to Japan's Honolulu consulate for its radio contact with Tokyo and had been broken by the Americans. The Purple machine was not assigned to the consulate.

To foil Allied code-breakers, the Foreign Ministry changed the Tsu code three times in 1941. The changes were ineffectual

and were solved promptly by cryptographers at Station US. Each solution was sent immediately by radio dispatch to both Station CAST and HYPO. The first change, put into effect between January and March, was labeled J-17 by Washington; April through May, J-18. The final change, called J-19, remained in effect for six months—June through December 3. By intercepting the J series, Station FIVE obtained the Tokyo spy orders transmitted in the J-19 code system, which directed preparation of bomb plots for the Pacific Fleet anchorages in Pearl Harbor. Short's intercept operators, unable to decode the bomb plot messages, forwarded them to Washington. They were decoded and, when translated, revealed the bomb plots—but Washington clammed up. Not a word of the bomb plots that targeted Pearl Harbor was sent to Short or to Kimmel.

No record has been found indicating that General Short ever told Admiral Kimmel of the intercept capability at Fort Shafter. Conversely, Kimmel apparently never told Short that the J-19 messages, and the earlier messages of 1941, could be decrypted at Station HYPO.

America's West Coast was served by six Navy stations, which stretched 2400 miles from Sitka, Alaska, to Imperial Beach, near San Diego, California. Of the six, SAIL copied all categories of Japanese naval and diplomatic message text while ITEM, at Imperial Beach, was a special sentinel assigned to locate Japanese fleet units approaching Hawaii and the West Coast. The other four stations were engaged solely in radio direction-finder operations aimed at tracking Japanese merchant vessels and warships throughout the Pacific. It was a "big tent" organization, for the stations received electronic help from America's commercial radio firms such as RCA Communications and Globe Wireless, which transmitted Japanese communications between Tokyo and North, Central, and South America. Canadian stations were also part of the "big tent." Monitor stations at Esquimalt and Ucluelet on British Columbia's Vancouver Island joined in tracking the Japanese vessels.¹² All of these intercept facilities sent intercepted Japanese messages along to Washington by teleprinter for decoding and translating.

The Army had two intercept stations on the West Coast. One was called Station TWO and was situated on the headlands of San Francisco's Army Presidio, overlooking the straits of the Golden Gate. The other was Station FOUR at Quarry Heights, near Balboa in the Panama Canal Zone. Their missions paralleled those of the other two Army stations in the Pacific: the interception of Japanese diplomatic messages. There were no processing facilities, so intercepts were sent by teleprinter to the SIS in the Munitions Building, on the site now occupied by the Vietnam Memorial.

The "splendid arrangement" required a plentiful supply of Japanese intercepts to work. With the vast quantity of diplomatic codes and the naval intercepts, the network had its hands full. Japan's Foreign Ministry used four separate diplomatic codes for contacting overseas missions during 1941: Purple, the J Series, LA, and PA. Five of the intercept stations in the Pacific were focused on these Tokyo diplomatic broadcasts in 1941. The seeming redundancy was crucial; nothing could be left to chance. Radio signals are easily disturbed by outside elements. Solar storms can disrupt broadcasts here on earth. Transmissions intended for short distance sometimes bounce halfway around the world during sun spot activity. Thus Army intercept stations in Manila, Honolulu, and San Francisco combined with two Navy facilities—CAST on Corregidor and Seattle's SAIL—as a hedge against a loss.



THE "SPLENDID ARRANGEMENT" IN THE PACIFIC

Twenty-two communications intelligence radio stations operated by the United States, Britain, and the Dutch East Indies surrounded Japan's government in the Pacific in 1941.

Of the four code systems, Purple contained messages that involved the most sensitive and important dispatches of the

Japanese Foreign Ministry and its overseas ambassadors. Every Purple message yielded strategic decisions involving the Axis nations. In Berlin, Japanese Ambassador Baron Hiroshi Oshima frequently met with Hitler and his lieutenants and learned secret German strategy. Oshima dutifully passed along Hitler's secrets to Tokyo in the Purple Code. In fact, Roosevelt discovered Germany's plans for the invasion of Russia through a Purple intercept on June 14, 1941.¹³

Purple was a two-step encryption system. In the first encryption step, prior to radio dispatch, Ministry code clerks converted the Japanese text to Roman letters. Then the coded text was further encrypted by an electronic cipher machine process that used six rotor wheels to sequentially rearrange the Roman letters.¹⁴

To further foil American and Allied code-breakers, Japan issued separate ambassadorial codes to her various embassies. For example, the Tokyo–Berlin Purple system always remained cryptographically different from that of Tokyo–Washington. Thus, for the United States to read Purple messages obtained from the Washington and Berlin circuits, cryptographers had to solve each ambassadorial code first, then translate the message into English.

The essential element of the decoding process required reconstructing the cipher machine and its daily wheel sequence. Without the machine and the sequences, messages in the Purple system could not be read. Army cryptographic specialists led by Colonel William Friedman of the SIS solved the intricacies of the Purple machine in 1940 and constructed a prototype.

Friedman's staff produced their first decrypted message on September 25, 1940. When they were satisfied that they had the machine down pat, prototypes were reproduced by naval technicians at the Washington Naval Yard and sent to Station US, to CAST, and to the British government. The machine was not sent to Hawaii because the messages could be decrypted and translated at either CAST or Washington and sent from there to Army and Navy commanders on Oahu. Rear Admiral Leigh Noyes, the Director of Naval Communications, made the decision to exclude Hawaii: "I knew perfectly well that CAST could decipher the diplomatic traffic and send it to Honolulu." Noyes saw no point in a needless duplication of effort.¹⁵

The first step in decoding Purple messages required setting the daily letter sequences for the six rotor wheels in proper order. Each wheel had letters of the Roman alphabet engraved along the outside of its rim. Japan changed the sequence of the letters every twenty-four hours at midnight. Each day, a different six-letter sequence was used to signal how the alphabet would be encrypted. On a given day, every E would translate to a different set of letter combinations, every P to another, etc. There are billions of possible encryptions of the twenty-six-letter alphabet, according to David Kahn, author of *Codebreakers*.¹⁶

Ensign Laurance L. MacKallor, who was the Navy's Purple decoding specialist at CAST¹⁷ and who personally guarded and transported the code machine from Washington, explained how he obtained the daily decoding sequences for the Purple code: "Normal traffic required a daily alphabetic sequence which determined the order in which the letters of the electric typewriter were connected into the cipher box. This sequence was usually recovered in the field [at CAST]. Sometimes the sequence could be predicted in advance, as Japs reused a master book which had been partially recovered. The sequence was usually recovered during the current day, but time of recovery varied greatly with depth and quality of traffic." Between November 29 and December 7, Commander Laurance Safford of Station US sent the daily Purple sequences to CAST by radio dispatch. For example, FTNLQB was the setting for the six wheels for November 29 and VUTHLD the sequence for December 5, according to Safford.¹⁸

A second tier of Foreign Ministry codes—known in America as the J series—played a pivotal role in pre–Pearl Harbor communications intelligence. General Short's Station FIVE intercepted the J system but—as discussed earlier—lacked expertise in decoding and translation. Between January 1 and December 3, Ministry officials, confident that the code had not been compromised, used Tsu for transmission of spy messages between Tokyo and Honolulu. For nearly twelve months a constant flow of Tsu messages between Hawaii and Tokyo reported operations of the Pacific Fleet and provided bomb plots of Battleship Row for Japanese aviators assigned to the forthcoming attack.

American cryptographers knew the code's techniques by heart, for they had first solved the J series in the 1920s. By 1941 Japan, hoping to outwit the code-breakers, introduced minor variants of the code every three months. Each of the three J series put into effect in 1941 was read and translated within a day's time.¹⁹ There was no outwitting America's cryptpies.

The J series was originally solved by what is politely referred to in cryptography jargon as the "direct method." This involved things like burglary of the baggage of Japanese Foreign Ministry couriers. Japan's Foreign Ministry preprinted variations of its code systems in separate code books that could be placed in effect at some future date. Then Foreign Ministry couriers delivered dozens of the books to the overseas missions. U.S. Naval intelligence officers learned a courier's route and method of transportation through decryption of radio dispatches such as this one directed to San Francisco: "Courier Fukuda²⁰ will be aboard the *Yawata Maru* to arrive in your city on April 24, 1941. Please arrange clearance through Customs." Navy men were happy to facilitate the movement of Fukuda and his code books through Customs. They placed officers on the docks, posing as customs agents, who opened the boxes containing the code books, quickly photographed their contents, then resealed the boxes and passed them through. Or the codes were bought outright. Agents in San Francisco paid \$40,000 to Chief Radio Officer T. Harada of the *Yawata Maru* for the Japanese merchant-ship code (*Shin*).²¹

The most explosive controversy involving America's foreknowledge of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor centers on the *Kaigun Ango* [Navy Code], a system of twenty-nine separate naval codes. Japan used four of these systems to organize and

dispatch her warships to Hawaii by radio. America's "splendid arrangement" had solved each of the four by the fall of 1941. So had the British, the Dutch, and the Chinese government of Chiang Kaishek. A sixty-year coverup has hidden American and Allied success in obtaining the solutions to the *Kaigun Ango* prior to Pearl Harbor. American naval officers hid key code documents from congressional investigators. Naval intelligence records, deceptively altered, were placed in the US Navy's cryptology files to hide the cryptographic success.²²

The four primary systems were: (1) Code Book D, known to American cryptographers as the 5-Num code; (2) a radio call sign code assigned to Japanese officials, shore stations, warships, and *Marus*; (3) the Ship Movement code, a system for reporting arrival and departures of naval vessels from Japanese ports and anchorages, known to Americans as the SM code; and (4) the *Shin* code, used for contacting vessels of the merchant marine, known as S code in America.²³

From July to December 7, 1941, Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, commander-in-chief of the Imperial Japanese Navy, transmitted his war orders using all four systems. The orders consisted at first of directives organizing the various fleets and assignment of personnel and then progressed to war assignments. Disclosure of Japan's Hawaii plans came during a dramatic sixteen-day period between November 20 and December 6, when Yamamoto and his commanders took to the radio airwaves and revealed that two forces were aimed at Hawaii: a main naval force moving across the North Pacific—six aircraft carriers escorted by battleships, cruisers, and destroyers plus a fuel train of seven tankers grouped together as the First Air Fleet—and a second force composed of thirty submarines and auxiliary vessels moving eastward through the Central Pacific. Both groups were under the tactical command of Vice Admiral Chuichi Nagumo and collectively called the *Kido Butai*, or Strike Force.²⁴

Their encoded broadcasts over Japan's naval airwaves were intercepted at HYPO and, by most accounts, at CAST. After fifty-nine years, two essential questions remain: How promptly were the intercepts decoded and translated? Who in the United States received the translations and what was done with the information? Duane Whitlock, a traffic analyst at Station CAST, wrote that his unit was not reading the Japanese naval codes in 1941. "I can assure those messages (Japan's naval) were not read until they were sifted out and read in 1946." By contrast, Admiral Thomas Hart, commander-in-chief of the US Asiatic fleet was reading the intercepted messages obtained by Station CAST, according to his 1941 flag lieutenant Charles Adair.²⁵ The official answers are no one and nothing, according to the joint congressional investigations of 1945–46 and 1995. Both inquiries found that American cryptographers had not solved Japan's naval codes and that the Japanese warships were on radio silence and consequently were not discovered by American radio direction finders. Congress was told that not even Japan's shore-based radio stations disclosed any details pointing to Hawaii as the target. Congress did not find the truth.

Japan's SM code first disclosed the Hawaii plans early in November. This code proved a gold mine for American cryptographers. It provided 210 movement reports of Japanese warships between November 2 and December 4. Every class of warship is represented, from mine layers to the carriers of the First Air Fleet. None of the SM dispatches were ever examined by Pearl Harbor investigators.²⁶

An example of 5-Num and SM decryption before the attack can be documented through a CAST intercept of November 29. Lieutenant Rudolph J. Fabian, co-commander of CAST, quotes directly from the SM code in a radio dispatch sent by Vice Admiral Nobutake Kondo, commander of Japan's Second Fleet and the leader of naval forces about to conquer the Philippines and overrun the Southeast Asia region: "The Commander-in-Chief SECOND fleet indicates he will shift communications from the Kure Communications Zone at 0400, on the 29th; from the Sasebo Communication Zone at 0000, [on December] 1; and enter the Bako Communication Zone (in the Pescadores Islands west of Formosa) at 0000, on December 2, thus implying a move from Japan proper to the South." Fabian's report was delivered to the Naval Aide to the President, according to McCollum's assistant.²⁷

Fabian's report established that CAST's cryptographers were decrypting and translating Japan's SM code as well as the radio call sign code. Cryptographer Albert J. Pelletier, Jr., of Station US verified that the Navy had broken the SM code in 1941. "We were reading ninety percent of the messages," Pelletier wrote in the official publication of the Naval Cryptographic Veterans Association, *Cryptolog*, in the Summer 1992 issue.²⁸

The key figure in Roosevelt's "splendid arrangement" and in breaking the 5-Num code was Agnes Meyer Driscoll,²⁹ the Navy's chief civilian cryptanalyst. From the mid-1920s to 1941, she was instrumental in solving every Japanese naval-operations and ship-movement code. America's success in naval cryptography had its beginnings at the start of World War I. Its roots stem from a Shakespeare commune³⁰ established in Geneva, Illinois, by a Chicago textile merchant. The commune attracted a young student of genetics just out of Cornell University, William F. Friedman, who was hired by a merchant, George Fabyan, to improve agriculture techniques on the Geneva farm. But another interest of Fabyan's, cryptology, soon became Friedman's lifelong pursuit. Friedman's introduction to cryptology centered on the writings of William Shakespeare and whether they were actually written by Francis Bacon. Fabyan had assembled Shakespeare scholars on the farm and had Friedman, an expert photographer, copy words and phrases from the Bard for comparisons with those of Bacon. Friedman used his photography skills and with his future wife, Elizebeth (detesting Eliza, she substituted the E), developed cryptographic means to pursue the Baconian research. Enormous publicity followed the cryptographic quest and when America entered the war in 1917, Friedman's talent as a cryptographer caught the eye of the US Army, which offered him a commission in the

newly formed code-breaking unit.

Agnes May Meyer joined the commune in February 1920 at the age of thirty, when the Navy sent her to Geneva, which by then had evolved into a major training center for military cryptography. She had patriotically joined the Navy Reserve in June 1918 with special qualifications in physics, engineering, math, and statistics earned at Ohio State University. Her skills were wanted by a new Navy unit called the Code and Signal Section. Though fully qualified for an officer's commission, Meyer was given a petty officer rating of Yeomanette. After completing classes at Fabyan's center, she resigned from the Navy and took a job with a firm engaged in developing electronic cipher machines in Oakland, California. Meyer became an expert in the concept of machine cryptography and on August 1, 1924, rejoined the Navy, this time as a civilian. Assigned to the fledgling Codes and Cipher Section, she worked under Laurance Safford and Joseph Rochefort in breaking Japanese codes. She was a fast learner. From 1924 onward through World War II she solved every Japanese naval code system. Rapidly she rose to the top in Navy cryptology and became the principal civilian cryptanalyst. She married Washington attorney William Driscoll in 1924. But among the cryppies of the Code and Cipher Section she was known as Miss Aggie or Madame X.³¹

Edwin Layton, later head of Intelligence for the Pacific Fleet, worked with her in the summer of 1936.³² Warned that she was touchy, Layton was told not to patronize her because she was sensitive to her role as a woman in a man's world. He noticed that she kept to herself both at work and socially. "None of us were ever invited to social events hosted by the Driscolls," Layton wrote. "She could be warm and friendly but usually affected an air of intense detachment, heightened by her tailored clothes and lack of facial makeup." Sometimes Layton's ears picked out her voice: "She could curse as fluently as any sailor." Rochefort recalled that she always turned pages with the eraser end of her pencil and never used her fingers as page turners. Eventually the Codes and Ciphers section became Station US, where in June 1939 Driscoll first identified Japan's switch to the 5-Num code and supervised the Navy's efforts at decryption. Of course the Navy could not publicly credit her with the solution. Not to do so was a deliberate decision devised to mask America's success in learning Japanese military secrets.

Driscoll formed a cryptographic team, the first Americans to identify the system. It appeared simple enough—groups of five numbers substituted for a Japanese word, hence the 5-Num code label. Japan tacked on addition or subtraction numbers to the original 5-Num group to confuse American and allied cryptographers. Two change techniques were used—one for the morning, the other for afternoon use. For encrypted messages, 11111 might be added to the basic 5-Num group in the morning and subtracted in the afternoon. Japan believed their 5-Num system to be unbreakable. But Driscoll was able to crack it when she realized it was similar to a code used by the American government in the Spanish-American War.³³

Documents concerning the 5-Num Code remain classified, but it is clear from Admiral Ingersoll's statement that the code produced intelligible messages as early as October 4, 1940. The FBI confirmed the Navy's decoding success on October 21, 1940, and reported the feat in Department of Justice records.³⁴

Driscoll's cryptographic team prepared written instructions for solving the 5-Num system and issued them as Radio Intelligence Publication (RIP) 73. Revisions of RIP 73 were issued by Washington as RIP 80 in March and July 1941.³⁵ With these revisions, cryptographers at CAST and HYPO had the capability to supply Generals MacArthur and Short and Admirals Hart and Kimmel with Yamamoto's plan of attack.

Some time in the fall of 1941 the latest techniques for solving the 5-Num code were issued from Station US—presumably by Driscoll and her team, headed by Ensign Prescott Currier—and sent to Hawaii so HYPO's cryptographers could produce decodes of Yamamoto's military plans for Admiral Kimmel. Yet the crucial decode details—presumably the latest version of RIP 73 or RIP 80—did not arrive in Hawaii until after the attack. The Department of Defense has refused to release delivery details. Even the 1995 Joint Congressional inquiry failed to probe this question.

This much is known: in the fall of 1941, a revised solution to the 5-Num system was sent to Hawaii on apparently the slowest boat in the Navy.³⁶ The solution would have let Admiral Kimmel in on Japan's secrets. A Navy document admits that the solution of elements of the 5-Num code was sent to HYPO from Station US in the autumn of 1941. This is an astonishing disclosure, for it directly contradicts postwar claims that the code was not readable until 1942 or early 1943. The Navy's admission, couched in caveats, boils down to this: On an undisclosed date, wrapped in an undisclosed package, carried by an undisclosed officer-courier, the 5-Num secrets were transported to Hawaii on an undisclosed vessel.

Inside the the package(s) were the means to break open Japan's Pearl Harbor plans, which had been transmitted over the airwaves and intercepted by the hundreds at Station H. As of December 6, Admiral Nagumo had originated 844 secret radio messages³⁷ in the 5-Num code, according to Japanese records. America's Stations CAST and HYPO obtained the messages, but apparently did not issue translated decryptions—nor, incredibly, did Station US, which had the solution to 5-Num that had been prepared by Driscoll and Currier. A total blackout concealed Nagumo's dispatches, and all Kimmel received was silence.

Only on the day when Admiral Husband Kimmel was fired, December 16, 1941, did the head of the Pacific Fleet get access to the intelligence community's most vital information. On that day Kimmel's temporary successor, Vice Admiral William Pye, received Admiral Nagumo's Message 845. In Nagumo's comprehensive radio dispatch to Tokyo, he reported the damage inflicted on the Pacific Fleet during the "surprise attack." Rochefort and his cryptographers at HYPO immediately intercepted and produced a long decryption—too late.³⁸

Admiral Kimmel and the Pacific Fleet should have been the principal beneficiaries of the “splendid arrangement.” That was the intent of Commander Laurance Safford, head of Station US, who had detailed Rochefort and nearly 140 military cryptographers and radio intercept operators to Kimmel by June 1. Starting on July 15, 1941, the cryptographers of Station HYPO, using intercepts from the four code systems of the *Kaigun Ango*, began providing Admiral Kimmel with a daily summary of Japanese naval operations. By the morning of December 6, when he received his final pre-war summary, at least 112,000 Japanese naval intercepts had been obtained by Station H. But intercepts that indicated a Japanese strike at American territory never appeared in the summary. Nor did any of the 844 messages dispatched by the First Air Fleet as it planned for the Pearl Harbor raid.

During President Roosevelt’s fourth-term campaign in 1944, Republican candidate Thomas E. Dewey³⁹ learned of the “splendid arrangement” and saw in it the political means to defeat Roosevelt. He reasoned, if the White House was reading Japanese messages leading up to the attack, why were our forces in the Pacific caught so woefully unprepared? In the autumn of 1944, Dewey planned a series of stump speeches charging Roosevelt with advance knowledge of Japan’s plan to attack Pearl Harbor. Dewey’s proof was the intercepted Japanese messages.

His plans were impolitic, to say the least. War was raging in the Pacific and lists of American casualties were printed in the newspapers daily. Japan remained a wounded but formidable enemy. Japanese naval leaders did not realize that the *Kaigun Ango* codes had been solved by US code-breakers. Candidate Dewey risked sacrificing America’s code-breaking advantage at a time when learning Japanese strategy was still a powerful factor in major battles. Japan would have immediately changed her code systems. General George Marshall, then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, persuaded Dewey to call off the code controversy. “American lives are at peril,” Marshall aptly warned.

In 1999, almost sixty years later, the government has not released details regarding the delivery of the 5-Num slow-boat package despite the author’s FOIA requests. Questions abound. Why weren’t Nagumo’s 5-Num radio messages detailing the First Air Fleet’s advance on Hawaii delivered to Admiral Kimmel? The secrecy surrounding the slow-boat delivery is confounding. The Purple Code delivery to Manila and Churchill has been fully disclosed. When the Purple solutions were shipped to the Philippines for use by General MacArthur and Admiral Hart in January 1941, extraordinary security procedures prescribed by Naval Regulations were scrupulously followed and documented. Ensign MacKallor has told how he took charge of five packages containing RIP 72 and RIP 77—the former, the Navy’s secret designation for the Purple Machine, the latter its code solutions and the instructions for its use.⁴⁰ According to MacKallor’s written report, the shipment contained an instruction book, an electric typewriter connected to a cipher box, and a daily six-Roman-letter sequence that determined the settings of six cipher wheels that, used in combination, unmasked the coded Japanese text.

MacKallor armed himself with a pistol, took his crated packages to Washington’s Union Station, and on January 19 boarded a transcontinental train to Los Angeles. He arrived in San Pedro on January 26 and headed for the USS *Sepulga*, an armed Navy tanker anchored in the Los Angeles harbor. MacKallor’s chore was not easy. He loaded his crated secrets into a small boat and set out across choppy waters to the gangway of the *Sepulga* for transportation to Station CAST. It was a long trip. En route the tanker developed steering problems and returned to Los Angeles for repairs. She didn’t reach Manila until March 25.

At about the same time that courier MacKallor started his journey to CAST, a similar ocean voyage began in Annapolis and transported two Purple machines and the 5-Num solutions to England so that Prime Minister Winston Churchill could share in the “splendid arrangement.” On January 24, two auto caravans left Washington for Annapolis Roads in the Chesapeake Bay and the midchannel anchorage of the HMS *King George V*, one of Britain’s formidable battleships. Lord Halifax, the new British ambassador to the United States, and his wife were arriving on the battleship. President Roosevelt,⁴¹ in a demonstration of British-American solidarity, headed a reception party that included Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, presidential military aide Major General Edwin Watson, and presidential naval aide Captain Daniel Callaghan. The presidential group left the White House, drove to Annapolis, boarded the warship, and welcomed the envoy to the United States.

At the same time another caravan, this one made up of Navy station wagons, headed for the *King George V*. Inside the vehicles were two Purple machines, their operating instructions, and solutions to Japanese naval codes including the 5-Num code and the radio call signs.⁴² Four American military officers guarded the secret cargo: Major Abraham Sinkov and Captain Leo Rosen of the Army’s Signal Intelligence Service, and Lieutenant Robert H. Weeks and Ensign Prescott Currier of Station US. The two Army officers were experts on the Purple Code; they were part of the team that discovered its solution in September 1940. Weeks and Currier were America’s specialists in Japanese naval codes, especially the 5-Num. In a driving rainstorm, the four code-breakers loaded their cargo into an open boat and sailed out to the battleship, where the secret cargo and the four officers were brought aboard.

After the Roosevelt party escorted the ambassador ashore the battleship departed for England, arriving at the Scapa Flow Dock Yard February 6. The Americans and their crates were transported to the British code-breaking unit outside London called the Government Codes and Cipher School, where the machines and codes were delivered to Edward Travis, second in command. After instructing the British in the complexities of the code systems the Americans returned to the United States. Travis sent one Purple machine and the solutions of the Japanese naval codes to the British cryptographic unit at Singapore.

Churchill was now plugged into Japanese diplomatic and military strategy. Still the “splendid arrangement” was not in full

operation in the Pacific, because experts in solving the 5-Num code remained in Washington. So in March and April 1941 three Navy code-breakers, schooled in the solutions of the 5-Num code at Station US, prepared to leave Washington for fleet assignments—Lieutenant John Lietwiler to Station CAST and Lieutenant Robert Weeks to the Atlantic Fleet's flagship, USS *Augusta*. Ensign Prescott Currier,⁴³ one of the Navy's brightest code-breakers, got the assignment to Station HYPO and the Pacific Fleet. Directives were issued ordering CAST and HYPO to work on the 5-Num code jointly, and to supply decoded translations to their respective commanders, Admirals Thomas Hart and Husband Kimmel.

In the Atlantic, Lieutenant Robert Weeks was ordered to the USS *Augusta*, and its commander, Admiral Ernest King.⁴⁴ The code-breaking plan was indeed a "splendid arrangement." Allied leaders Roosevelt and Churchill were plugged in; so were the British and American naval commands. An additional exchange included General MacArthur in Manila and the Dutch Army and Navy in Batavia.

Suddenly in late April the plans for distributing the solutions to the 5-Num code to America's military leaders crashed. Admiral Kimmel was cut from the loop—but the other major commanders were not. The severance was done this way: Currier was held in Washington and his orders to the Pacific Fleet canceled. But Lietwiler and Weeks continued to their new posts: Lietwiler to CAST and Weeks to the *Augusta*. Cover stories designed to mask the Kimmel cut-off abound. An official history of Navy intercept operations of the Pacific War claims that the 5-Num code was never described to, assigned to, or exploited by HYPO until after December 7. But other Navy records dispute the claim. In November 1940, for example, special IBM sorting equipment for use in decrypting the 5-Num code was ordered for HYPO.

Recoveries of the 5-Num code obtained by Station US and the British Singapore unit were received by CAST in March 1941, according to a secret dispatch sent by Admiral Hart,⁴⁵ who described the Singapore decryption activities: "The British employ three officers and twenty clerks on this system alone." A handwritten note on Hart's dispatch indicates that both Singapore and Station US had obtained at least 8200 recoveries in the 5-Num system and expected to obtain more. Another notation disclosed that HYPO would begin solution of 5-Num in July 1941. But the most astonishing disclosure on Hart's typewritten message is a handwritten margin note which directs that the dispatch be removed from Navy files and a dummy message substituted in its place. The order apparently came from Captain Joseph Redman, Assistant Director of Navy Communications. Redman's directive has hidden the contents of Hart's dispatch and the margin notes from every Pearl Harbor investigation. It disclosed the successful British effort aimed at penetrating the 5-Num system and set up a cryptographic red line for Admiral Kimmel: he would receive nothing from either Purple or 5-Num. His Purple Machine went to Singapore, and the 5-Num code was sent to him on the slow boat.

Kimmel's cut-off was orchestrated by Rear Admiral Royal Ingersoll, Assistant Chief of Naval Operations, who ordered CAST to supply intercepts from the Purple and 5-Num codes to Hart and General MacArthur but omitted any reference to Admiral Kimmel. General George Marshall, head of the US Army, knew of the arrangement. So did Captain Alan Kirk, Director of Naval Intelligence, Redman, and Commander Laurance Safford, head of Station US.⁴⁶

In 1988, Prescott Currier⁴⁷ declined to give his version of the 5-Num cut-off: "Public disclosure of any aspect of intelligence collection is a bad thing; it calls undue attention to something we would much prefer to pass unnoticed." Currier had been assigned to Kimmel, but his June posting to the Pacific Fleet was canceled by Washington. Lieutenant Weeks and his Japanese code expertise arrived aboard the *Augusta* while the warship docked in Newport, Rhode Island, on June 15. So by the end of June 1941, the major American military commanders and the British government were plugged into the "splendid arrangement"—all except Admiral Kimmel and General Short in Hawaii, where, as far as Japanese intercepts were concerned, mum was the word. This cryptographic blackout was applied only to Hawaii.⁴⁸

Congress tried to obtain details on the 5-Num distribution controversy during the 1945–46 investigation. Senator Homer Ferguson (R., Michigan) asked for the 5-Num intercepts. His request was derailed by Democratic members of the committee. Instead of producing the Japanese naval intercepts for Ferguson, the Democrats introduced the dubious "Winds Code." Supposedly the "Winds Code" was a variation of a proposed Japanese weather-report message that, if dispatched or broadcast on overseas radio channels, indicated a break in diplomatic relations and subsequent war with any or all of three countries: the United States, Great Britain, or Russia. But there is no proof that the "Winds Code" was ever transmitted by Japan.⁴⁹

On November 28 Japan's Foreign Ministry first outlined the now discredited "Winds Code" in a secret radio message to its diplomatic posts and missions. Anticipating that communications would be severed by host countries, the ministry devised phrases with secret meanings to indicate war moves. Wind directions would be the key words in regular Tokyo news broadcasts: "east wind rain" would mean war with the United States, "west wind clear" would mean war with Britain, and "north wind cloudy" would mean war with Russia.⁵⁰

News of the "Winds Code" system created a media sensation during the congressional hearings. Reporters focused on the "Winds Code" and lost interest in the less fantastic naval intercepts. Eventually the controversy was dismissed when Congress learned that the implementing weather message was never transmitted by Japan. By then the 5-Num dispatches had been forgotten.

Every 1941 intercept of the Japanese navy remained sequestered in American files until 1979, when President Jimmy

Carter⁵¹ released a small number of English translations of pre–Pearl Harbor intercepts to the National Archives. These intercepts originated in the fall of 1941 and were obtained by US naval monitoring stations on Guam, Corregidor, and Hawaii. Even Carter’s cautious declassification order was circumvented by National Security Agency officials, who blacked out all references to code systems before delivering them to the Archives. The documents released publicly only hid American success in solving Tokyo’s encoded naval radio messages prior to the Pearl Harbor raid.

The US National Security Agency (NSA) defended its failure to release information involving American cryptographic success with Japan’s naval systems. “It’s in the public interest,” according to David W. Gaddy, chief historian of NSA. He explained the censorship: “The subject cannot be debated publicly; the government cannot disclose the basis for its position if the basis is itself part of the secret it must protect as part of its obligation to secure the public interest.”⁵²

A Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request filed by the author asked the National Archives to restore the blacked-out information on the Japanese intercepts for publication in this book. The request was granted in 1987 for the author’s copies but not for the public viewing copies on exhibit at Archives II. Today, most blackouts on the pre–Pearl Harbor intercepts still conceal the 5-Num code designator used by the Japanese navy. These seemingly innocuous five-number sequences continue to hold the secret to understanding Japanese communications during World War II and—far more revealingly—the secrets to American officials’ moves to obscure them.

THE OUTSIDE MAN

ALOHA TOWER
HONOLULU WATERFRONT
TERRITORY OF HAWAII
MARCH 27, 1941

BY THE CLOSING MONTHS OF 1941, AMERICA WAS INTERCEPTING AND breaking—within a matter of hours—most every code that Japan could produce. When December began, the cryptologists who had labored over the codes were not surprised to learn that some of them originated on American soil: they had long known that there was a spy operating in their midst.

As he strolled down Bishop Street toward the waterfront piers adjacent to Honolulu's Aloha Tower, Chief Yeoman Ted Emanuel checked his image reflected in a storefront window. He had reason to be looking his best. It was Boat Day—the arrival of an overseas passenger liner at Honolulu's Aloha Tower piers. Traditionally, each Boat Day was the occasion for one of Hawaii's most festive ceremonies. It was definitely a dress-up event. Emanuel was proud of his image reflected in the glass—tropical blooms covered every inch of his short-sleeved aloha shirt in a busy design of Hawaiian hibiscus, poinsettia, and bougainvillea. He carried a Leica camera hidden underneath his shirt; he was part of a clandestine naval intelligence team ordered by President Roosevelt to meet and survey every Japanese vessel docking at Honolulu. As early as August 10, 1936, Roosevelt had circulated a secret memorandum declaring: "Every Japanese citizen or noncitizen on the Island of Oahu who meets these Japanese ships or who has any connection with their officers and men should be secretly but definitely identified and his or her name placed on a special list of those who would be the first to be placed in a concentration camp in the event of trouble."

Emanuel was the Navy's senior undercover agent in Hawaii, assigned to maintain surveillance on suspected Japanese agents. On this particular Boat Day, his mission was to obtain a surreptitious photograph of a suspected Japanese navy spy arriving under diplomatic cover on the *Nitta Maru*, a luxurious passenger liner. Satisfied that the camera was obscured but that the lens could capture an image through a small hole cut into his shirt's floral design, Emanuel decided to test the arrangement. When he extended his arms in a waving motion, he could trip the shutter by stretching a concealed cable and wire release. The click of the shutter assured Emanuel that the camera worked. He hurried along Bishop Street to Pier 8. The *Nitta Maru* was scheduled to dock earlier than expected. She had arrived during the night and was anchored offshore in Mamala Bay, awaiting Customs clearance.¹

Emanuel's target was the Japanese spy Tadashi Morimura, who was scheduled to assume the post of chancellor in the Japanese Consulate. The position was a responsible diplomatic job, usually assigned to seasoned, experienced members of the foreign service. Morimura's posting aroused suspicions within America's intelligence community, because he was young and not listed in the official Japanese Diplomatic Registry. Japan rarely sent twenty-seven-year-olds to fill such important consular posts. His real name was Ensign Takeo Yoshikawa; under the cover name of Morimura he had been detailed to Hawaii for espionage purposes. Yoshikawa had graduated from Japan's naval academy, Eta Jima, in the late 1930s. Japanese naval authorities decided that a navy officer was needed to observe military operations on Oahu and spy on the Pacific Fleet. His job called for him to gather fleet operational details, to obtain Hawaiian maps including photographs, and then to assemble them into an intelligence picture for use by Japanese torpedo and bombing pilots.²

Morimura would provide the operational intelligence on Pearl Harbor using the Tsu radio code in the J series of Japanese Foreign Ministry codes. For eight months in 1941, Morimura used the Tsu code and gradually presented Pearl Harbor as the target for Japan's bomber and torpedo pilots. On December 3, he switched to a simple diplomatic code known as PA for his final messages before the attack. American cryptographers had already broken the Tsu system as well as PA and could intercept, decode, and translate the dispatches within a day's time. Morimura's succession of Tsu dispatches, along with the final PA, confirmed that Pearl Harbor was a primary Japanese bombing target.

Morimura was allowed to operate freely throughout 1941. American authorities, including Roosevelt, never curtailed his

espionage. Morimura was able to supply Admiral Yamamoto with highly accurate bombing charts of Pearl Harbor and other US Army and Navy targets on Oahu. On December 6 Morimura's work was complete. He notified the Japanese carrier force:

THERE ARE NO BARRAGE BALLOONS AT THESE PLACES—AND A CONSIDERABLE OPPORTUNITY IS LEFT FOR A SURPRISE ATTACK.³

From the eve of Morimura's arrival in Honolulu onward, Rear Admiral Walter Anderson placed a protective veil around the espionage conducted from the Japanese consulate. According to a memorandum issued by J. Edgar Hoover, Anderson told the FBI's special agent Robert Shivers, the agent in charge of the Honolulu Field Office, that the Navy would conduct the espionage investigation, not the FBI. Hoover indicated that the admiral had taken over the investigation with the FBI's approval.⁴ Anderson was in a unique spot to oversee and control the espionage investigations. Before leaving Washington as Director of Naval Intelligence, he placed Navy intelligence officers in two key Hawaiian posts: he named Lieutenant Commander Edwin Layton as head of intelligence for the Pacific Fleet and Captain Irving Mayfield as director of intelligence investigations for the Fourteenth Naval District, which included all the Hawaiian Islands as well as American-controlled bases throughout the Central Pacific.

After completing two weeks of sea duty training in air raid drills aboard his flagship, the USS *West Virginia*, Admiral Anderson had arrived back in Pearl Harbor.⁵ On March 26, the day before Morimura's arrival, Anderson met with Robert Shivers, the FBI chief in Hawaii, and reiterated the orders from Hoover: Navy Intelligence was in charge of the Morimura surveillance, not the FBI.

Special Agent Shivers supervised sixteen FBI special agents. The group worked out of the second-floor FBI Field Office in the Dillingham Transportation Building in downtown Honolulu. All were eager to investigate espionage involving personnel attached to Japan's Honolulu consulate. About mid-October 1940, shortly after Arthur McCollum proposed his eight actions, the FBI had been asked to refer investigations of Hawaiian espionage to Navy Intelligence. Hoover passed the policy along to Shivers—then sent another letter warning that the Japanese government planned to detail Japanese naval officers, disguised as clerks, to spy on American facilities.⁶ Shivers' professional ethics were apparently offended. How was he to investigate espionage by Japanese naval officers and at the same time stand aside?

On October 31 Shivers protested the stand-aside orders to his boss: "This office has acquired considerably more information concerning the Japanese situation and has developed a much larger number of Japanese informants than the office of the Naval Intelligence. We are better equipped with superior investigative personnel."⁷ Shivers' response to his order must have exasperated Hoover, for on December 14, 1940, the FBI director tried again: "The Federal Bureau of Investigation is not equipped with translators, interpreters, and informants and cannot undertake the full responsibility for Japanese espionage until it is equipped to do so."⁸ Contrary to Hoover's assertions, however, Shivers did employ Japanese translators and informants in Honolulu. The informants were first rate—wiretaps on the consulate's telephones that provided inside ears into the activities taking place.

Hoover's memorandum, filed with the Army's Pearl Harbor investigation, relates a continuing tug-of-war with Shivers over espionage probes in Hawaii. Hoover confirms that he enlisted the aid of Captain Walter Anderson of ONI in trying to curtail Shivers' espionage investigations. Most of what transpired during the Anderson-Shivers meeting aboard the *West Virginia* remains unavailable. Attorney General Janet Reno has refused to declassify secret FBI files on the matter, citing FOIA rules that prohibit disclosing national defense secrets.⁹ But now-retired FBI agent Frederick G. Tillman, who was the case agent assigned to Morimura in 1941, has provided some details.¹⁰

Morimura's journey from Tokyo to Honolulu aboard the *Nitta Maru* was tracked by American intelligence. The first break had come on March 8, when Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka unwittingly tipped off American intelligence officials in a cablegram to Honolulu: "Secretary Morimura being sent to Honolulu consulate."¹¹ The *Nippu Jiji*, a Japanese newspaper published in Honolulu, reported Morimura's appointment and arrival date. For the next nineteen days, US intelligence relied on a variety of intelligence data, including clear-text radio messages, J code intercepts, and State Department correspondence, to track Morimura to Honolulu.¹²

When the *Nitta Maru* arrived in the Mamala Bay quarantine anchorage, Morimura remained in his cabin and awaited the arrival of Otojiro Okuda, the vice consul. Unlike Morimura, Okuda was a thirty-seven-year-old career diplomat of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. He had reported to the consulate post on June 10, 1940, with his wife and two young sons. Employees of the consulate regarded Okuda as snooty and were overheard on the wiretap describing him as "disgustingly drunk" at parties. When Consul General Kiichi Gunji was recalled to Japan in September, Okuda became acting consul-general and the diplomatic spokesman for Japan in Hawaii. His speeches were not exactly diplomatic. On Armistice Day, November 11, 1940, Okuda blamed the Western nations for the Japanese-Chinese conflict and cited as a root cause Commodore Matthew Perry's 1853 expedition to Japan, which had opened up trade with the West: "Since Japan opened her door against her will, she was compelled to face and combat Western aggression in Asia."¹³ Okuda was more than a spokesman for his country. According to the Navy wiretaps and FBI reports, he supervised the gathering of military information pertaining to Army units in the Hawaiian Islands and particularly the operations of the United States Pacific Fleet at the Pearl Harbor naval base. On

August 22, 1941, Tillman had identified Okuda as “the man at the consulate who is concerned with intelligence matters.”¹⁴

Morimura had been sent to Hawaii to serve as Okuda’s “outside man”—a polite term then used by the intelligence fraternity for a spy. He was single, a handsome twenty-seven-year-old with somewhat Caucasian features. His only avocations were wine, women, and song, and a large part of his every day and night was spent in indulging them.

The State Department saw the same puzzling questions in Morimura’s background that Navy intelligence saw. They couldn’t find his name in the Japanese foreign registry. Nor was Japan precise on Morimura’s title. In their application for his diplomatic entry to the United States, the Foreign Ministry listed him as “Chancellor,” yet in Honolulu he was announced as a “Secretary.” These inconsistencies immediately flagged Morimura as suspicious.

Two naval investigators, Theodore (Ted) Emanuel and Lieutenant Denzel Carr, were on hand for the *Nitta Maru*’s arrival.¹⁵ The US Navy’s Inspector-General Captain W. S. Kilpatrick had praised Carr’s work as “unequaled by anyone else in the United States naval intelligence service.”¹⁶ Carr joined the Customs inspection party posing as a health officer while with his concealed camera Emanuel took up a position on the dock. At six o’clock in the morning Carr and the Customs party climbed up the Jacob’s ladder and boarded the ship in the anchorage. Its manifest designated thirty-three passengers debarking at Honolulu. Carr looked it over and spotted Morimura’s name. Carr bided his time; he expected Vice Consul Okuda to arrive on board when the ship docked and escort Morimura ashore.¹⁷

The vessel received permission to dock at Pier 8, alongside the Aloha Tower. Confetti streamed through the air as the gangplank was lowered and secured. The Royal Hawaiian Band struck up “Aloha Oe,” the haunting musical greeting composed by Queen Liliuokalani, Hawaii’s last monarch.¹⁸ Carr mingled with the Customs officials and watched Okuda bound up the gangway and head for Morimura’s cabin. Okuda remained in the cabin for about thirty minutes, then escorted Morimura past the Customs boarding party to the liner’s gangway, where both debarked about 8:45 A.M. Emanuel waited dockside and watched for a signal from Carr. As the two Japanese started down the gangway, Carr touched the top of his head. Emanuel saw the signal, began waving his arms as if greeting someone, and triggered his camera.¹⁹ The two naval intelligence officers then returned to their headquarters in the Alexander Young Building, a short distance away. The next day, March 28, Emanuel placed Morimura on the Navy’s Group A espionage-suspect list.²⁰

Copies of the Navy’s espionage alert were delivered to the FBI’s Honolulu field office and to the intelligence officers for Admiral Kimmel and General Short. After the war, both Kimmel and Short testified that their intelligence officers did not inform them either of Emanuel’s alert or that Morimura was under surveillance. Of the three intelligence agencies headquartered in Hawaii, only Shivers reacted sharply to Morimura’s Class A espionage status. Ignoring directives from both Hoover and Anderson, Shivers placed a special watch headed by Tillman on the Japanese consulate.²¹

“We did not put a tight surveillance on him,” Tillman said in 1990. “We couldn’t do much around the consulate. The State Department told us not to monkey with the consulate. So we didn’t. We would have gotten there (into the consulate) a little earlier if it wasn’t for that. The consulate members were sacrosanct. Holy, you know.”

Morimura didn’t do much work in the consulate office, according to Tillman. “It came to our attention that he was the outside man. He spent most of his time outside the consulate. We would see him in the downtown areas and at various locations on Oahu. Once I tailed him to a Honolulu shoe store and watched while he purchased two pairs of shoes. I believed he planned a return to his homeland. Since leather shoes were difficult to obtain in Japan, I thought he was purchasing them to wear back home.” Nearly fifty years after Pearl Harbor, Tillman said that the decrypted intercepts that were denied him would have made a crucial difference in curtailing Morimura’s activities. “I was not aware or told about the interceptions until after the [Pearl Harbor] attack. Headquarters did send us a picture of him in late November, about two weeks before the raid. But the photo did not justify an arrest. Though we named him as a suspected spy, without the intercepts there was no way we could prove in court what he was doing. We were not provided the intercept evidence. He had a right to go into the heights that overlooked Pearl Harbor.”

Tillman does not believe Morimura was aware of the FBI’s scrutiny. “Our eyes met at times, but I don’t think he was wise to the loose surveillance.” There was also the wiretap on Morimura’s personal consulate telephone. The wiretaps gave advance warning of his trips to the country, which were usually followed by telephone calls to RCA or Mackay—both radio cable firms—for a messenger boy. Tillman did not follow Morimura when he went to various parts of the islands. “No need to,” said the G-Man. “We knew what he was up to.”²²

Shivers forwarded Emanuel’s warning to Hoover. For the next eight months American intelligence officials in Washington monitored Morimura’s reports. But none of the Morimura Tsu and PA messages were ever seen by those who needed them most: Kimmel, Short, Hoover, Shivers, or even Tillman.²³

Morimura was not particularly liked by the consulate’s professional diplomats. As aware as US authorities that he was not included in Japan’s Diplomatic Register and was using diplomatic cover, they saw him as encroaching on their territory. Kokichi Seki, the consulate’s thirty-nine-year-old Third Secretary, was particularly miffed at Morimura. Originally, Seki had been responsible for spy reports on the Pacific Fleet. He was Okuda’s first “outside man,” from mid-December 1940 to late March 1941. Cautioned not to enter or photograph American military bases, Seki traveled on local roads and identified the

best scouting locations. The consulate's 1937 Ford sedan, driven by Richard Kotoshirodo, was used for the trips.

Kotoshirodo, twenty-five, held dual citizenship and worked as a consulate clerk. During the first week of January 1941, Kotoshirodo and Seki went to several of the high vantage points surrounding Pearl Harbor. Rolling down the Ford's window for clear views, the spies took a census of the Pacific Fleet. Their first spy excursion of the New Year counted nearly seventy major warships in the harbor and provided a benchmark for Admiral Yamamoto's future war planning. Distinguishing characteristics of the ships were noted, including the number of scouting aircraft carried by battleships and cruisers. When confronted with his activities in 1943, Kotoshirodo would acknowledge what he had done, though denying responsibility. "I understood that I was gathering naval information for the Japanese government when I made these trips, but I gave no thought as to what my superiors in the consulate were going to do with it."²⁴

On January 6, 1941, Acting Consul-General Okuda summarized their observations of the Pacific Fleet in Pearl Harbor in a 191-word report and encoded the message in the J Code. Before telephoning for a messenger from the local office of Mackay Radio & Telegraph, Okuda inserted a designator that meant that the message was intended for delivery to the Imperial Japanese Navy. It was a single five-number group near the beginning of the message, plus a five-letter group positioned at the start of the text. The letter group was distinguished by a consonant-vowel-consonant-vowel-consonant pattern.²⁵

By placing the designator groups at the beginning of the message, Okuda unknowingly sent the report to the attention of Roosevelt and Churchill. Since Mackay was British-owned, Churchill had access to these messages. Documents reveal that Mackay's Washington office supplied copies of the spy reports to the White House. Both US and British intelligence knew that these designator patterns signaled espionage reports. American radio intercept stations in the Pacific were directed to send any Japanese spy messages containing the designators to Washington by priority dispatch. The first messages received in Washington disclosed Japan's interest in the number of warships at Pearl Harbor. Later in the year the reports progressed to bombing plots of the anchorage and the eventual recommendation that the American fleet at Pearl represented an opportunity for a surprise attack.

Mackay Radio & Telegraph began transmitting Okuda's text, labeled H-4, to Tokyo. As soon as the message hit Tokyo's airwaves it was intercepted by the US Army Signal Corps in San Francisco.²⁶ Unknown to Okuda and other Japanese officials, the Honolulu spy reports were at the top of America's watch list. Each report was flagged for American intelligence agencies by the designator system. Okuda radioed eight espionage reports to Tokyo during January 1941. And every radio message was transmitted by Mackay and intercepted by Army monitoring stations. The most successful of these was the intercept facility at Fort Winfield Scott in the San Francisco Presidio, known as Station TWO. Fort Scott operators intercepted seven messages, including H-4 of January 6, 1941. The intercepts were then forwarded to Station US in Washington, where cryptographers and translators confirmed that the messages were in the J series. Decoding and translating took only a day.²⁷ Each translated message—called a "smooth message" in cryptographic jargon—was distributed by McCollum to officials in the Roosevelt Administration.

Spy message H-4 was fully decoded and translated in Washington on January 10, four days after its interception at Fort Winfield Scott. Admiral Yamamoto received his copy about the same time. He noted that the Seki-Kotoshirodo team admitted errors in a December 1940 spy report and erroneously identified Navy patrol boats anchored in Pearl Harbor as minesweepers. This sloppy reporting was unacceptable to Tokyo and prompted the departure of Ensign Takeo Yoshikawa (as Morimura) to Pearl Harbor.

Once Morimura had arrived on Hawaiian soil, Seki guided him to observation points where Pacific Fleet operations in Pearl Harbor could be observed. Over the weekend of March 29–30, the pair hired a taxicab and scouted the fleet's operations. However, their alliance did not last. Okuda was embarrassed by Seki's past identification errors, and besides, the spies did not work well together. Seki resented the younger and less experienced man. He complained about Morimura's pursuit of after-hours pleasures and his drunken binges. But reining in Morimura was out of the question for Seki. It was Morimura's job to correct Seki's earlier errors. He had come to Hawaii with the backing of the highest levels of the Japanese Navy Ministry and had an expense account to prove it.

Honolulu was Morimura's kind of town. He looked forward to visiting Honolulu's Japanese tea houses, staffed with young waitresses and geishas. He quickly developed a lively social life, and spent his first dollars on a private telephone line. The Mutual Telephone Company installed the phone in his private quarters, located in the rear compound of the consulate—and published his phone number and address in the Hawaii phone book. It was not an auspicious beginning.²⁸

Naval intelligence installed a wiretap surveillance on Morimura's telephone. It was an easy job, since the other consulate telephone lines were already tapped. The consulate's telephone conversations were piped to Ted Emanuel's residence three blocks away. Emanuel's home on Pacific Heights Road was selected so that Navy Intelligence could distance itself in the event the wiretap was discovered by the Japanese. A contingency cover story was readied in case of discovery, according to Denzel Carr: "Emanuel was just an overzealous gumshoe operating on his own." The Navy did not want an embarrassing international controversy.²⁹

An automatic Dictaphone recorded the conversations on a cylinder. (Such machines preceded tape recorders.) Each morning, Emanuel carried the cylinders to Carr's office for translation. Soon the wiretaps revealed Morimura's activities: his

fun-filled nights and trips to the country to gather information. For many days and evenings he combined work and pleasure in the Shunchoro Tea House located high in Honolulu's hills; it had direct views of the warships in Pearl Harbor and the flight operations at Army airfields.³⁰

From: Honolulu (Okuda)
To: Tokyo (Gaimudaijin)
6 January, 1941
(J17-K6)
#002 (in 2 parts—complete)
Re my message #234 of last year.*
Vessels seen in Pearl Harbor on the morning of the 5th were as follows:
Five battleships (New Mexico, Mississippi, and probably the Idaho as well as two of the Texas class); five heavy cruisers (one of the Portland class, three of the ——— class, and one of the New Orleans); nine light cruisers (five) of the Honolulu class and four of the Omaha class); 37 destroyers; five destroyer tenders; two (patrol boats?); several special service ships (of which two seemed to be submarines, but it could not be definitely determined); two heavy cruisers in (dry dock?); one vessel—either a battleship or a cruiser, is outside the harbor.
Key-shaped cranes, similar to those toward the stern of the Idaho class cruisers, are being constructed on the five light cruisers of the Honolulu class, on the extreme end of the after-deck.
It was also noted that the more modern masts have replaced the mainmasts which used to be on the four Omaha class vessels.
The vessels which were previously reported to be mine sweepers are, in reality, patrol boats, so please make corrections.
JD-1: 165 13495 6 January, 1941 Navy Trans. 1-10-41 (2)
*JD-1 74 (SIS #13580).

Source: Pearl Harbor Report Part 12, page 255.

This is the American version of H-4—the first Japanese spy message sent from Honolulu in 1941. When it was introduced in evidence before the Congressional investigation of 1945–46, Okuda's vowel-consonant pattern had been omitted. A full Congressional look at the Morimura spy-grams never occurred.

Acting Honolulu Consul-General Otojiro Okuda dispatched H-4 to Japan's Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka on January 6, 1941 (HST). It was encoded in the Japanese diplomatic Tsu code—known to US cryptographers as J-17.

Army Station TWO at Fort Winfield Scott in San Francisco intercepted the encoded text the same instant it was dispatched by radio to Tokyo. Station TWO personnel forwarded the coded text by air mail to Washington, where it was decoded and translated on January 10, 1941.

Meanwhile, Consul Okuda worked to end the bickering between Seki and Morimura. He replaced Seki with Richard Kotoshirodo—the consular clerk—as the associate on most of Morimura's spy trips. Sometimes Morimura traveled alone—usually in a Packard limousine hired from the Royal Auto Stand. If ever there was a spy whose actions invited attention it was Morimura. The luxurious Packard stood out on Oahu's roads in contrast to the working-class Chevys and Model A Fords driven by the plantation laborers on Hawaii's sugarcane fields.³¹

Throughout April, May, and June, Morimura scouted military installations on Oahu. The Navy's enlisted men's landing at the foot of the Pearl City Peninsula proved to be a productive location. Morimura made friends with Teisaku Eto, whose soft-drink stand did a steady business with Pacific Fleet sailors whose ships were anchored in the lochs that comprise Pearl Harbor. Directly opposite Eto's stand, separated by a narrow stretch of water, was the Naval Air Station, Ford Island. The big carriers USS *Saratoga*, *Enterprise*, and *Lexington* sometimes berthed on the Ewa side of the island; the battleships were always on the Diamond Head side. Cruisers, destroyers, and auxiliary warships were moored to buoys in the various lochs. Morimura thought it amusing that US Navy officials allowed Eto, a Japanese alien, to operate his soft-drink stand right in the middle of the Navy base with clear views of the berthed or anchored warships. A similar situation was unthinkable in Japan—no American would ever be granted a lease near military compounds. America's freedoms enabled the spy to sip a soft drink, take a census of the Pacific Fleet, and eavesdrop on sailors' scuttlebutt as they waited for liberty boats to haul them to their warships.³²

Cautioned not to break US espionage laws, Morimura and Kotoshirodo never physically entered or took photographs of any military installation. There was no need. Color postcards picturing military bases, and maps published by the US Geodetic Survey, were easily available from local merchants. By mid-May, Morimura's "outside" activities convinced Carr that the Navy's original assessment was correct. Trouble beset Morimura when he tried to establish a local bank account. The Honolulu branch of the Yokohama Specie Bank couldn't find any credit history and balked at setting up an account for him, according to the tap. The nature of Morimura's business in Oahu was clear. On May 16 Carr noted with an underline:

“Morimura seems to spend most of his time outside the office. At first I assumed it was a coincidence or that he was sick, but now have decided he is the outside man.” Tillman initialed the report and highlighted it for Washington.³³

Morimura’s espionage operations in Hawaii fall into two phases: from March 29 to August 21, 1941, and from August 21 to December 6. In the first phase he sent twenty-two messages to Tokyo. The Army and Navy intercept stations at Corregidor, San Francisco, Fort Hunt, Virginia, and Mackay’s Station X in Washington obtained nineteen of the messages. In these intercepts, Morimura reported on types of warships and aircraft he saw operating from Pearl Harbor and at Army airfields.³⁴

He located the Navy and Army radio transmitting facilities on Oahu, but missed Station H. Station FIVE, General Short’s intercept unit at Fort Shafter, also escaped scrutiny not only by Morimura, but by Japan’s new Consul-General Nagao Kita and by Okuda. During a ceremonial visit to Fort Shafter in April to honor Kita’s arrival at the diplomatic post, both failed to notice the unit, which was located in an old laundry building near the main gate.

For over fifty years top FBI officials have denied knowledge of Morimura/Yoshikawa’s activities prior to December 7, 1941. Their denials are another major Pearl Harbor cover-up. Two dozen FBI and Navy documents dated before the attack link Morimura with espionage in Hawaii. According to these documents, senior American intelligence officials, including the President, knew of Morimura’s espionage at the Honolulu consulate. His reports clearly pointed to Pearl Harbor as a prime target of Japanese military planners.³⁵

On April 2, seven days after Morimura’s arrival at the Honolulu Consulate, various activities of Japanese governmental missions in the United States came under the direct scrutiny of the Joint Intelligence Committee, a group formed by Roosevelt to monitor suspected espionage. Its members included Hoover, the Army and Navy Intelligence directors,³⁶ and Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle, Jr., FDR’s personal representative to the J.I.C. The committee noted that Japan had increased personnel at various diplomatic posts in the US “out of all reasonable proportion to the volume of business transacted.”³⁷ Hoover was directed to discuss the matter informally with Berle. Their talks triggered additional surveillance in Honolulu, beginning with the wiretap on Morimura’s phone. On April 29 Berle coordinated the FBI team investigating Japanese agents assigned to diplomatic posts.³⁸ In late May a mail cover³⁹ was placed on the Honolulu consulate by FBI agent Tillman. It directed the postal service to furnish a listing of all return addresses found on mail delivered to the consulate. In his interview with the author, Tillman said he wanted to identify persons contacting either the consulate or Morimura by mail. Later in the month, FBI interest in Morimura heightened when agents obtained his picture and distributed it to all Field Offices. Finally on June 16 Morimura was named the head Japanese espionage agent in Hawaii by the FBI.

The espionage reports involving foreign consulates triggered immediate reaction in Washington. Somehow rumors reached the press corps. Reporters questioned Roosevelt and asked whether consulates of nations other than Germany were engaged in “doubtful activities.” One reporter specifically sought details about subversive characters attached to foreign consulates. Roosevelt dodged the question: “There isn’t any news on that today.” But questions persisted: “Mr. President, there have been charges made that certain other consuls and countries have also engaged in doubtful activities.” Again FDR, who occasionally wrote a column for a Hyde Park weekly, dismissed the question with a joke: “We newspapermen don’t speculate.”⁴⁰

It is quite possible that Director Hoover learned he was excluded from the Tsu intercepts and, in a state of pique, planted the espionage questions directed at FDR with favored White House reporters. The FBI chief was well known for leaking secrets to friendly newsmen, such as Walter Winchell, the powerful New York gossip columnist and radio broadcaster. Navy communications officials excluded the FBI from the Japanese intelligence loop and Hoover wanted in. A major dispute erupted between Hoover and the Navy on April 15. The prickly FBI director was offended when he was refused access to secret naval communications documents. FBI censorship still veils the full details, but apparently Navy code-breakers refused to share Japanese intercepts, including the Tsu reports, with Hoover.

Hoover was vindictive: “Because of the uncooperative attitude which has been displayed towards the Federal Bureau of Investigation by the Communications Division of the Navy Department it is essential that all Bureau Agents be most circumspect⁴¹ in the handling of any material obtained which may be of interest to the Office of Naval Communications.” Every FBI agent knew that Hoover meant there was to be no cooperation with Navy Communications.

A tenacious Hoover kept up the pressure on President Roosevelt. He fought to arrest consulate spies or force their recall to Japan. Berle calmed the FBI chief and said that only Roosevelt could expel Japanese consular agents engaged in espionage: “No expulsion is possible as any charge leading to ouster would reveal American cryptographic success to Japan.”⁴² Neither Berle nor the President wanted to lose the secret Japanese pipeline. Hoover never gave up and continued compiling evidence. Though there is no proof that he saw the Tsu reports, he continued to forward evidence of the Japanese espionage at Honolulu to Berle. Two reports prepared for Hoover by Tillman found their way to the White House in August.⁴³ They named Morimura as the “outside man” at the consulate and reported that Consul-General Kita, who signed Morimura’s spy reports, had been placed on the FBI’s “most dangerous” list.

Soon after Kita earned his place on the FBI’s list, Hawaii espionage entered a new period. Morimura began his second phase of activity: preparing bomb plots of the Pearl Harbor naval base.⁴⁴

ALL CLEAR FOR A SURPRISE ATTACK

MORIMURA BEGAN PHASE TWO OF HIS REPORTS ON AUGUST 21, 1941. In addition to keeping track of the warships present, Phase Two established grid coordinates for Pearl Harbor so that Tokyo could prepare maps of Pacific Fleet anchorages for the bombing and torpedo pilots of the First Air Fleet.

On August 21, Morimura,¹ using information gathered at Pearl Harbor by Richard Kotoshirodo, identified fifty-three of the Navy's docks, piers, and anchorage areas and designated each by a letter code. He marked the berth of the USS *Arizona* as Ho Ho, and then sent the coordinate details to Ambassador Nomura in Washington, asking that copies of the message be forwarded to Tokyo and the San Francisco consulate. His bomb plot grid details were encoded in the J code and sent by RCA radiograms from Honolulu to Japan's Washington embassy. Censorship has concealed from the American public the details contained in this first bomb map, nor was the map's existence ever revealed to Congress in any of the Pearl Harbor investigations. Even worse, at the time when it was needed most, the report of these J-code intercepts was withheld from both the US Pacific Fleet and the US Army commander on Oahu.

Though the grid details for the bomb plot map are locked in National Archives vaults in College Park, Maryland, it is possible to circumvent most of the censorship. The contents of Morimura's grids can be pieced together using collateral information found in the Navy wiretaps and secret FBI reports obtained through FOIA requests. The plots were based on the best maps that money could buy. According to the Navy wiretaps provided to the FBI, the Japanese consulate had purchased US Geodetic Survey maps earlier in 1941 from a bookstore in Honolulu. Morimura's grid coordinates were probably keyed to those highly accurate maps.²

On August 21 John Mikami, whose Packard taxi service was favored by Morimura, drove up the circular driveway leading to the two-story Japanese consulate building, which was adorned with the chrysanthemum seal of the Emperor of Japan and the rising-sun flag. He parked the Packard limousine beneath the Emperor's symbol and awaited his passenger. But instead of Tadashi Morimura, out came Richard Kotoshirodo, who sat alongside Mikami and directed him to proceed north to scenic roadside turnouts that provided views of Pearl Harbor. Kotoshirodo, a \$75-per-month clerk in the consulate, was paired with Morimura after Vice Consul Otojiro Okuda dismissed Third Secretary Kokichi Seki from the spy team. Two years younger than Morimura, the twenty-five-year-old Kotoshirodo was an American citizen born in Honolulu. He and his wife, who were childless, lived in Honolulu with his mother and two brothers and two sisters. He began working for the consulate in 1935 and had hopes of joining the Japanese diplomatic service.³

Morimura and Kotoshirodo worked well together. Both were young and enjoyed excursions to the nearby islands of Kauai, Maui, and the "Big Island" of Hawaii, where they spent Morimura's generous expense account visiting bars and brothels. In between they scouted the islands for military installations. Kotoshirodo first appears in the wiretaps on December 4, 1940, and about a dozen times in 1941, mostly in conversations with women. Nothing in the wiretaps indicates that he was associated with spying. Though the Navy's espionage file on Kotoshirodo begins on February 18, 1941, he is not mentioned in the pre-Pearl Harbor FBI spy lists. The Navy file does not contain the 1941 documents pertaining to Kotoshirodo.

Driver John Mikami followed the assistant spy's directions. The trip took two hours—a two-dollar charge in Mikami's account book. Upon his return to the consulate, Kotoshirodo reported to Okuda's office. Here he found Morimura drawing a rough sketch of Pearl Harbor. Kotoshirodo was asked to assist in updating the military layout of the naval base. He confirmed the location of battleships alongside Ford Island and of repair facilities and dry docks in the Navy Yard. Morimura labeled each of the fifty-three military targets with a four-letter symbol. Late in the afternoon, RCA's motorcycle messenger picked up the bomb map message and it was dispatched in an unusual roundabout way to the Naval Ministry in Tokyo.

Intercept logs in Station US in Washington traced this message. Two monitoring units, Station CAST on Corregidor and the

Army's Station SEVEN at Fort Hunt, Virginia, intercepted its RCA radio signals. Though censorship makes the message difficult to trace today, both units heard and transcribed it. They said that it contained sixty code groups of five letters each in the J system and the subject concerned the movement of US warships.

Navy wiretaps of August 22 show that Morimura celebrated his first bomb map report by going on a binge in several Honolulu bars. At 2:17 A.M., just after the bars closed, he was picked up roaring drunk by the police.

About eight hours later, the wiretap on Okuda's office telephone highlighted the story. At 10:15 A.M. an unidentified man told Okuda that he was greatly worried by a police matter. Okuda immediately telephoned the *Nippu Jiji*, a Japanese-language newspaper in Honolulu, and talked with reporter Zenichi Kawazoe, who confirmed that the Honolulu police had issued a report on Morimura's public drunkenness. On Saturday morning stories about Morimura's behavior reached reporters, who began checking the reports. Lawrence Nakatsuka, of the *Star-Bulletin*, telephoned the consulate for details. The wiretap provides a record of the conversation:

NAKATSUKA: I heard a very bad story about the Japanese consulate that says this Morimura fellow sure runs wild.

CONSULATE: Yeah. How do you know?

NAKATSUKA: A reporter is supposed to know everything. What's the matter with the guy, anyway?

CONSULATE: You know better than I.

NAKATSUKA: I didn't know he would be that wild.

CONSULATE: He's wild already.

NAKATSUKA: Is he still working or have you folks fired him?

CONSULATE: No.

NAKATSUKA: What! You won't fire him?

CONSULATE: No.

NAKATSUKA: If I was Kita, I would fire that guy.

CONSULATE: You would?

NAKATSUKA: Sure. You can't let him make so much trouble as that.

CONSULATE: Too bad. He takes advantage of that.⁴

Morimura's binge also came to the attention of the FBI. A two-page wiretap transcript describing the incident was forwarded to the FBI's Tillman, who saw and initialed the report on August 27. So by the end of August, Morimura's spying on the Pacific Fleet, his first bomb map of Pearl Harbor, and his raucous public behavior were all in America's intelligence pipeline. It led from Tillman in Honolulu to Hoover at the FBI to Adolf Berle, Jr., at the State Department.

In the White House, the messages soon caught the attention of President Roosevelt. Throughout 1941, Berle served as the President's source for espionage activities involving foreign diplomatic missions within the United States. There is no doubt that Berle was aware of Morimura. On August 7, FBI Director Hoover informed Berle that Morimura was Japan's "outside man" in Honolulu. In the next three weeks Hoover sent five more reports by special messenger to Berle. To assure that FDR would see the reports, Hoover sent copies to the President's military aide, Major General Edwin "Pa" Watson. But the content of the reports is unknown. In 1999 the text is blacked out by the FBI as a category B-1 national defense secret.⁵

Captain Theodore Wilkinson, FDR's third Director of Naval Intelligence for 1941 and a colleague of Berle, admitted, "We were cognizant of the fact that espionage on the fleet was underway but we were helpless to stop it. We could not arrest Japanese subjects. There was nothing we could do. All hands knew that espionage was going on all along and reports were going back to Japan."⁶

[12] From: Tokyo (Toyoda)
 To: Honolulu
 September 24, 1941
 J-19
 #83
 Strictly secret.
 Henceforth, we would like to have you make reports concerning vessels along the following lines insofar as possible:
 1. The waters (of Pearl Harbor) are to be divided roughly into five sub-areas. (We have no objections to your abbreviating as much as you like.)
 Area A. Waters between Ford Island and the Arsenal.
 Area B. Waters adjacent to the Island south and west of Ford Island. (This area is on the opposite side of the Island from Area A.)
 Area C. East Loch.
 Area D. Middle Loch.
 Area E. West Loch and the communicating water routes.
 2. With regard to warships and aircraft carriers, we would like to have you report on those at anchor, (these are not so important) tied up at wharves, buoys and in docks. (Designate types and classes briefly. If possible we would like to have you make mention of the fact when there are two or more vessels along side the same wharf.)
 ARMY 23260 Trans. 10/9/41 (S)

Source: PHPT 12, p. 261.

THE BOMB PLOT ORDER

This is the English version of the Tokyo request for the bomb plot order of September 24, 1941, as printed for the Joint Congressional Investigation of 1945–46. It is inaccurate because American censors excised the priority designator contained in the original Japanese text from the Congressional printing (upper left). Such designators, inserted in spy reports by the Japanese, flagged the messages for American intelligence. Gerhard Gesell, Chief Assistant Counsel for the 1945–46 Joint Congressional Investigation, explained why the designators were missing: “They do not appear on our copies of the exhibit because as we advised the committee, we had them stricken off” (Gesell’s testimony, December 19, 1945, PHPT 4, p. 1911).

For over fifty-five years, no member of the public has seen the original of this message, which contains the Japanese spy designators. Twice the original message details have been denied to Congress—during the 1945–46 inquiry and during the Thurmond-Spence probe of 1995.

A letter S at lower right confirms that this message was intercepted at Station SAIL, near Seattle. The order originated with the foreign minister of Japan, Admiral Teijiro Toyoda, and was addressed to the Japanese consulate, Honolulu. Toyoda directed the consulate to prepare a coordinate-grid schedule of the Pearl Harbor anchorage and divide the waters into five areas including Battleship Row (Area B). J-19 denotes that the message was encoded in the Japanese diplomatic Tsu system. In 1945, Congress was told that Army cryptographers (Army 23260, lower left) couldn’t decode and translate this message until October 9—a delay of fifteen days (lower right). The Army’s intelligence chief dismissed this type of communications intelligence as “chitter chat.” It was withheld from both Admiral Kimmel and General Short in Hawaii.

Hoover complained that the Department of Justice impeded his investigation of the espionage being conducted from the Japanese consulates. Berle’s diary entry for June 3, 1941, reports that the FBI director was “unhappy about a lot of things but principally because he gets information about various activities but can never do anything about it.” Berle hinted in his diary that Francis Biddle, FDR’s Attorney General, had silenced the FBI director: “I think there is some tension there between him and Biddle.”⁷

Apparently in late September Hoover, looking for congressional support for the FBI’s counter-espionage efforts, leaked some information on Morimura’s activity to a Senate committee that included Senator Guy M. Gillette (D., Iowa). The senator was quoted by the Associated Press in an October story alleging that the Japanese consulate in Honolulu was under American espionage surveillance.

On September 24, Tokyo indicated a growing interest in the American fleet’s precise anchorage patterns in Pearl Harbor and asked Morimura for more grid details. Station SAIL, the US Navy’s monitor station outside Seattle, intercepted the order. Morimura was directed to divide Pearl Harbor into five grid areas and locate the berthing locations of all warships, including aircraft carriers. Morimura lost no time and spent two days scouting the Pacific Fleet. Mikami’s Packard once again toured the high roads around the naval base that weekend.

Morimura developed a more intricate grid system for identifying warship berths in his second bomb plot. Battleship Row was designated bombing area FG. Morimura completed the grid details on Monday, September 29, and telephoned for a Mackay messenger. The text was wired to Tokyo and a copy sent to the Washington embassy. The combination of Tokyo’s request and Morimura’s response was intercepted by four monitor stations: SAIL, CAST, Station TWO, and Station SEVEN at Fort Hunt, Virginia. Officials at Mackay’s Station X in Washington permitted Navy photographers to copy the bomb plot

messages addressed to the Japanese embassy.⁸

According to testimony given to various Pearl Harbor investigations, the decoded and translated bomb plot messages were greeted with indifference by Army and Navy intelligence officials in Washington. Brigadier General Sherman Miles, head of Army Intelligence, told Congress in 1945 that he saw the bomb plot intercepts but none impressed him as anything more than “chitter chat.” Miles dismissed a question posed to him by congressional investigator Gerhard Gesell: “It was primarily of naval interest.” Miles didn’t agree with Gesell’s position that Morimura prepared a bombing plan for Pearl Harbor. He implied that Japanese agents prepared similar plots locating US warships in harbors and anchorages throughout the world and that they were inconsequential. Gesell asked, “Will you find me one such message, General?”

[J9] From: Honolulu (Kita)
To: Washington
29 September 1941
(J19)
Circular #041
Honolulu to Tokyo #178
Re your #083*.
(Strictly secret.)
The following codes will be used hereafter to designate the location of vessels:
1. Repair dock in Navy Yard (The repair basin referred to in my message to Washington #48**): KS.
2. Navy dock in the Navy Yard (The Ten Ten Pier): KT.
3. Moorings in the vicinity of Ford Island: FV.
4. Alongside in Ford Island: FG. (East and west sides will be differentiated by A and B respectively.
Relayed to Washington, San Francisco.
JD-1: 5730 23312 (D) Navy Trans. 10-10-41 (X)
*Not available.
**Available, dated 21 August.

Source: PHPT 12, p. 262.

MORIMURA’S REPLY OF SEPT 29, 1941

Morimura’s second bomb map pushed FDR into action. Not content with this intercept from British-owned Mackay Radio, FDR persuaded David Sarnoff, president of RCA—an American-owned wireless firm—to give the Hawaiian Army and Navy intelligence officials copies of the Japanese messages in Hawaii.

This English translation of Morimura’s bomb plot grid exposes three false statements by Navy officers:

1. They testified to Congress that cable firms such as RCA and Mackay refused them access to the Morimura espionage messages prior to December 7. The X in the lower right refutes the contention. It indicates this report was photocopied in Mackay’s downtown Washington office by Navy photographers on September 29, 1941.

2. The claim that message 83 is not available (lower left) is false. Message 83 is Admiral Toyoda’s bomb-plot order to Morimura. It was intercepted by the Navy’s Station SAIL, near Seattle, on September 24 and immediately became available to American cryptographers.

3. Congress was not told that this message was also intercepted at Station CAST in the Philippines and was available to General MacArthur and Admiral Hart, the American commanders. Neither informed their counterparts in Hawaii that they had such a message.

“Well,” responded Miles, “if you mean similar in dividing the harbor into sections, there are no such messages that I know of.”⁹

When it came time for Navy intelligence to explain their failure to warn Admiral Husband Kimmel of the bomb plot messages, political pandemonium erupted in the congressional hearing room. Republicans interrupted the testimony of Admiral Theodore Wilkinson and charged that the Navy was “spoon feeding” evidence to Congress. Wilkinson, head of Naval Intelligence between October 15 and December 7, 1941, attempted to deflect Gesell’s question about the bomb plot messages:

GESELL: This is a bomb plot message, isn’t it, Admiral?

WILKINSON: In general, yes. I discussed the message with other officers in the Navy Department including Captain [sic] McCollum. [In 1941, McCollum was a commander.]

GESELL: Do you recall your conversation?

WILKINSON: It showed an illustration of the nicety of detail of intelligence the Japanese were capable of seeking and

getting.

GESELL: What did they say to you?

WILKINSON: I don't recall.¹⁰

Military officials may claim to have treated the bomb plot grid communique with indifference, but President Roosevelt certainly did not. On October 14 he invited David Sarnoff, founder and president of RCA, to lunch at the White House. The Mackay connection formed the basis for this one-hour Sarnoff-Roosevelt luncheon. If the British-owned Mackay firm supplied bomb map intercepts for the British Prime Minister, then, the President must have reasoned, US-owned RCA should supply copies of the Hawaiian bomb plot messages direct from its downtown Honolulu office. Sarnoff, who held a general's commission in the Army Reserve, offered to match the Mackay arrangement and left for Hawaii, going by train from Washington to San Francisco, and then taking the SS *Matsonia* to Honolulu. Assistant Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal sent a Navy radio message to Admiral Kimmel asking him to extend every courtesy to Sarnoff.¹¹



Source: Pacific Fleet Intelligence Bulletin I-42. RG 38, MMRB, Archives II.

This bombing and torpedo plot of Pearl Harbor was recovered by Navy intelligence from a downed Japanese plane on December 7, 1941. Ford Island is shown center; the adjacent Battleship Row is designated as NoNo (top) to HoHo (USS Arizona). The Navy Yard berths (left) are marked RaRa to ReRe. At the right the M series denotes cruiser and destroyer anchorages in East Loch.

Sarnoff spent nine days in Hawaii, discussed communications intelligence with Admiral Kimmel, Lieutenant General Short, and Lieutenant Commander Rochefort of HYPO. The Sarnoff visit, but not its true purpose, was well publicized in Hawaii. The *Star-Bulletin* published a news photo of Short conferring with Sarnoff and the local RCA manager, George Street. During his visit, Sarnoff directed that copies of all Japanese consulate messages filed with RCA in downtown Honolulu be provided to Navy intelligence. Rochefort later testified that at Station HYPO he had the facilities to decode and translate the Japanese messages released by Sarnoff, but the early days of December would show that Rochefort failed to do so once they were in his hands.¹²

Before he returned to the mainland on the steamer SS *Matsonia*, Sarnoff sent a direct wire to President Roosevelt: "I am glad to report to you that the heads and the staff of the Army and Navy here are well informed and keenly alive to the latest developments in communications and to their useful possibilities." It appeared that Admiral Kimmel and General Short would now be given copies of the Japanese espionage messages. But they weren't.

The original copies of the messages were obtained from RCA's Honolulu office under the Sarnoff-Roosevelt arrangement. Then, once transmission started, Army and Navy monitoring stations throughout the Pacific Rim plucked the messages off the RCA airwaves and placed their contents into the White House intelligence loop. But deceit took over. Neither Short nor Kimmel received the cables until after the December 7 attack. According to the evidence, it was not a bureaucratic snafu that delayed the cables getting into American hands but Washington deceit—and the Hawaiian commanders, their sailors and troops, and the civilians of Honolulu were the victims.

A series of Navy documents that were hidden from all Pearl Harbor investigations provides the evidence and the trail of deceit. The trail starts with a seemingly innocuous radio dispatch on November 24. Rear Admiral Walter Anderson,

Commander, Battleships of the Pacific Fleet, and the original addressee of McCollum's action plans, sent the November 24 dispatch to Captain Irving Mayfield, District Intelligence Officer for the Fourteenth Naval District. Mayfield was ordered to report aboard Anderson's flagship, the USS *West Virginia*, to serve on a court-martial board. The radio orders removed Mayfield from his very important intelligence duties—including supervision of the Sarnoff-Roosevelt arrangement. After Mayfield reported aboard Anderson's flagship, the Sarnoff-Roosevelt arrangement completely failed in Hawaii. Between November 28 and December 6, Morimura's spy messages obtained by American intelligence in Hawaii and Washington were deliberately derailed and mistranslated. There is only one plausible reason for the failure—to keep the information from Kimmel and Short and so ensure an uncontested overt Japanese act of war.

Mayfield's subordinates in the Honolulu naval intelligence office attempted to place the Sarnoff agreement in operation but immediately faced difficult obstacles. Navy intelligence officer Lieutenant Yale Maxon picked up the first batch of spy reports at the RCA office on Monday, December 1. Maxon and his colleague Lieutenant Denzel Carr were skilled Japanese linguists, but not cryptographers, so they were unable to decipher the messages. Maxon knew that Rochefort had the skilled personnel and facilities to decode the messages and requested his help. In 1982 Maxon and Carr vividly remembered alerting Rochefort. "I obtained the RCA messages the morning of December first," Maxon said. "Denzel normally would have taken custody but was ill with the flu. The coded messages on the RCA forms were unreadable. Yet I knew they were important because of the earlier visit of Mr. Sarnoff who met with our boss, Captain Irving Mayfield, head of Navy Intelligence in Honolulu." Maxon decided to send an alert directly to Rochefort; it is known to the author as the Maxon alert.¹³

In his handwritten note to Rochefort, Maxon carefully chose his words. He knew the code-breaking unit was surrounded with secrecy to prevent leaks to the Japanese. Marking the note "SECRET," he alerted Rochefort that "radio checks, from a source you know, are now available." Both Maxon and Carr suspected that the coded messages involved espionage of some sort. The code-breaker had discussed the RCA messages with Sarnoff during his visit and had agreed to assist Maxon and Carr.¹⁴

Then problems arose. There were no Navy officer couriers available to speed the RCA messages to Rochefort's office, eight miles away in Pearl Harbor. Washington had disallowed a five-cents-a-mile cost for use of officer courier automobiles earlier in September. Though made personally aware of the RCA messages by Sarnoff's visit, neither Kimmel nor Short ever took an interest in them. After the war ended, they would claim that they were unaware of these messages. Rochefort was equally lax. He knew of the spy messages through the Sarnoff meeting and the Maxon alert. And his daily commute to Pearl Harbor from his Honolulu hills home took him directly past the RCA wireless office. He could have personally picked up copies of the messages each day.

On Tuesday, December 2, Morimura informed Tokyo that the naval base at Pearl Harbor was not on the alert for an attack. Commander Mitsuo Fuchida, leader of the air attack, said he received the report aboard the *Akagi*. According to Fuchida, Morimura's message was:

NO CHANGES OBSERVED BY AFTERNOON OF 2 DECEMBER. SO FAR THEY DO NOT SEEM TO HAVE BEEN ALERTED. SHORE LEAVE AS USUAL.

Morimura filed the report with RCA at 4:51 P.M. as consulate outgoing message 357. The message reached Station HYPO on Friday afternoon, December 5, and was in the group that Rochefort's staff deciphered and translated prior to December 7. The consulate log said it concerned "Movement of USN Warships." But the description of the message by Rochefort's diplomatic cryptographer, Farnsley Woodward, conflicts with the Fuchida version. Woodward labeled the text of 357 as "?". Neither Congress nor any Pearl Harbor investigation explored Woodward's contradictions. Morimura's original of 357—filed with RCA—has never been released by the United States.¹⁵

When Sarnoff left Honolulu on November 14, twenty-three days remained before the attack. Toward the end of the period Morimura disclosed that Pearl Harbor was the target. Each report leading up to his final disclosure was flagged for American intelligence by the telltale designators inserted within the message. Five of America's cryptographic stations in the Pacific region intercepted the spy reports. These were Stations CAST and SIX in the Philippines, Station FIVE in Hawaii, and the two West Coast listening posts, SAIL at Seattle and TWO at San Francisco. But before they could be read and produce meaningful intelligence, each report had to be decoded at a processing center. The decoding procedures worked fine in Manila and Washington, but not in Hawaii. When the opportunity came for direct Hawaii access to the contents of the espionage messages which originated in Honolulu, it was not properly exploited. This intelligence failure came not in the acquisition of the messages but in decoding and translating them.

The cover-up concerning the Japanese consulate's spy messages is another Pearl Harbor deceit. There are major

contradictions. Four intelligence officials testified that the Japanese spy messages were unavailable to the United States government because the cable firms, RCA and Mackay, refused to provide copies of each message based on a federal law that prevented interception and disclosure of private communications. Robert Shivers, the FBI bureau chief in Hawaii, detailed the cable firms' refusal in a report to J. Edgar Hoover. "It should be stated here that repeated efforts had been made to enlist the cooperation of the managers of Globe Wireless, R.C.A. Communications, Mackay Radio, and Commercial Pacific Cable companies in Honolulu, T.H. to furnish this office and the Office of Naval Intelligence copies of all communications between the Japanese consulate in Honolulu and the Foreign Office in Japan. The managers of these respective companies flatly refused to cooperate to this extent, notwithstanding the fact that they were even pleaded with and that the seriousness of the situation was pointed out to them so we would know in advance what, if anything, was going to happen against the Hawaiian Islands by the Japanese Government."¹⁶

Three Navy intelligence officials backed up Shivers: Theodore Wilkinson, FDR's fourth Director of Naval Intelligence in 1941, Edwin Layton, the Pacific Fleet's intelligence officer in 1941, and Joseph Rochefort, commander of Station HYPO. In testimony given to the seventh Pearl Harbor investigation in 1945, Wilkinson said, "the District Intelligence Officer of Hawaii had endeavored to obtain copies of dispatches sent by Japanese diplomatic agents from the local cable companies but had been advised that the law did not permit interference of such messages." Layton said, "the FBI was restricted by law from getting Japanese cables." Rochefort said, "the United States was handicapped because it could not censor Japanese communications."¹⁷

But the evidence in the Station US papers contradicts the assertions of Wilkinson, Layton, and Rochefort. Washington intelligence officials ignored the federal laws and intercepted the Japanese messages, but kept the information from Admiral Kimmel and General Short. Mackay's Washington DC office allowed Navy photographers to copy the Japanese spy messages. Again, the evidence is overwhelming. There were sixty-nine spy messages transmitted from Honolulu to Tokyo by RCA and Mackay between January 1 and December 6, 1941, according to a log book kept by the consulate and confiscated by the Honolulu police department on December 7. Monitor stations of the United States and England obtained fifty-eight of the messages. Nine were not intercepted, according to US intercept logs found by the author in Archives II.¹⁸

President Roosevelt shouldn't have bothered with the Sarnoff deal. It was not needed. Fully 84 percent of the spy messages were in American hands without Sarnoff's help. The total was even higher between August 1941—when Morimura began sending his bomb plot messages—and December 6, 1941. American intercept operators and cryptographers ignored federal anti-intercept laws and obtained thirty-four of the thirty-six spy messages sent by Morimura—a success total of 94.4 percent during the five months.

The Sarnoff-Roosevelt arrangement for delivery of the spy messages in Honolulu remains a mystery. A logical explanation focuses on Rear Admiral Anderson. The Honolulu release of the RCA cables can be viewed as an arrangement for Anderson's exclusive use so he would know when to expect the attack. He was not aboard his flagship, the USS *Maryland*, during the weekend of December 6–7, 1941. He left Pearl Harbor Saturday afternoon and went to the safety of his home on the Maui side of Diamond Head—far from the disaster that hit Battleship Row on the morning of Sunday the seventh.

During the final six days of peace, Morimura dispatched ten messages from the RCA office on South King Street. Within minutes the reports were on their way to Tokyo and to American hands, including the important CAST monitoring station in the Philippines. Yet there is no record that General MacArthur or Admiral Hart shared the CAST spy reports with the Hawaiian commanders. Hart had a direct Navy radio dispatch code for contacting Kimmel. It was an electronic cipher machine called COPEK, similar to Japan's Purple and Germany's Enigma, that linked together Hart, Kimmel, Station US, Atlantic Fleet commander Admiral King, HYPO, and CAST. COPEK was the Navy's most secret code system, used exclusively for rapid exchange of intercepted communications intelligence. Access was limited. Commander Laurance Safford, who devised the system, said it was unbreakable. There is no evidence that Japan or Germany ever solved the COPEK system. Captain Theodore Wilkinson, Director of Naval Intelligence at the time of Pearl Harbor told Congress: "I think our (Navy) code was fairly secure."¹⁹

Robert Dowd, a Navy yeoman in the cryptographic section of Station CAST, can trace the dissemination of the Japanese diplomatic messages obtained by CAST. "They were dispatched by radio in our own cryptographic code to Admiral Hart and General MacArthur in Manila. Copies were relayed by the Navy radio station at the Cavite naval base to Honolulu and Washington," Dowd said in a telephone interview with the author in May 1999. He said he had no way of knowing whether these types of messages were delivered to Admiral Kimmel or General Short in Hawaii. But Dowd said he was positive the intelligence information was dispatched. His post in the CAST cryptographic tunnel was next to the Navy's radio transmitter and the cipher machines used to encode the very secret messages. "I could see our electronic cipher machines from my desk," he said.²⁰ Dowd's recollection is backed up by his boss in 1941, Rear Admiral Leigh Noyes, Director of Naval Communications. During testimony to the Joint Congressional Investigation on Saturday, February 16, 1946, Noyes testified: "I knew perfectly well that they [CAST] could decipher the diplomatic traffic and send it to Honolulu."²¹

Between June 27 and December 3, 1941, Morimura's espionage reports were encoded in the J-19 (Tsu) diplomatic system, which Tokyo believed was impervious to American code-breakers. These J-19 reports were transmitted from Honolulu to

Tokyo over either RCA or Mackay radio circuits (November was MacKay, December RCA). All three of the processing centers knew how to decode J-19, because decryption instructions called Radio Intelligence Publications (RIP) had been issued to them from Station US in Washington.²²

But as an intelligence tool the use of J-19 became moot on December 3, when the Japanese Foreign Ministry directed the Honolulu consulate to destroy all their code systems except Oite (Called PA by Navy cryptographers). At midday the Japanese Foreign Office signaled that war was near. It sent a message via RCA to Japanese diplomatic posts in North America that directed:

BURN YOUR CODE BOOKS EXCEPT FOR "OITE." WHEN DESTRUCTION IS COMPLETE, WIRE US THE CODE WORD HARUNA.

An exception was made for the embassy in Washington, which was directed to hold on to its Purple machine. In Honolulu the consulate complied. It burned the codebooks including the Tsu code (J-19) and retained Oite (PA) for last-minute communications. It confirmed the destruction to Tokyo by dispatching the code word HARUNA in plain language over RCA. Thereafter, from December 3 to the late afternoon of December 6, all of the Hawaii messages involving Morimura and Tokyo were encoded in PA and transmitted by RCA. Duplicate copies were sent by Navy courier to HYPO for decryption and translation. There was backup; each PA message was intercepted by American monitoring stations and sent to decoding and translations centers in Washington.²³

Chief Yeoman Farnsley Woodward was one of America's top code-breakers for Japan's diplomatic codes. He had learned to break the diplomatic codes in 1939 while stationed at the Navy's intercept station in Shanghai. Woodward knew one of the diplomatic systems by heart: the PA code, used for messages requiring less security. Its wide use by Japan over her China diplomatic radio network enabled Woodward to become adept in decrypting the system. His cryptographic know-how was perfect for decoding Morimura's target messages in Hawaii.

Japan's PA messages were startling. On Saturday morning, December 6, Tokyo—using the PA system—ordered Morimura to report on the current status of the anti-aircraft defenses at the naval base and nearby Army facilities. Morimura finished his last descriptive report on Pearl Harbor just before noon. Hawaii, he claimed, was ripe for a surprise attack. His final bit of advice to Japanese bomber and torpedo pilots was explicit:

THERE ARE NO BARRAGE BALLOONS UP AND THERE IS AN OPPORTUNITY LEFT FOR A SURPRISE ATTACK AGAINST THESE PLACES.

Then Morimura telephoned the RCA office and asked for a motorcycle messenger. Within minutes his message was in the South King Street office, time-clocked at 12:58 P.M., and dispatched to Tokyo using the PA system. Station TWO, at San Francisco's Presidio, intercepted and forwarded the all-clear message by teleprinter to Washington. RCA also made a copy of Morimura's espionage report at the downtown Honolulu office for Station HYPO's Rochefort.²⁴

Joseph Rochefort and his assistant, Farnsley Woodward—America’s top military/diplomatic code-breakers—offered contradictory explanations of why they did not solve the RCA messages until after the attack. There were twenty-seven Japanese messages processed by RCA’s Honolulu office between December 1 and December 6. Eighteen were spy messages; the remaining nine were routine business-type reports. Each of the routine messages was decoded and translated before the attack. But the spy messages—in the same PA code system and most containing the designators that placed them on America’s most-wanted list—were not. Woodward indicated in a written note that he received the RCA messages in two deliveries: twenty-one messages on the afternoon of Friday, December 5, that were “deciphered and translated prior to December 7, 1941,” and six messages intercepted during Saturday, December 6, that were “delivered the night of December 7.”²⁵

From: Honolulu
To: Tokyo

December 6, 1941.

PA-K2
#253 Re the last part of your #123*.
1. In the American Continent in October the Army began training barrage balloon troops at Camp Davis, North Carolina. Not only have they ordered four or five hundred balloons, but it is understood that they are considering the use of these balloons in the defense of Hawaii and Panama. In so far as Hawaii is concerned, though investigations have been made in the neighborhood of Pearl Harbor, they have not set up mooring equipment, nor have they selected the troops to man them. Furthermore, there is no indication that any training for the maintenance of balloons is being undertaken. At the present time there are no signs of barrage balloon equipment. In addition, it is difficult to imagine that they have actually any. However, even though they have actually made preparations, because they must control the air over the water and land runways of the airports in the vicinity of Pearl Harbor, Hickam, Ford and Ewa*, there are limits to the balloon defense of Pearl Harbor. I imagine that in all probability there is considerable opportunity left to take advantage for a surprise attack against these places.
2. In my opinion the battleships do not have torpedo nets. The details are not known. I will report the results of my investigation.
* Not available.
* Kana spelling.

The correct translation, above, has Morimura’s “considerable opportunity left to take advantage for a surprise attack against these places” in the last sentence of paragraph 1. Originally Pearl Harbor was mentioned three times by Morimura (above), but only once in the incorrect translation.

Rochefort withheld the written alert that he had received from Yale Maxon on Monday, December 1, from all Pearl Harbor investigators. It was a crucial piece of evidence that directly placed Rochefort in the decoding pipeline of the Sarnoff-Roosevelt arrangement. The Maxon alert directly placed responsibility on Rochefort for decoding the messages and delivering them forthwith to Admiral Kimmel. By hiding Yale Maxon’s alert, Rochefort diverted a thorough examination of the Sarnoff-Roosevelt spy-message deal and made it impossible for Admiral Kimmel to establish a logical defense to charges of dereliction of duty. The blame for dereliction of duty belongs on the shoulders of the two cryptographers, not Admiral Kimmel. Rochefort’s motive can only be guessed. In his Oral History he told a US Navy interviewer that the carnage at Pearl Harbor on December 7 was a cheap price to pay for the unification of America.²⁶ His unity observation parallels that of his close friend Arthur McCollum and suggests that Rochefort was aware of or approved of McCollum’s eight-action plan that called for America to create “ado” and provoke Japan into committing an overt act of war against the United States.

#02534 Secret 'P. A.'
From: Kita.
To: Gaimudaijin Tokio.
Kiden (dai . . . gō) 123 matsudan nikanshi (Para).
1 Bei how do ni a ri te wa October ko . riku gun wa Beg. Eng KE [c] LA [am]
EK [p] ZI [—] DI [da] YC [vi] IW [s] ZI [—] VY [N] AA [.] EE [c] AA [.]
I0 [End spell] ni olte so sai ki kyū u hei no yō sei ni chaku shu si sū hyaku no
ki kyū wo chū mow se shi nominarazu ki kyū ni yoro ha wa i . Panama pō [B5]
ei wo mo kō ryo shi wo ru omomu (ki) na ru to koro tō chi ni 9 [KAN] shi te
wa shin zyu wan fu kin wo tan sa se ru mo so re to wo mo wa ru ru ba sho no
sen tei oyobi kei ryū shi se tsu tō na shi wo ra zu ma ta ki kyū fu yō kun ren mo
mi za ru wo niotte i ma no tokoro so sai ki kyū se tsu chi no chō kō su ra mito
(me) zu ka tsu sō kyū ni wa ji tsu geu seraru (ru) mono to wa mito (me) gata
(ku) shi shikashite mo shi ji tsu geu surin to mo shin ju wau ni kin se ku se ru
[hi tsu ka mu] [fu ō do] [e wa] hi kō jō no ri chaku riku su i ni tai suru so ra
no kai gū wo OU—D—K za—Y beikara (zu) yuc (mi) shiu ju wau ki kyū pō
ei—E—F geu Y—a ri kore wo A—ze ki suru ki kai wa sō tō ta buw mi mo ko
sa raru (ru) mono to —N dau seram (ru) (para) (2) kan 1—ku se ru tokoro
sen kan wa gyo rai pō zyo mō wo yū se zu shō sai hikitsuku (ki) chō sa hō—G
ran koto to su.

(#368)

6 DEC. 41.

Source: PHPT 37 p. 999.

The erroneous Japanese-language decryption of Morimura’s December 6 PA message was discovered by the seventh Pearl Harbor investigation, conducted by Admiral Henry Kent Hewitt on July 4, 1945. There are eighty-eight decryption errors in

this text, according to translators Naomi and Sean McPherson of the University of California at Berkeley. Even the words for Pearl Harbor, Shinju Wan, were misspelled in lines 11, 7, and 5 from the bottom by Lieutenant Joseph Finnegan, the Navy cryptographer/translator.

The apparent do-nothing posture of the personnel at Station HYPO during the week of December 1 to 6, their ignoring Morimura's "all-clear" message, and the false decryption misled Admiral Kimmel. But the look-the-other-way attitude was US policy and it came direct from the White House. None of the other last-minute PA messages decoded and translated at HYPO contained errors.

Navy officials assert that Morimura's all-clear message did not reach Rochefort until late Sunday afternoon, about seven hours after the attack. Even though the Rochefort effort failed to produce a timely decryption of Morimura's PA report, there was still an opportunity for American cryptographers to uncover the all-clear message and warn the Pacific Fleet. Station TWO sent the message to Washington by teleprinter—but it was ignored by Army and Navy intelligence officials there.

How could such important intelligence pertaining to the Pearl Harbor attack have been shunted aside? Answers—over fifty years late—have come forth in evidence hidden from investigators. The first discovery was the alert sent by Lieutenant Yale Maxon to Rochefort on December 1, telling of Navy access to the RCA intercepts. Maxon's alert was part of a collection of 1941 official Navy communications documents found by the author in Rochefort's personal effects, held by his daughter.

The failure of the Navy's Hawaiian intelligence organization to exploit Morimura's all-clear message has never been satisfactorily examined. After the war, when Kimmel learned of the significance of the message, he did not call for a probe of the circumstances that denied him the vital information before the attack, nor did he complain of the mistranslation. Apparently Woodward deciphered the surprise attack message by December 11, 1941. Then it was handed over to Navy Lieutenant Joseph Finnegan, who produced the misleading decryption. His error was not discovered until 1945. In a brief appearance before the seventh official Pearl Harbor inquiry, conducted that June by Admiral Henry Kent Hewitt, Finnegan admitted "without hesitation" that his translation of the Morimura message was not correct. But he could not explain why.²⁷

For the six days prior to the attack, Captain Mayfield supervised the handling of the coded radiograms. He had one paramount responsibility, to get the intercepts to Admiral Kimmel. His failure to do so has escaped scrutiny. Morimura's famous final message, filed at 12:58 P.M. on December 6, has been falsely reported to investigators. The differences between the message Morimura sent and the one Finnegan decrypted tell the real truth of Pearl Harbor.

AN UNMISTAKABLE PATTERN

WERE INDICATIONS OF AN OVERT ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR mistakenly or deliberately ignored? After fifty years it is difficult to impute motives. Even if Anderson, McCollum, Rochefort, Mayfield, et al., were in accord with a general policy decision to provoke a Japanese attack—a not unreasonable position—it is impossible to be certain about what happened to the original Morimura intercepts.

What we can do, however, is to examine a broader array of evidence and look for a pattern. Japan's preparations for war took a definite new turn in July 1941 after President Roosevelt put the last of McCollum's actions in place. That was Action H, which called for a complete embargo on all US trade with Japan in collaboration with a similar embargo imposed by the British Empire.

Diplomatic intercepts shown to President Roosevelt early in July and throughout the summer months disclosed Japanese reaction. It was swift. Three bold new steps suggested that hostile actions were not far off: (1) 500,000 Japanese males were inducted into the armed services—the largest draft since the China Incident of 1937; (2) Japanese merchant vessels were recalled from the oceans of the world; and (3) Japanese warships and aviation units were recalled from occupation bases in China.¹

The China Incident started in July 1937, with a skirmish between Japanese troops and forces of Chinese Nationalist Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek at the Marco Polo stone bridge near Peking (now spelled Beijing). Japanese troops had been garrisoned in the Peking area as a result of a thirty-seven-year-old agreement that concluded the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. The presence of Japanese troops on China's soil was a sore point and formed a catalyst that united Chiang and the Communist forces led by Mao Tse-tung. The two warlords pledged to drive the Japanese from North China. On July 5, 1937, a minor shooting skirmish on the Marco Polo bridge between a company of Chiang's troops and a Japanese patrol escalated into major warfare. Over the next four years of war between the two Asian nations, public sentiment in America favored the Chinese over Japan. Japanese officials, citing the Communist menace in North China, attempted to persuade the United States to favor their cause but were rebuffed.²

By reading the Japanese diplomatic intercepts during the summer of 1941, President Roosevelt could gauge Japan's response to Action H. The three bold steps taken that summer confirmed that Japan was preparing for hostile action. Still there was the possibility of a diplomatic settlement as outlined by Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka's "worst" policy, initially proposed in January 1941. Matsuoka's strategy offered diplomacy as the first option for Japan; war with the United States and her allies would be the last resort—and only when worse came to worst. But conceding to a diplomatic solution does not appear in the President's strategy. His response instead was to tighten the economic screws and encourage the "worst" policy. In July 1941 he closed the Panama Canal to Japanese shipping, seized Japanese assets in the United States, and placed a truly effective embargo on shipments of petroleum products, iron, steel, and metal products—restrictions that were sure to infuriate the military-dominated government in Tokyo.³

The earlier embargo of 1940, which had allowed the sale of millions of gallons of petroleum products to Japan, ended. Roosevelt followed McCollum's suggested Action H and embargoed all trade with Japan. Joseph Rochefort, the commander of Station HYPO, regarded the total embargo as an ultimatum: Japan had no recourse but war. "We cut off their money, their fuel and trade. We were just tightening the screws on the Japanese. They could see no way of getting out except going to war."⁴ Both Hawaii and the nation's capital grasped the danger. In Honolulu the editors of the *Advertiser* sensed the war clouds hovering over the Pacific and on July 25, 1941, published a feature story on a possible air attack on Pearl Harbor. The article, in the magazine section, featured drawings showing what such an attack might entail.

In Washington, authorization and funding for a two-ocean Navy had been approved by Congress, and by the summer of 1941 construction was underway in the nations' shipyards. In 1941 US naval forces were weak compared to Japan's. America had

seven aircraft carriers; Japan had ten flattops. One of the seven in the US Navy, the USS *Ranger*, lacked maneuverability at high speeds and was not considered a front-line carrier. Funding and contracts had been let for construction of a powerful American naval force built around 100 aircraft carriers. Though the goals of the two-ocean navy were laudable, completion of the first phase of the American naval might was not expected until 1943—almost two years away.⁵

With the tightening of the economic screws, Japanese oil tankers unable to load up at American refineries in California returned home. But the Empire was not without oil resources. During the previous year-long limited embargo, the White House issued export permits that allowed Japan to obtain just enough fuel to keep her warships going. Most of the reserve was stored at the major Japanese naval fuel depot at Tokuyama in the Inland Sea. America had quite deliberately put Japan in an untenable position with just enough fuel to fight, but not enough to win. There was only one recourse for Japan: resort to military might and gain access to the petroleum.

In 1941 Japan required 3,500,000 tons of oil for peacetime use and allocated 2,000,000 tons for the Imperial Navy, 500,000 tons for the army and 1,000,000 tons for civilian use. As of July 1941 she had a two years' peacetime supply, or about 7,000,000 tons, according to Lieutenant Maxon.⁶

It was a timetable intended by the United States to expire in 1943 when her petroleum reserves would be exhausted and American war production was predicted to kick into high gear allowing an offensive war operation.⁷

The timetable was a perfect fit as far as United States strategy was concerned. Congress had approved and funded a two-ocean Navy. Although a 1941 tally of each nation's warships gave the edge to Japan—she had ten first-line carriers to America's seven flattops—by mid-1941 United States shipyards had laid down the keels for what would become a fleet of 100 aircraft carriers, built around the heavy carrier design of the *Essex* class, the light carriers of the *Independence* class, and escort carriers called baby flattops.⁸

By September 1, Japan's war planning was proceeding at high speed. Japan's naval radio broadcasts disclosed both its overall strategy and its tactics. American cryptographers learned of major changes in Japanese worldwide shipping assignments. Merchant vessels, which normally operated under civilian control, began receiving their movement orders from the Imperial Navy. At the same time a significant number of warships and naval air units assigned to the war in China were recalled to the Empire for overhaul and reorganization. New expeditionary groups emerged from these recalled forces; the restructured units then trained in beach invasion and landing tactics.⁹

Admiral Yamamoto's war plans called for seizure of the American, British, and Dutch possessions in Southeast Asia. Japan wanted access to the vast natural resources of this huge area. Her planned conquest extended along 100° east longitude from Siam (Thailand), south along the Malay Peninsula to the Netherlands East Indies, then branched eastward to the mid-Pacific Ocean near longitude 180°, the international date line.

To implement this immense campaign, Yamamoto organized his Combined Fleet into eight separate commands. American radio intelligence obtained the details and Rochefort at Station HYPO informed Admiral Kimmel of the reorganization on September 4. Four of the fleet commands were assigned to support the southern offensive—the invasion of Southeast Asia by Japan's army. These fleets were the major firepower of Japan's 1941 navy, but did not include the six major aircraft carriers of the First Air Fleet.

Cryptographers at Station CAST on Corregidor were able to break down the composition and targets of the main forces. Traffic analyst Duane Whitlock of CAST prepared a Japanese Order of Battle, which apparently was later forwarded to Kimmel and to Washington at the end of October: the Southern Expeditionary Fleet consisted of troop transports, torpedo boats, mine layers, submarines, and other small craft; the Second Fleet served as main support for the other fleets and included battleships, cruisers, and destroyers. The Third Fleet was the invasion fleet of amphibious forces trained for beachhead landings; its supporting vessels included light cruisers and destroyers; finally, Air Fleet-Eleven was made up of land-based air support which combined the major bomber and fighter squadrons of Japan's navy with seaplane tenders and four light aircraft carriers.¹⁰

With these fleets, Admiral Yamamoto planned to block American interference with Japan's Southeast Asia conquest. He was sure that the United States would react to the invasion of the Philippines by dispatching warships, air units, and military reinforcement to the British and Dutch governments. Part of his plan included invading and seizing Guam and Wake islands, two minor and lightly defended American bases in the Central Pacific. He organized four fleets to counter the American threat and formed a screening force to immobilize the Pacific Fleet through a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. This screening force consisted of the First Air Fleet with six fast aircraft carriers, protected by a screen of destroyers, cruisers, and battleships and a supply train of seven fuel tankers; the Fourth Fleet based at Truk in the Central Pacific, including cruisers, coastal submarines, air units, destroyers, landing craft, troop transports, and Air Flotilla 24 with its land-based bombers, fighters, and seaplanes; the Fifth Fleet, a patrol force built around trawlers, gunboats, and other small craft capable of making ocean patrols of Japan's northern and eastern coasts to send out early warnings of countermoves by the United States or the USSR; and the Sixth Fleet, a powerful force of 45 oceangoing fleet submarines, some of which carried float planes and midget subs.

Japan's Fast Carrier Force was concentrated in the First Air Fleet, which had been formed on April 1. This force and 30 submarines of the Sixth Fleet would be aimed at Pearl Harbor on December 7. Japan's Fourth Fleet, based at Truk, was

assigned to capture Guam and Wake and prevent an American military advance through the Central Pacific.¹¹

By organizing these fleets into combat-ready forces using the radio waves, Japanese officials unwittingly disclosed their intentions to Americans, Dutch, and British. These disclosures occurred throughout 1941. Most Japanese and American historians assert that Japan's naval vessels ceased radio broadcasts after November 25 pursuant to an order issued by Admiral Yamamoto. These assertions have been accepted as fact for fifty years. But Yamamoto's order of the twenty-fifth was not all-inclusive—it contained a proviso that permitted radio transmissions. The order was intercepted at Station H by Radioman Second Class Jack Kaye at 8:48 P.M., on November 24. It read, according to a USN translation dated March 18, 1946:

FROM 26 NOVEMBER, SHIPS OF COMBINED FLEET WILL OBSERVE RADIO COMMUNICATION PROCEDURES AS FOLLOWS. (1) EXCEPT IN EXTREME EMERGENCY, THE MAIN FORCE AND ITS ATTACHED FORCES WILL CEASE COMMUNICATING. (2) OTHER FORCES ARE AT DISCRETION OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COMMANDERS. (3) SUPPLY SHIPS, REPAIR SHIPS, HOSPITAL SHIPS, ETC., WILL REPORT DIRECTLY TO PARTIES CONCERNED.¹²

Radio intercepts obtained by US Navy monitoring stations disclosed that the broadcasts continued after the order was issued. Instead of radio silence there was substantial, continuous radio traffic from the Japanese naval ministry, foreign ministry, and warships, most of which American communications intelligence personnel intercepted and understood. It was a major departure from normal Japanese naval communications. Since the late 1920s, Navy intercept operators using IBM statistical machinery maintained an ongoing analysis of Japan's naval broadcasts. The analysis established a norm for all categories of her naval commands and indicated who communicated with whom and how often. When her naval transmissions increased dramatically in 1941 it was a clear indicator of Japan's intent to make war against the United States, according to Homer Kisner of Station H.

Radio intercept operators monitored the eight commands listed above and determined which were the most active, as well as each command's radio association with Japanese warships and the land bases and bureaus of Japan's navy. By analyzing these radio associations, American cryptographers could accurately predict Japan's military moves in 1941.¹³ For example, a major source for predicting future Japanese naval operations was Japan's Bureau of Military Preparations. The Bureau provided war supplies such as replacement aircraft, aerial torpedoes, and bombs for the First Air Fleet. When radio communications between the Bureau and the First Air Fleet exceeded normal levels, American cryptographers knew that something was brewing. When information copies of the messages between the Bureau and the First Air Fleet were sent to Japan's Central Pacific bases, the communication pattern revealed a probable destination. Soon the destination was confirmed when Japanese naval post offices in the Central Pacific received directions by radio to forward mail to Saipan, Truk, and other Japanese naval bases in the region.¹⁴

So far as is known, all of Yamamoto's original orders initiating the naval recall from China were contained in secret letters hand delivered to commanding officers by Japanese naval couriers. No recalls ordered by radio dispatch have been located in American intercept files. Nevertheless, the White House learned of the recall when Japan's naval commanders acknowledged their movement orders by radio.

September 1, 1941, marked the day the Japanese navy unwittingly revealed the secret recall of its forces from China. Rochefort's intercept operators at Station HYPO obtained movement reports, and he informed Admiral Kimmel of the mass arrival of the China units at Sasebo and other homeland ports during a five-day period from September 4 to 8. It appears that the China-recall reports were either in plain language or in the SM (Ship Movement) code.¹⁵

At about noon on September 1 Admiral Mineichi Koga, commander-in-chief of Japan's naval forces in China, forecast that critical times lay ahead. He even suggested that a huge new operating area for offensive operations required withdrawing forces from the China region. His estimations came in an ominous radio message sent to the commander of Japan's Eleventh Air Fleet, then quartered in China:

ON THIS OCCASION OF DETACHING YOUR FLEET FROM MY COMMAND, I WISH TO THANK ALL HANDS OF THE FLEET, FROM THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF ON DOWN, FOR THEIR ORDEALS, AND ESPECIALLY TO ASK THAT YOU WORK EVEN HARDER TOWARD INCREASING YOUR FIGHTING ABILITY, IN VIEW OF THE CRITICAL TIMES WHICH WE ARE FACING.¹⁶

Hints of the recall order didn't stop with Admiral Koga. Other commanders of large and small units took to the airwaves during the week. The commander of Base Force One, which consisted of amphibious landing craft and support units, reported,

SUBCHASER DIVISION I AND II, AOTAKA, HATSUTAKA WILL LEAVE THE PLACE OF THE CHINA INCIDENT AND PROCEED TO HOME PORTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THIRD FLEET OPERATION ORDER 16.

Later, Koga sent this message to Yamamoto:

AIR FLOTILLA TWENTY-THREE WILL RETURN TO KANOYA AND SAEKI [Navy airfields on Kyushu].

During the remainder of the week the China exodus continued. The commander of the Eleventh Air Fleet, comprising all of Japan's land-based naval aviation,¹⁷ announced his arrival at Kanoya Air Base after a seven-and-a-half-hour flight from China:

AT 0900 TODAY THE SECOND, I DEPARTED CHINA AND ARRIVED AT KANOYA AIR STATION AT 1645 VIA BOO AIR BASE. I RETURNED MY FLAG TO KANOYA AIR GROUP.

More China units reported heading for Japan. On September 4, Destroyer Squadron Five reported leaving Amoy for homeland naval bases at Maizuru, Sasebo and Yokosuka:

THE FOLLOWING SHIPS DEPARTED FROM AMOY: NATORI FOR MAIZURU, DESDIV 22 FOR SASEBO; DES DIV 5 FOR YOKOSUKA.

Submarine Squadron Six transmitted:

THIS UNIT LESS SUBDIV 9 DEPARTED FOCHOW OFFING FOR KURE.

The orders continued on September 5. The Commander in Chief of Japan's Third Fleet, Vice Admiral Ibo Takahashi, radioed:

DEPARTED HANGCHOW IN COMMAND OF CRUDIV 16, LESS KUMA.

At 7 A.M. the next day Takahashi reported his fleet's total removal from China:

THIRD FLEET IS HEREBY REMOVED FROM OPERATIONAL COMMAND OF CINC, CHINA AREA FLEET. ALL UNITS AND SHIPS WILL PROCEED TO DESIGNATED PLACES FOR UPKEEP.

He sent action orders to his command and thus unwittingly disclosed their identity to American Intelligence: Sea Plane Tender Division 12, Submarine Squadron 6, Destroyer Squadron 5, Base Force 1, the light cruiser *Kuma*. The broadcasts continued as Takahashi's ships kept him (and Station H) informed:

SEA PLANE TENDER DIV 12 AND THE FUJIKAWA MARU ARRIVED SASEBO.¹⁸

These forces remained in Japan's Third Fleet through December 7, and were never attached to the Hawaii-bound carrier force. This separation was noted by American intelligence and confirmed that Japan had no intention of actually invading Hawaii in the initial stage of the war.

Additional proof of their call of Japan's amphibious fleet from China's waters continued to come through naval radio transmissions. As September 6 turned into night, Subchaser Division 51 and Seaplane Tender Division 12 reported their arrival at Sasebo. That base, located northwest of Nagasaki, was the naval center for Japan's China and Southeast Asia operations.

The China naval recall, we now know, prepared Japan for the first phase of its war and supported the invasion and occupation of the Philippines, Singapore, Borneo, and Malaya. The warships and units of the Third Fleet headed for dry docks at Sasebo, Maizuru, and Yokosuka for refitting, overhaul, and stripping of flammable materials such as wool, linoleum, etc. Once outfitted for war, every Third Fleet unit remained under the control of one commander.

In October, men of the recalled warships and auxiliaries of the Third Fleet trained in beach landing drills. Their training took place at Tachibana Bay on Kyushu and at Murozumi Bay on the south tip of Honshu. When the forces sailed between the two areas they kept in touch by radio communications, always sending information copies of their dispatches to the Third Fleet commander. These radio exchanges enabled American cryptographers such as Kisner's radiomen to identify the "mother hen" (the Third Fleet) and the "chickens" (the invasion forces).¹⁹

Since the Japanese warships failed to observe basic communications security, American cryptographers at Station H learned the organizational structure of the Third Fleet. It was a simple procedure to follow the warships to Southeast Asia and to locate and separate vessels headed eastward across the Pacific. Commanders of Third Fleet cruisers, destroyers, and submarine squadrons dutifully reported their positions and arrivals at their home ports, located on one of the four main islands of the Empire. Japan's naval organization was consistent. None of the six flattops of the First Air Fleet was ever associated with the Third Fleet by American radiomonitor operators. The First Air Fleet was always linked with an easterly movement across the Pacific Ocean toward Hawaii, never toward Southeast Asia.²⁰

As September ended, Japan had recalled most of its capital warships and military air units from China, and Americans knew it. The move signaled a major change in Japanese military strategy. President Roosevelt and his staff closely watched the developments as the Japanese military intercepts revealed a new theater of operations.

Japan's worldwide recall of its merchant marine paralleled that of the China warship recall. In a matter of hours Japan's

world trading operations came to a halt. It was immediately seen in Washington as a prelude to war. Arthur McCollum recognized the importance of the recall: Japan's merchant marine fleet would soon become troop transports and military cargo-handling vessels. McCollum had once written: "It is assumed that prior to any initiation of hostilities, a nation contemplating war probably would withdraw its commercial shipping and detached naval units from those areas where this shipping could be readily seized or destroyed."²¹

American radio intercept operators easily distinguished between Japan's warships and her merchant vessels, called *Marus*. Japan used a different communication procedure in contacting the latter. Commercial vessels communicated through Tokyo in peacetime by using radio call signs issued through the International Radio Tribunal in Berne, Switzerland, known as the Berne List.²²

Each Japanese *Maru* was assigned four Roman letters beginning with J for Japan. For example, the *Tatsuta Maru*, Japan's premier ocean liner, was known as JFYC. Japanese warships and naval shore stations were addressed in a separate code system that used two *kana* syllabics and a number. For example, the flagship of the Japanese carrier force was the HIMJS *Akagi*, whose secret radio call sign in the fall of 1941 was 8 YU NA. The two different Japanese communications procedures have confused some American World War II historians, who claimed that the vessels could not be distinguished by radio procedures.²³

The recall of the *Marus* was first noted by American intelligence on July 1, 1941. Eight Japanese merchant vessels were told to depart American East Coast ports immediately. To meet the deadline, officials of the NYK line and other Japanese shipping firms directed American longshoremen working the East Coast docks of Baltimore, New York, Boston, and Philadelphia to "rush-load" supplies into cargo holds. Radio Tokyo ordered the captains of these ships to clear the Atlantic coastal harbors immediately, transit the Panama Canal, and be in the Pacific Ocean by July 22. The schedule called for one ship per day to transit the Canal, starting on July 16th and ending on the 22nd. War planners in Japan badly needed these ships. Most were slated for conversion to troop transports for the invasion of the Philippines and the Kra Isthmus. Others were scheduled for the invasions of Singapore, Malaya, and Borneo. Three of the vessels, *Tokai Maru*, *Amagisan Maru*, and *Kirishima Maru*, were earmarked for the Philippine invasion at Lingayen Gulf on Luzon in mid-December.

The *Amagisan Maru* would play a key part in operations against the US Army Air forces in the Philippines, commanded by General Douglas MacArthur. During the war's opening salvos—just six months away—the vessel would transport elements of the Eleventh Air Fleet from the home islands to air bases in Formosa (today called Taiwan or Chinese Taipei). On December 7, the Eleventh Air Fleet took off from their Formosa bases and destroyed most of MacArthur's bombers and fighters on the ground at Clark Air Field in central Luzon. A fourth merchant vessel, the *Awajisan Maru*, slipped out past New York City's Statue of Liberty on July 4. The 9700-ton passenger/cargo vessel steamed past the Sandy Hook lightship, entered Atlantic waters, and headed for the Panama Canal. New Yorkers who happened to observe her departure were looking at a doomed ship. The *Awajisan Maru*, assigned to the Japanese Third Fleet, was sunk on the first day of the war by Australian bombers during Japan's amphibious operations at Khota Bharu, north of Singapore.

From Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore Japan's East Coast merchant fleet sailed for home. July 22 was fast approaching. But the ships found the Panama Canal closed to them. Because President Roosevelt knew of the planned exodus from the intercepts he had ordered that Japanese merchant shipping be denied the right to use the Canal.

Most of the American intercept operators were Navy men, trained for a job in a concrete classroom built on the roof of the Sixth Wing of the Navy Department headquarters on Washington's Constitution Avenue. All were regular noncommissioned radiomen. They called themselves the "On-the-Roof Gang." Every Roof Gang member was sworn to a lifetime of secrecy. To protect the security of the intercept stations, only the commandant of a Navy District was allowed aboard them. Even the admiral's staff was kept off the stations.²⁴

Radio orders to the captains of the *Marus* were intercepted by the Roof Gang personnel. By July 3, the message sheets containing the Japanese encrypted text had been decoded and translated by cryptologists in Washington. While celebrating the Fourth of July at Hyde Park, President Roosevelt read the reports and closed the Canal effective July 5. A cover story was concocted. Major General Daniel van Voorhis of the Panama Canal Zone Command issued a press release claiming that the emergency closure was caused by water leaks in the transit locks of the canal. Japan had no choice. Denied the Panama Canal transit, the vessels were routed back to Japan the long way—via the Straits of Magellan at the southern tip of South America.

At 7:39 P.M. on July 3, just minutes after Radio Tokyo's dispatches had been translated, Admiral Stark sent a war warning to Admirals Kimmel and Hart: "Japan's policy probably involves war in the near future. They have ordered all Jap vessels in the Atlantic ports to be west of the Panama Canal by August 1."²⁵

By late summer, the oil embargo stopped the flow of American oil products into the bunkers of Japanese tankers and merchant ships then waiting for refills on the West Coast. On August 14, Admiral Stark, as CNO, sent additional details to the Navy's Pacific commands: "Japanese rapidly completing withdrawal from world shipping routes. Scheduled sailings canceled and the majority of ships other than (those in) China and Japan sea areas are homeward bound." It was the last meaningful message based on communications intelligence that Stark sent to Kimmel. In Hawaii, although Kimmel had been denied crucial communications intercepts from Washington, he learned about the merchant vessel exodus from Rochefort's cryptographers.

But as we shall see, the Rochefort source was eventually curtailed.²⁶

Admiral Kimmel knew these ships were likely to be part of Japanese invasion forces. Beginning in the late summer, Kimmel requested, received, and initialed the recall position reports of various Japanese *Marus* obtained by the US Navy's West Coast intercept network (WCCI). These documents show the admiral's direct interest in the matter. For example, on September 27 Kimmel saw the radio direction finder position of the merchant ship *Heiyo Maru*. Kimmel read the report obtained by the WCCI and directed his intelligence officer Edwin Layton "to bring these late reports to me." According to the intercepted Japanese broadcasts decoded and translated in Washington, DC but not sent to Kimmel, the vessel was returning to Japan from Manzanillo, Mexico.²⁷

As Pacific Fleet commander and as an experienced naval officer, Kimmel would have fully grasped the import of Japanese merchant vessels being abruptly placed under military control. Such ships were essential components of invasion and occupation forces. Layton passed Kimmel's order to the US Navy's intercept operators, who began tracking the *Heiyo Maru* and other ships. The tracking paid off. In the two week period following Kimmel's directive, Rochefort's intercept operators and those on the West Coast reported that 45 vessels were pouring military troops, laborers, and supplies into Japanese naval bases in the Central Pacific. One of the most active was the *Heiyo Maru*.²⁸

Rochefort's Daily Communication Summary of September 24 called Kimmel's attention to a "peculiar" 5-Num coded dispatch involving the Maizuru naval base and special guard units. Kimmel was told that the naval base and the guard units were associated with Japan's Central Pacific command—the Fourth Fleet. According to Rochefort's alert to Kimmel, Maizuru rarely sent radio messages concerning personnel. He said the communication procedure was highly unusual. Rochefort promised to follow up.

Rochefort²⁹ sorted out the 5-Numerical dispatch and wrote that it was a peculiar dispatch originating with the Maizuru naval base's supplies and accounts section. Six days earlier, on September 18, he had advised Kimmel that Maizuru's personnel bureau had changed radio communication tactics. Instead of receiving radio messages involving transfer of personnel, Maizuru was actively engaged in moving military personnel away from the base—an unusual communication procedure for Maizuru, according to Rochefort. US Naval intelligence knew that Maizuru was one of the amphibious landing training centers for the Imperial Japanese Navy—similar to US Marine Corps amphibious centers. Though he didn't predict the intent of the movement away from Maizuru, Rochefort had discovered the Japanese force that eventually invaded and seized Wake Island in late December 1941.

It is not clear how much of the 5-Num message text he could decipher, translate, and read. But Rochefort's 1941 admission concerning the 5-Num code is startling. It uncovers another Pearl Harbor deceit—because when questioned by Senator Homer Ferguson (R., MI) of the Joint Congressional Investigation Committee on February 16, 1946, Rochefort claimed that neither he nor other Station HYPO cryptographers worked on the 5-Num code until after December 7, 1941: "We were specifically told to keep away or not to exploit that so-called five-number system, which was a naval system. That was being done elsewhere."³⁰

Rochefort's Communication Summary of September 24, 1941, directly contradicts his statement to Senator Ferguson. He told Kimmel he obtained information from the intercepted 5-Num code dispatch. Obviously he exploited the code system and did not keep away from it, as he claimed to Ferguson. Rochefort identified three Japanese units for Kimmel that he predicted merited future watching: *Keibii* 51, *Keibii* 52, and *Keibii* 53.³¹

Kimmel read and initialed Rochefort's informative report culled from the 5-Num dispatch: "For purposes of future reference, the following peculiar despatch [*sic*] heading is noted: 52 *Keibii* 32 at Maizuru originated a 5 numeral dispatch (SMS 001-NR 690) for action 4th fleet staff officer info to 52 *Keibii* 32 at Sasebo and 53 *Keibii* at Yokosuka. The suffice 32 is generally associated with Supplies or Accounts and the *Keibii* is something similar to the meaning for guard ship." Four days later, on September 28, Rochefort developed additional information from the 5-Num code for Kimmel and wrote that "a 4th fleet staff officer originated a dispatch to 51 *Keibitai* believed at Sasebo, 52 *Keibitai* at Maizuru and 53 *Keibitai* believed at Yokosuka."³²

Rochefort's identification for Kimmel was right on. He had detected Landing Force 51, 52, and 53 which—three months in the future—would supply Japanese military reinforcements for the Battle of Wake Island. Clearly the two 5-Num dispatches indicated a close association between the three amphibious landing forces and the Central Pacific (Fourth Fleet).

Rochefort implied that he would keep Kimmel informed of any later movements of the three *Keibii* units. There is no record that he did. A Japanese radio dispatch from Kwajalein did provide the destination information on November 29, 1941. The dispatch, in the 5-Num code, was intercepted at Station H. It listed *Keibii* 51, 52, and 53 in the heading of the message and firmly connected the units with the Japanese expeditionary forces gathering in the Central Pacific. Normally Rochefort, after a quick analysis of the communications components of a message, summarized the information found in the headings of 5-Num dispatches. In cryptology jargon an addressee anywhere in the heading of the message reveals vital location information. It is like reading an address on the front of a postal envelope.

Two weeks later on December 11, US Marines on Wake Island, under command of Major James Devereux, drove off an initial Japanese landing attempt, sank the destroyer HIMJS *Hayate*, and damaged the light cruisers HIMJS *Tenryu* and HIMJS

Tatsuta, a transport, the *Kongo Maru*, and two patrol boats. The Japanese force—temporarily defeated—limped back to Kwajalein, regrouped by adding the troops of *Keibii*, 51, 52, and 53, and returned on December 23, 1941. The US Navy commander of Wake Island, Commander Winfield Cunningham, radioed Pearl Harbor:

ENEMY ON ISLAND. ISSUE IN DOUBT.

He surrendered to Japan that afternoon. Wake Island was a costly battle for the Japanese. In the sixteen days of fighting, a total of 820 Japanese were killed and 333 wounded. American casualties totaled 120 killed, 49 wounded, and two missing. Taken prisoners of war by the Japanese military, the American survivors were brutalized by their captors.³³

Joseph Rochefort's public testimony in the Pearl Harbor investigations of 1944 to 1946 and his own Oral History of 1969 challenge his and the US Navy's credibility regarding the pre-Pearl Harbor Japanese naval code interceptions. At issue is the 5-Num code and whether Rochefort provided the Pacific Fleet with all the essential intelligence he had gathered and collated. He clearly informed Admiral Kimmel that Station HYPO's cryptographic staff had intercepted the 5-Num code. On seven different occasions between September 4 and November 16, he specifically informed Kimmel that his staff had obtained intercepts in the 5-Num code.³⁴

On September 4, Rochefort called Kimmel's attention to "a short 5-Num dispatch originated by the Naval Minister." By October 1, he noted: "5-Num messages are increasing in volume." And he reiterated on the fourth, "Messages in the 5-Num system slightly greater than normal." The reason for the increased frequency of 5-Num traffic would soon be painfully clear. But unaccountably, Rochefort ceased mentioning 5-Num to Kimmel on November 16—the day Japanese naval forces headed for assembly points to begin their assault on America and her allies. For the Hawaii air attack, the assembly point was Hitokappu Bay. His next mention of a 5-Num report would come on December 19, when he intercepted, decoded, and translated Admiral Nagumo's report on his devastating attack on the Pacific Fleet.

Between September 24 and mid-November, significant portions of the Japanese naval code systems revealed much about the composition of the Japanese amphibious force being sent to the Central Pacific for the invasions of Wake and Guam. How much was disclosed to Admiral Kimmel and the White House is obscured by continued US censorship. But it is clear that the merchant vessels were steadily tracked through the Central Pacific; radio direction finders located them when they transmitted movement reports to Tokyo. Each fix provided a precise location. These position reports were included in daily summaries furnished directly to Kimmel and to Arthur McCollum in Washington. The concentration of Japanese warships and invasion forces was an obvious threat to US bases at Guam, Midway, and Wake Island, if not to Pearl Harbor itself.³⁵

It is ironic that Admiral Kimmel singled out the *Heiyo Maru* for electronic monitoring. It is one of the "what if" questions of Pearl Harbor. What if Rochefort had followed through on his promise and reported tracking the Special Landing Forces to the Marshall Islands, south of Wake? Would Admiral Kimmel have sounded the alarm and saved his reputation and naval career? Just days after Kimmel ordered Edwin Layton, his intelligence chief, to track the *Heiyo Maru*, she arrived in Japan and was converted to an armed merchant vessel. Shipyard workmen installed anti-aircraft guns and other armament. In two war preparation voyages in October and November, the 9800-ton vessel traveled to Maizuru naval base on Japan's west coast, took on Special Landing Forces that were slated to seize Wake Island, and transported them to Central Pacific bases.

The movements of the *Heiyo Maru* throughout the two months can be traced through communication intelligence records of Station H (Hawaii), Station SAIL (Seattle), Station ITEM (Imperial Beach, California), and Station AE (Sitka, Alaska). The four intercept stations obtained RDF bearings and reported her precise locations to Admiral Kimmel. Her first war preparation voyage began on October 19. Significantly, each radio order linked the Bureau of War Preparations office in Tokyo with the commander of Japan's Fourth Fleet based at Truk in the Central Pacific, who commanded all Japanese naval forces in Micronesia. The Bureau's radio messages heralded a major change. The *Heiyo Maru* no longer received sailing instructions from the passenger agents of the civilian NYK line. Her new boss was Vice Admiral Shigeyoshi Inoue, the Fourth Fleet commander, who directed the vessel to ferry military forces to various bases in the Mandate Islands of the Central Pacific.³⁶

During the two months of war preparation voyages the *Heiyo Maru* broke radio silence on at least eleven occasions. Her bearings left no doubt; she was positioned by US Navy direction finders traveling eastward past the Bonin Islands, Iwo Jima, and to the Marshall Islands—carrying troops and war materials slated for Wake. The captain of the ship originated the transmissions and was heard by Navy monitoring stations throughout the Pacific.³⁷

They came in loud and clear at Station H in Hawaii. Though Japan issued new radio call signs for its naval ships on October 1 and November 1, they were solved by cryptographers at Station H. One of the first to be solved was the coded call sign of the *Heiyo Maru*, whose captain broke radio silence on November 22 and reported that he was departing the Maizuru naval docks and heading for Saipan. His arrival at the Central Pacific base was set for 0600 hours on November 26. His radio

messages said nothing about an invasion of American territory, but there were plenty of indications that would alert a vigilant American radio intelligence officer just by analyzing the radio call signs found in the address headings of the intercepts. In October, the military radio call sign of the *Heiyo Maru* was SA TE 0. Her radio contacts were with the Maizuru naval base and Japanese forces in the Central Pacific, including Vice Admiral Shigeyoshi Inoue, the commander of Japan's Fourth Fleet at Truk, and advance bases in the Marshall Islands. The radio association listed in the heading addresses, combined with the RDF bearings, confirmed the route. Japan changed her naval radio call signs on November 1 for the forces afloat—but not those of the shore stations. They kept their former call signs. By November 4, US Navy cryptographers unmasked the *Heiyo Maru*. Her new call sign was HE NU 2.³⁸

The passenger/cargo ship was directed to pick up amphibious forces at Maizuru base and transport them to Saipan in the Central Pacific. Then Japanese radio operators firmly linked the Maizuru forces with the Central Pacific by sending copies of the radio orders to Japan's naval base at Kwajalein in the eastern Marshall Islands, about 600 miles south of Wake. On November 20, the Special Landing Force boarded the ship at the Maizuru docks and the vessel headed for Saipan, radioing that it would arrive on the morning of the 26th.³⁹

Admiral Kimmel's war plans staff should have been alarmed by the arrival of a Japanese invasion force south of Wake Island. The man who was responsible for evaluating Japanese intentions was Commander Vincent R. Murphy, assistant war plans officer for Kimmel. Murphy was a holdover from Admiral Richardson's staff, and accompanied Richardson to Washington in October 1940 for the tumultuous meeting in the White House. Murphy attended major meetings with America's top naval brass while in Washington in late 1940, which suggests that he learned of FDR's policy of "let Japan commit the first act of war." It is unreasonable to believe Richardson did not convey Roosevelt's policy to his top aide—Murphy.⁴⁰

Though he promised to continue monitoring the movements of the Maizuru landing force, Rochefort dropped the forces from his Daily Summary and did not suggest to Kimmel that the destination of the Maizuru force was Wake. He did warn Kimmel that Japan was concentrating "far greater" naval forces east of Saipan in the Marshall Islands.⁴¹

Kimmel picked up on the warning and, after conferring with Rochefort, alerted Washington to the dangers posed by Japan's growing military force in the Central Pacific. The admiral's response was proper military procedure—he sought authority from Washington to confront Japan's military moves in the Marshall Islands, particularly at the Jaluit naval base.⁴² But General George Marshall, Army Chief of Staff, wanted physical proof and dispatched two B-24 photo planes from California for a reconnaissance mission over the Japanese bases. General Marshall directed that the mission take off from Wake Island, photograph Jaluit and Truk from high altitude, then provide photographic prints for Kimmel and Short with copies to MacArthur and Hart in Manila.⁴³

On December 5 one of those B-24 photo planes, lacking machine guns for its defense, landed in Hawaii. General Short kept the plane on the tarmac at Hickam Field awaiting installation of its machine guns. But it was destroyed two days later by the First Air Fleet. The second B-24 never arrived. After the attack, Kimmel and Short were accused, in part, of gross failure to institute reconnaissance. But it was Washington that had deliberately failed to provide the proper equipment for the reconnaissance.⁴⁴

Kimmel and the intercept network watched closely while the *Heiyo Maru* and other former merchant vessels delivered war materials and troops to the Central Pacific. They continued to watch helplessly while the ships steamed into position. Ultimately, tragically, they could do little but stand aside and obey the orders from the White House as it followed its policy of war.

WATCH THE
WIDE SEA

JAPANESE FLEET MOVEMENTS POINTED TOWARD AN ACT OF WAR. Intercepted messages did the same. Spies reconnoitered Pearl Harbor while they themselves were under surveillance. The question begged by this is not so much whether some Americans knew it and welcomed an attack, but what would men do who needed to defend against it? Could Admiral Husband Kimmel, the commander-in-chief of the Pacific Fleet, be stopped from doing his job of preventing a Japanese strike?

Consider the plight of Lieutenant Commander Joseph John Rochefort in October 1941. He was certain war between Japan and the United States was imminent. The tone and sheer volume of intercepted Japanese naval dispatches piling up on his desk at Station HYPO on Oahu alarmed him. He was sure that the heavy radio traffic between warships, navy yards, air squadrons, and shore facilities meant that the entire Japanese navy was organizing for a major offensive. Rochefort had no illusions about a peaceful 1941 or 1942. The only question was when and where Japan would strike.

Rochefort answered those questions for both Admiral Kimmel and President Roosevelt. They read his Daily Communication Summary, which detailed Japanese war preparations. But FDR and Kimmel were at cross purposes. America's top fleet commander was not aware that FDR might choose to place the Pacific Fleet and himself in harm's way. Kimmel looked for military ways to interdict Japanese hostile acts aimed at Hawaii.

The Japanese intercepts piling up on Rochefort's desk during the first week of October sounded a Klaxon of alarm. Since midsummer of 1941 Rochefort's cryptographic staff had been listening in on a major reorganization of the Japanese navy. He puzzled over the pile of intercepts. What was Japan up to? The requisitioning of the entire Japanese merchant fleet and placing it under military control was first detected in July and recognized throughout the US command as an initial step toward war preparation. Rochefort sought more information. About noon on October 8, Rochefort sent a message to his entire command, the Mid-Pacific Communications Intelligence Network: they were placed on an "eight-day" week and ordered to monitor every Japanese radio signal originating in the Pacific basin. The order was unprecedented for the Navy. Rochefort produced his eighth day by adding a scoop watch to the radio-monitoring schedule. The extra watch would scoop up every Japanese radio transmission in the Pacific Basin. The order applied to Navy radio listening posts in the Central Pacific, Alaska, and the West Coast of the United States. Everywhere it meant the same thing: locate all categories of Japanese vessels.¹

Rochefort established a priority list for the scoop watch. Topping the list were the flagships of the Imperial Japanese Navy. Next on the list were the battleships, carriers, and detached units. The last were important for predicting Japanese naval movements, since they included oil tankers and supply ships. A naval armada sails with its oil tankers serving as mobile gas stations. Replenishing fuel is mandatory for voyages of over 1000 miles; no naval captain wants his ship low on fuel on the high seas. Carrier task groups gulped fuel. Support vessels—particularly destroyers—needed refueling every three or four days. The high-speed maneuvering of carrier groups during launching and recovery of aircraft consumed enormous amounts of fuel. The tracking of Japan's naval tankers was a high priority for the scoop watch and provided a fall-back intelligence source if the carriers' location became elusive. When Rochefort's staff issued their first Communication Summary on July 15, 1941, they promised Admiral Kimmel that they would keep on the lookout for Japanese naval tankers.²

Japanese naval communication procedures unwittingly made tracking easy. During their voyages the tankers reported their latitude and longitude position to Tokyo. These reports were transmitted by radio every day at 8:00 A.M., noon, and 4:00 P.M. in the navy's dot-dash *kana* system. Sloppiness made things even easier. Civilian crews on the tankers irritated the naval personnel who operated the guns aboard each vessel. "*Gunzoku!*" sneered the navy gunners, contemptuous of the lack of military discipline shown by the civilians. In Japanese naval slang the term equated to "scum." Included among the *gunzoku* were the civilian radio operators of the tankers, who enjoyed "talking" with marine radio operators of other nations in the dot-dash language of International Morse Code.

American intelligence could track the Japanese ships through Radio Direction Finding (RDF). The more radio signals

available, the better. A typical 1941 shore-based direction finder was a radio receiver set and antenna, mounted in a wooden housing in the center of a twelve-foot-diameter wooden circle. Each point of the compass from zero to 360 degrees was marked on the circle. The RDF device locked on a Japanese naval transmission as the operator moved the receiver's antenna on the compass in the direction of the targeted radio signal. At a certain point, called a "null," the signal disappears. When matched with the compass reading, the null point establishes the bearing in a straight line from the RDF housing.

For example, in October, Kisner's direction finder unit at Station H identified and tracked the Japanese survey ship *HIMJS Katsuriki* to the Gilbert Islands by monitoring her radio transmissions as KE RO 8 in Japan's naval call sign system. In the first part of the month, the vessel's bearings obtained at Station H indicated she sailed in the vicinity of 9.4° N, 172° E to 5.3° N, 169° E. Then in late October she moved to 10°N, 169° E. After obtaining these fixes on KE RO 8 it was easy to locate her in the Central Pacific. Though RDF bearings must be recorded on a Great Circle chart for accuracy, a simple reading of a Mercator-projection (typical flat) map will show that the *Katsuriki* operated at Tarawa 5° N, 172° E, then returned to her base at Kwajalein in the Marshalls [169° E × 10° N] by the end of the month. The nulls established that the *Katsuriki* was in the vicinity of Tarawa performing oceanic surveys. Kisner said US Navy intelligence knew the ship was a precursor for a future Japanese invasion, for her naval role called for taking soundings and mapping out the Tarawa atoll and other islands in the Gilbert Group. Japanese troops invaded the Gilberts in the spring of 1942.³

Rocheft used this sort of direction finding to gather information on Japanese fleet movements. It provides instant intelligence—no code-breaking is required except for knowing the radio call sign. Admiral Kimmel needed this information most urgently of all and he received it daily from Rocheft. Why didn't he make use of it? The question is all the more compelling because Kimmel's predecessor, Admiral Richardson, had placed Station HYPO on a wartime basis as a full decryption site precisely in order to have a source of information independent of Washington.

In the late fall of 1940 Admiral Richardson had decided, soon after his fractious lunch with Roosevelt on October 8, to take steps to protect his warships and men from a surprise Japanese attack. Richardson did not trust the "kowtowing" [his word] White House brass to supply him with accurate intelligence information on Japanese intentions and preparations. Richardson wanted his own information on Japan's naval activities. He decided the best protection for himself and the United States Fleet was Station HYPO.

The admiral believed that the fleet could be denied vital information if the White House controlled the intelligence flow. As a backstop, he decided to bypass the White House and directed that HYPO be brought to immediate war strength and provide continuous intelligence information direct to the fleet. When Richardson's request reached Station US early in 1941, it was approved by Commander Laurance Safford, boss of Navy radio intelligence activities. Safford knew just the man to supervise the expansion of HYPO and take charge of the unit—Lieutenant Commander Joseph J. Rocheft.

Richardson, however, was unable to exploit Rocheft's skills. FDR fired the admiral in January, and put Kimmel in command in his place. But the requested expansion of HYPO went forward. That May, Rocheft was transferred from a staff command position with the Scouting Force of the Pacific Fleet (later called the Fast Carrier Forces) and took charge of the rapidly expanding cryptographic-analytic center.

On July 15 his handpicked staff, using the RDF reports and intercepts from Station H, produced the first Daily Communication Summary for Kimmel. Copies went to McCollum at Station US, where a presidential monograph was prepared for the White House. Rocheft's crew rapidly sized up Japan's move toward war. In late August they identified a new carrier division and its flattops, the *HIMJS Shokaku* and *HIMJS Zuikaku*. In September they discovered the China recall and the military buildup in the Central Pacific using Japan's merchant fleet. By October 8, Rocheft's operations were on the highest priority—the scoop watch. It produced results within two weeks, when Rocheft's cryptographers discovered the scope of an emerging Japanese two-pronged military strategy: (1) the Southeast Asia Invasion and, (2) the screening maneuver involving air forces in the North and Central Pacific that became the Pearl Harbor raid.

Citing an intercept from Vice Admiral Nishizo Tsukahara, commander of the Eleventh Air Fleet, Rocheft⁴ scoped out the massive invasion for Kimmel on October 21: "It would appear from this message that whatever the Combined Air Force intends to do will interest the China Fleet. It is apparent," Rocheft continued, "that he had already located parts of his command from TAIWAN northward at least as far as GENZAN [Korea]. The fact that he has had Carriers added to his force (Carriers are not normally part of the Combined Air Force) indicates a large-scale operation over a long distance." [Parentheses and capitalization by Rocheft] In the summary, Rocheft said Carrier Divisions Three and Four were part of the operation.

By the next day, October 22, Rocheft had discovered the formation of a separate Japanese air operation that he said was focused on the Kurile Islands and would extend eastward and south over a vast area of the North and Central Pacific. "With nothing definite to point to, the impression grows that a large-scale screening maneuver or operation, at least, is in progress, involving mainly air units in the Mandates, Takao-Hainan Indo China area, the Kuriles, the Submarines, Marcus and Chichi Jima to the Kuriles. Identification of Horomushiro as an Air Base the other day places operations up to the Northern Kuriles."⁵

Major collateral evidence concerning Japanese plans for hostile action came from Ambassador Joseph Grew in Tokyo. He seems to have planted an informant inside the Imperial Palace. On November 2, an Imperial Liaison Conference with Emperor

Hirohito present decided on war with America and her Allies. Japan's military was given the go-ahead for invasion and occupation of Southeast Asia targets. Admiral Yamamoto received the OK for his screening movement. He was authorized to attack Pearl Harbor, knock out the Pacific Fleet, and prevent its interference with the invasion.

The general tenor of the Palace meeting reached the United States. "War with the United States may come with dramatic and dangerous suddenness," was the closing sentence of a lengthy report sent by Grew to Secretary of State Cordell Hull the next day.⁶ Grew cautioned that in the event diplomatic conversations failed, the United States should not underestimate Japan's obvious preparations for war. He felt that the risk and danger of war was very great and was increasing. Quoting the unnamed informant, Grew said the decision for war was presented to Hirohito by Prime Minister General Hideki Tojo, Naval Minister Admiral Shigetaro Shimada, and Japanese Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo.⁷

To confirm the Japanese naval war preparations reported by the Imperial Palace informant, Grew sent his naval attaché, Lieutenant Commander Henri Smith-Hutton, on a railroad observation trip to the Inland Sea naval operating areas of the Japanese fleet. First Grew filed a transit application with Japan's naval minister, saying that Smith-Hutton and his wife Jane were taking a brief vacation.⁸ The couple sought approval for a daylight round trip to view the beauty of the Inland Sea, according to the application. Their rail route provided an overnight stopover at Miyajima on November 3. Two days, November 5 and 6, were scheduled for the Beppu area, a site of the Japanese Pearl Harbor carrier training operations. The overnight stay at Miyajima on the south shore of Hiroshima Bay yielded a sweeping view of the nerve center of Japanese naval war preparations. Across the bay, the Kure Naval Base was a beehive of activity. Yamamoto's flagship, *HIMJS Nagato*, was anchored in the bay. Aboard the battleship the admiral's staff busily prepared the final operational orders for attacks on Pearl Harbor, Wake Island, Guam, and the Philippines.

After lunch on November 4, the Smith-Huttons left Miyajima and boarded the train for Beppu. The rail journey took them past the Tokuyama oil depot, whose storage tanks brimmed with aviation fuel from American oil refineries. At nearby Murozumi, Japanese amphibious forces of the Third Fleet practiced invasion landing techniques. Both ports front on the Suo-Nada, a southern branch of the Inland Sea.

Night approached as the Smith-Huttons arrived at Beppu's rail station on November 4. Darkness prevented any sightseeing, but their vacation plans for the following days permitted a day and a half for viewing the scenery of the Japanese naval operating areas surrounding Beppu. Nearby were Japan's naval air stations at Oita and Usa, important home bases for the aircraft squadrons of the First Air Fleet. Warships, including carriers, rode at anchor in Beppu Bay. The sky buzzed with Zero fighters and torpedo planes practicing war maneuvers. Departing Beppu at 2:30 P.M. on November 6, the Smith-Huttons retraced their rail route back to Kobe's Sannomiya Station, then transferred to the express train for the return to Tokyo.

Soon after the attaché and his wife returned, Ambassador Grew sent a much stronger warning to Washington. On November 17, he again predicted a sudden military or naval action by Japan's armed forces. Grew was specific. He was referring not to China but to other areas available to Japan for a surprise attack. Be alert, Grew emphasized to Hull, "We cannot give substantial warning."⁹

When Rochefort's estimates and Grew's warnings were received in Washington they triggered another astonishing event. Navy officials declared the North Pacific Ocean a "Vacant Sea" and ordered all US and allied shipping out of the waters. An alternate trans-Pacific route was authorized through the Torres Strait, in the South Pacific between Australia and New Guinea. Rear Admiral Richmond K. Turner, War Plans officer for the United States Navy in 1941, explained the reasoning with a startling admission: "We were prepared to divert traffic when we believed that war was imminent. We sent the traffic down via Torres Strait, so that the track of the Japanese task force would be clear of any traffic."¹⁰ On November 25, the day that the Japanese carrier force sailed for Pearl Harbor, Navy headquarters sent this message to Kimmel and San Francisco's Twelfth Naval District:

ROUTE ALL TRANSPACIFIC SHIPPING THRU TORRES STRAITS. CINCPAC AND CINCAF PROVIDE NECESSARY ESCORT. REFER YOUR DISPATCH 230258.

The order was dispatched about an hour after Admiral Nagumo's carrier force departed Hitokappu Bay and entered the North Pacific.

The Vacant Sea order dramatizes Admiral Kimmel's helplessness in the face of FDR's desires. The admiral tried on a number of occasions to do something to defend Pearl Harbor, based on Rochefort's troubling intercepts. Exactly two weeks prior to the attack, Kimmel ordered a search for a Japanese carrier force north of Hawaii. Without White House approval, he moved the Pacific Fleet into the North Pacific Ocean in the precise area where Japan planned to launch her carrier attack on Pearl Harbor. But his laudable efforts came to naught. When White House military officials learned Kimmel's warships were in the area of what turned out to be the intended Japanese launch site, they issued directives that caused Kimmel to quickly order the Pacific Fleet out of the North Pacific and back to its anchorages in Pearl Harbor.¹¹

This unfortunate reversal of direction has been ignored by every Pearl Harbor investigation. It was never discussed during the original series of inquiries held from 1941 to 1946. It escaped scrutiny during the 1995 Congressional probe by Senator

Strom Thurmond and Congressman Floyd Spence. Congress opened the 1995 Pearl Harbor probe at the request of Husband Kimmel's surviving family members. But neither Admiral Kimmel nor his family ever mentioned the mysterious sortie and the sudden recall from the North Pacific waters. Yet it provides exculpatory evidence which proves that Kimmel vigorously reconnoitered the waters north of Hawaii. After the attack, Kimmel was accused of failure to conduct precisely this type of reconnaissance.

Robinson Jeffers, one of the few American poets to oppose America's entrance into World War II, described the effect of the Vacant Sea order in "Pearl Harbor," which he published in 1948.

Meanwhile our prudent officers
Have cleared the coast-long ocean of ships and
fishing craft, the sky of planes, the windows of
light these
clearings
Make a great beauty. Watch the wide sea; there
is nothing human; its gulls have it. Watch
the wide sky
All day clean of machines; only at dawn and
dusk one military hawk passes
High on patrol. Walk at night in the blackout.¹²

On Sunday, November 23, the Pacific Fleet was at sea north of Hawaii looking for a Japanese carrier force. Officially the sortie into the North Pacific waters was named Exercise 191. The object of the exercise called for Force Black [Japan] to conduct an air raid on Force White [USA]. Exercise 191 would prove eerily similar to Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto's Operation Order No. 1 which set forth Japan's naval plans for the Hawaii raid. Both Exercise 191 and OPORD 1 called for a Japanese carrier force to advance on Hawaii from the North Pacific in an operational area between 158° and 157° west longitude—the approach to Oahu and Pearl Harbor.

In a bizarre series of coincidences, Yamamoto and Kimmel selected the identical launch area—the Prokofiev Seamount, an extinct underwater volcano about 200 miles north of Oahu. Their timing and planning borders on mutual clairvoyance. Each used Kaena Point, a promontory on Oahu's north shore, as the benchmark, decided on Sunday for an early-morning launch time, and marked two Oahu targets: Pearl Harbor Naval Base and Kaneohe Naval Air Station on Oahu's windward side. They differed only in their calendar choice: Kimmel began his search on November 23, two weeks before the actual attack. Radio intelligence gathered by Rochefort seems to have generated Kimmel's North Pacific sortie. Grew's information, gathered from sources in Japan, parallels that of Rochefort, but there is no proof that the ambassador's dispatches were ever sent to Hawaii.

Earlier in August, Admiral Kimmel had prepared a 1941–42 Fiscal Year employment schedule for routine fleet training in the Hawaii region.¹³ It involved all classes of warships from small patrol craft to the battleships and carriers and set a schedule intended to last through June 1942. One portion of the schedule set aside the dates November 23–25 for what Kimmel called Fleet Tactics, but he gave no specifics. Some portions of the schedule called for ship upkeep in dry docks; others were

assigned to buoy tending. Revisions were adopted in late October, soon after Kimmel read Rochefort's prediction of a two-pronged Japanese attack. His August schedule, calling for October operations in Hawaii, appears to have been junked, for about a third of the fleet was then anchored on the West Coast in San Francisco and San Pedro for upkeep and training.

By the end of October, Yamamoto added the final touches to the Hawaii raid plan. So did Kimmel. Yamamoto issued his plan on November 5. So did Kimmel. Both admirals distributed their plans by officer courier to major fleet commanders. Kimmel's choice for his raid was not the regular fleet training area. For the previous several years most fleet training operations and employment schedules were conducted southwest of Oahu—an area off-limits to merchant shipping.

American naval war planning had always contemplated a Japanese carrier raid aimed at Hawaii from the North Pacific. Rear Admiral Richmond K. Turner testified that the theory of such an attack had been discussed among senior naval officials for at least the prior twenty-five years.¹⁴ In 1938, Vice Admiral Ernest J. King, using his flagship, the aircraft carrier USS *Saratoga*, conducted a simulated air raid on Pearl Harbor from the North Pacific, but it differed from Kimmel's concept in that King's exercise hit at midday. King's raid was described by Admiral Alan Kirk, who served as FDR's third ONI director briefly in 1941: "King headed the Black Fleet [Japan]. His tactics were exactly those employed by the Japanese on the 7th of December, except King's attack was later in the day not early morning. By golly, he took his carriers north of Oahu, launched his airplanes in bad weather, swooped through the favoring storm clouds and appeared over the Blue Fleet [USA] to the startled consternation of everyone concerned."¹⁵

Kimmel's operation order was explicit. Exercise 191 was not to be an ordinary exercise. Every vessel was warned that hostile warships might be discovered at any moment. A code phrase would indicate the presence of the enemy. The warning would be sent via a signal flag dispatch:

EASY CAST EASY.

He did not want to use the fleet's radio system and tip off the Japanese.¹⁶

Pacific Fleet warships were moved from Hawaii and California ports to the North Pacific. It was not a routine training exercise. As they sped toward Hawaii from ports in San Francisco and Los Angeles the warships sailed under wartime conditions. Daily gunnery and anti-aircraft drills imbued each sailor with a sense of wartime. The peacetime operating conditions for the West Coast vessels changed when they entered Hawaiian waters on the morning of November 7. A predawn general quarters was sounded, according to Lieutenant F. W. Purdy of the battleship USS *California*.¹⁷

Admiral Kimmel assigned 46 warships and about 126 aircraft to the North Pacific. Five battleships and the carrier USS *Lexington*, plus cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and various auxiliary ships formed the surface force. For air support he grouped the *Lexington*'s 60 planes plus 54 aircraft from Marine Air Group 21 into a fighting unit. Kimmel meant business—the aircraft included both bombers and fighters. Twelve long-distance Catalina flying boats of Patrol Squadron 12 were detailed to search the entire "classical-composer" sea lanes from the Prokofiev Seamount at 157° W to the Chopin and Mendelssohn Seamounts at 162° W.¹⁸

The search area was narrow—a 65-degree arc originating on Kaena Point on Oahu's North Shore and curving out 600 miles. Admiral Kimmel did not assign search planes to the west, south, or east quadrants from Kaena Point. No responsible naval officer ever contemplated a Japanese approach from the other quadrants, for those courses involved the main shippings lanes and risked discovery. "Black" would be found in the small search arc north of Oahu. Round-the-clock radar surveillance was included in the operation orders. No one could fault Kimmel's strategic and tactical plans. Every naval discovery tactic was used in the reconnaissance plans for the search of the North Pacific: distance air search and radar on a twenty-four-hour basis. All were sound naval procedures, whether for an exercise or the real thing.

Secret orders directed warship and air unit commanders to attend an urgent conference at Pacific Fleet headquarters on Thanksgiving eve, November 19. The summons was sent by blinker light on Kimmel's orders. Radio transmissions were not used—he did not want Japanese monitoring operations to detect the sortie.¹⁹ At the conference, Kimmel laid out his war-game scenario for his officers and men, doing his best to simulate the reality that might soon occur. It was an exact forecast of Sunday, December 7. The White commander was notified by his Navy Department that war was momentarily expected with Black and that Black's raiding force was definitely known to be at sea in vicinity of Base X-Ray [Pearl Harbor]. Black submarines might be encountered, and White could not muster full naval strength due to Atlantic commitments (escorting of convoys to Britain).²⁰

Kimmel's plans for Exercise 191 required last-minute adjustments that were not on the original employment schedule. First he canceled all leaves for the Thanksgiving weekend. Exercise 191 was planned as a four-day operation starting at 0600 on Friday, November 21, to 0600 on Tuesday, November 25. He concentrated his ships and aircraft in the most likely approach route for a Japanese raiding force. Early dawn hours on a Sunday were set for the start of the operation. Aircraft were poised for long-and short-distance aerial scouting of the North Pacific sea lanes. Kimmel's plans indicate that he was thoroughly prepared for action if he encountered a Japanese carrier force. Upon its discovery he would send his warning signal by blinker light and signal flags indicating that hostile action between America and Japan had begun.

Kimmel mailed ten copies of the operation details to the Navy Department in Washington and on November 19 briefed his fleet commanders. Rear Admiral Walter Anderson—Commander Battleships—filed a written objection to the 600-mile-wide aerial reconnaissance area outlined by the plan. He wanted to scuttle the search plan because the long aerial flights assigned to the float planes of his battleships jeopardized the safety of the pilots—they would run out of fuel. He raised his objections to the commander of the White Force, Vice Admiral William S. Pye, after learning of the search plan. His complaint alleged that the battleship aircraft could not carry enough fuel for the 600-mile round trip reconnaissance flight. (The aircraft's fuel capacity was rated at 745 miles). But his objection can be seen as another move to support Washington's Vacant Sea policy and clear the North Pacific of US aircraft and ships. Based on Rochefort's intercepts and Grew's warnings, there was an outside chance that Japanese warships had advanced in the North Pacific and might be discovered before they committed an overt act of war.

Shaken by Anderson's charge, Pye asked his Force aviation officer, Lieutenant Commander C. F. Greber, for advice.²¹ Greber argued that Anderson's objections overstated the fuel problem and cited records from the Navy's Bureau of Aeronautics showing that the battleships' scout planes could carry fuel for up to 745-mile flights. Kimmel's search strategy, Greber told Pye, was designed to prevent an enemy carrier force from entering the 600-mile search area undetected. But Anderson did not think that his battleship's search planes carried enough fuel to constantly monitor a large area and advised against the wide-ranging aerial patrol. Kimmel, aware of Anderson's White House clout, overruled Pye and Greber. Anderson won. Exercise 191 went forward as planned, but long-range reconnaissance of the North Pacific was curtailed.²²

On Sunday, November 23, Kimmel had both Black and White forces positioned over the Classical Composer Seamounts of the North Pacific. West longitude 157° was the general route selected for the approach to Hawaii by Black forces. A strong storm in the Gulf of Alaska sent pulses of inclement weather throughout the North Pacific. The early morning attack on Base X-Ray was delayed. Stormy weather restricted aerial reconnaissance. Heavy seas pounded the warships and a number of sailors were injured. Several hours passed, and the pounding seas subsided. By noon the skies cleared. Finally at 12:55 P.M. one of the search planes sighted the *Lexington*'s Black Force at 27°17' N, 157°55' W, nearly over the Prokofiev Seamount—the exact location of the launch site of the Japanese Navy's First Air Fleet, then just two weeks in the future.

The war games between the two forces continued throughout Sunday and into Monday, November 24, as the warships and aircraft chased one another over the submerged volcanoes of the Handel, Ravel, Scarlatti, and Mozart Seamounts. Suddenly at 3:30 P.M., though the exercise was intended to last another fifteen hours, Kimmel called it off. He issued orders to the Task Groups:

CEASE PRESENT EXERCISES.²³

The *Lexington* recalled its fighters and bombers, which were about to attack White. The warships returned either to their anchorages inside Pear Harbor or to patrols off Oahu's southwest coast. The North Pacific was again a Vacant Sea.

Kimmel's premature cancellation of the exercise came several hours after Washington sent him specific action orders. He was warned to expect a surprise aggressive movement by Japan in any direction, but not to place the Pacific Fleet in a position that would precipitate Japanese action. Rear Admiral Ingersoll sent the message:

CHANCES OF FAVORABLE OUTCOME OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH JAPAN VERY DOUBTFUL X THIS SITUATION COUPLED WITH STATEMENTS OF JAPANESE GOVERNMENT AND MOVEMENTS THEIR NAVAL AND MILITARY FORCES INDICATE IN OUR OPINION THAT A SURPRISE AGGRESSIVE MOVEMENT IN ANY DIRECTION INCLUDING ATTACK ON PHILIPPINES OR GUAM IS A POSSIBILITY. CHIEF OF STAFF HAS SEEN THIS DISPATCH CONCURS AND REQUESTS ACTION ADEES [ADDRESSEES] TO INFORM SENIOR ARMY OFFICERS THEIR AREAS X UTMOST SECRECY NECESSARY IN ORDER NOT TO COMPLICATE AN ALREADY TENSE SITUATION OR PRECIPITATE JAPANESE ACTION X GUAM WILL BE INFORMED SEPARATELY.²⁴

Kimmel said he regarded Ingersoll's message as an injunction directing him not to take provocative action against Japan. He recalled a Roosevelt directive that Stark passed on to him in late September: "At the present time, the President has issued shooting orders only for the Atlantic and Southwest Pacific sub-area." In emphasizing the presidential directive, Stark said that US Navy Regulations backed it up—implying a court-martial if disobeyed.²⁵

At the time, of course, Kimmel did not know of Washington's eight-action policy. If McCollum's action policy was to succeed in uniting America, Japan must be seen as the aggressor and must commit the first overt act of war on an unsuspecting Pacific Fleet, not the other way around. FDR and his highest-level commanders gambled on Japan committing the first overt act of war, and knew from intercepted messages that it was near.²⁶ An open sea engagement between Japan's carrier force and the Pacific Fleet would have been far less effective at establishing American outrage. Japan could claim that its right to sail the open seas had been deliberately challenged by American warships if Kimmel attacked first.

Despite the early cancellation of Exercise 191, Kimmel wasn't quite ready to give up. Though the naval brass in Washington forced him to pull the warships from the North Pacific, he approved two new missions intended to discover a Japanese carrier force: on November 24, shortly after 191 was canceled, Vice Admiral William "Bull" Halsey, Kimmel's carrier chief, issued

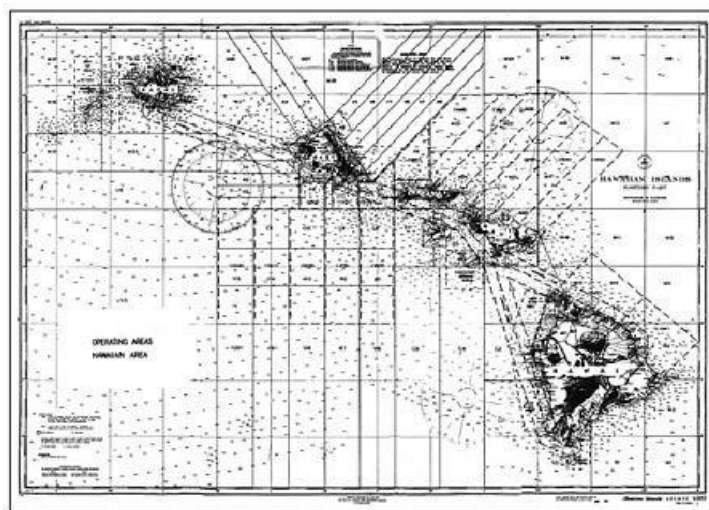
operation plans for a 25-warship task group to guard against an “enemy air and submarine” attack on Pearl Harbor.²⁷ The force was built around the carrier USS *Enterprise* and the battleship USS *Arizona*. Halsey’s directive said the operation would last seven days, from November 28 to December 5. His proposal was similar to Exercise 191. If a true enemy was located he planned to issue the same EASY CAST EASY signal established for 191. But Halsey’s plan was never put into effect. During the late afternoon of Thursday, November 26, Admiral Stark directed Admiral Kimmel to use aircraft carriers and deliver Army pursuit planes to Wake and Midway islands.

Early the next morning Kimmel called a conference with General Short, Halsey, and other Army and Navy officers. After hearing the Washington plan, they decided it was faulty.²⁸ Army pursuit pilots were not trained for carrier operations, could not land on a carrier since the planes had no tail hooks, and were unable to navigate over widespread areas of the ocean. Oahu-based Marine Corps pilots, who had the training and whose planes were equipped for carrier operations, were substituted. Halsey agreed to transport twelve Marine fighter planes to Wake Island and canceled his “look for the enemy” operation. He left early on the twenty-eighth aboard the carrier USS *Enterprise*, with the fighters on the flight deck, escorted by eleven of the fleet’s newest warships. The *Arizona* was left behind at Pearl.

A second delivery of eighteen fighters to Midway was delayed a week. On December 5, the carrier USS *Lexington*, accompanied by eight modern warships, departed Pearl Harbor and, according to her deck log, headed for an unnamed “assigned area.” The fighter planes were never delivered. On December 7, as his force neared Midway and prepared to launch the aircraft for a flight to the island, the Task Group commander learned of the Pearl Harbor attack shortly after 8:00 A.M. and cancelled the flight.²⁹

On orders from Washington, Kimmel left his oldest vessels inside Pearl Harbor and sent twenty-one modern warships, including his two aircraft carriers, west toward Wake and Midway. Those were strange orders, for they dispatched American forces directly into the path of the oncoming Japanese fleet of thirty submarines. The last-minute circumstances that moved the warships out of Pearl Harbor were discussed during the 1945–46 Congressional inquiry. Members wondered whether the sorties were genuine efforts to reinforce Wake Island and Midway or merely ploys to move all the modern warships from the Pearl Harbor anchorages prior to the attack so they would not be hit by the First Air Fleet. Senator Alben Barkley, the chairman, questioned Admiral Stark about the sortie of the two carrier forces:³⁰ “It is not clear in my mind whether they were sent.” Stark replied, “Yes sir; they were sent. The dates were set by Admiral Kimmel. We gave no specific dates.” Stark stumbled over the facts: he set the date, not Kimmel. According to Navy records, Stark set the date on November 26:

IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR YOU TO TRANSPORT THESE PLANES AND GROUNDS CREW FROM OAHU TO THESE STATIONS ON AN AIRCRAFTCARRIER.³¹



HAWAIIAN FLEET TRAINING AREAS

The Pacific Fleet’s designated operational/ training areas were located south-west of Oahu in 1941. There were none designated for north of the Hawaiian Islands on this 1941 Navy map.

Source: Walter Short’s papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

With the departure of the *Lexington* and *Enterprise* groups, the warships remaining in Pearl Harbor were mostly 27-year-old relics of World War I.

While Washington pulled Kimmel's fleet around the Pacific on invisible strings, the admiral still searched for the Japanese carriers that Rochefort had spotted in the Kuriles. Kimmel asked for Rochefort's cryptographic help in a terse order on November 24: "Find The Carriers." According to Edwin Layton, Kimmel's intelligence chief, the admiral wondered if other Pacific monitoring stations had also obtained bearings of the Japanese warships.³²

From November 18 to November 24, both Station CAST and Station HYPO tracked the carriers north to Hitokappu Bay. The evidence that was hidden from every Pearl Harbor investigation is overwhelming: on November 19 a Japanese submarine, using the radio call sign RO TU ØØ, headed toward the First Air Fleet Communication Zone, north of Ominato. The next day subs *I-19* and TA YU 88 reported entering the First Air Fleet Communication Zone north of Ominato, according to an intercept by Merrill F. Whiting at Station H. The heavy cruiser HIMJS *Tone* and Destroyer Squadron One joined the carrier divisions. On November 21, Rochefort informed Kimmel that most of the other Japanese fleet submarines were at sea, moving east in the Pacific. On the following day, November 22, the carrier *Akagi*, flagship of the First Air Fleet and Carrier Division One, was heard using a tactical call sign of 8 YU NA.³³ It was located by radio direction finder at a bearing of 028 degrees from Corregidor. The 028-degree bearing placed the *Akagi* on a great circle line with Hitokappu Bay. (See chart on p. 191 of this book.) More radio transmissions emerged during November 22 and 23 as the vessels of the First Air Fleet traveled to the rendezvous point. At the same time that CAST heard the *Akagi*, Admiral Chuichi Nagumo, commander-in-chief of the First Air Fleet, initiated a radio message using his secret Hawaii radio call sign of SA SO 2, which was reserved for radio contact during the Pearl Harbor attack. His transmission was long enough for Station CAST to obtain a radio direction finder bearing that placed Nagumo on a line of 040° from CAST—a position consistent with the Hitokappu Bay locale. Nagumo's RDF fix—about 12 degrees of longitude from the *Akagi*—indicates that he must have traveled aboard one of the other warships enroute to Hitokappu, perhaps the *Kaga*, sister of the *Akagi*. The 040° bearing would have been reached when the vessels passed Cape Inubo—a point of land on Honshu that juts far out into the western Pacific.

The carrier *Zuikaku* of Carrier Division Five was also located by radio direction finder at 030° from Corregidor, placing her off the east coast of Japan enroute to Hitokappu Bay. The next fixes from CAST came at 10:00 A.M. on November 27 and placed the *Akagi*, *Shokaku*, and *Hiryu* at 030°. This position is also consistent with their journey to Hawaii, for it would place the flattops about 500 miles east of the Kuriles in the North Pacific. That is where they were on November 27, according to Japanese records. In Bandoeng, Java, Dutch cryptographers at *Kamer* 14 provided collateral evidence to Washington and reported hearing similar Japanese naval broadcasts originating from near the Kuriles.³⁴

Beginning with the cancellation of Kimmel's exercise, and continuing through the final days before the attack, conclusive cryptographic evidence indicates that FDR shared McCollum's intentions and left the Pacific Fleet in harm's way. The dispatch containing the plain-language words HITOKAPPU BAY was delivered to Rochefort by Kisner and provided a major clue to the location of Japan's fast carriers—the First Air Fleet. Now the carriers appeared to be moving to a position where they could threaten American forces. Their radio direction finder bearings traced a north-by-east course in the North Pacific. None were associated with the southern movement of the Japanese naval expeditionary force. As of November 23, this information was available to Kimmel. The same cryptographic information was transmitted over secure radio circuits to Station US, in Washington, where Arthur McCollum and his staff prepared a daily monograph for President Roosevelt.

Grew's November reports, coupled with the Station H intercepts tracing the movement of the First Air Fleet to Hitokappu Bay, were just what Arthur McCollum had waited to read. The eight provocative actions that he advocated had now fallen into place. Japanese access to fuel and natural resources in Southeast Asia had been interdicted; American heavy cruisers had entered Japanese territorial waters; increased military aid had been granted to Chiang Kai-shek and a US Army Commission headed by Major General John Magruder³⁵ had gone to China in October 1941; twenty-four US submarines had been transferred to Admiral Hart in Manila; the Pacific Fleet remained in Hawaiian waters; a complete embargo of all US trade with Japan was in force; the Dutch refused to grant concessions to Japan; and the British had granted the United States use of military bases in the Pacific in accord with McCollum's eight-action memorandum. One of the bases was Raboul in the Bismarck Archipelago, north of Australia.³⁶

With the recall of the Pacific Fleet from the North Pacific on November 24 and the cessation of aerial reconnaissance over the ocean, America had no effective means of locating the advance of an enemy force on Hawaii except through the intercepts obtained by the monitoring stations. But the cryptographic reports obtained by Stations CAST and H did not appear in the Daily Communication Summaries shown to Kimmel in 1941.

Kimmel, alone and outmaneuvered, would make one last-ditch effort to convince Washington that a critical situation faced the Pacific Fleet.

A NIGHT WITH A PRINCESS

BY NOVEMBER 25, AN ATMOSPHERE OF CRISIS PERVADED THE WHITE House. During a meeting with his Cabinet, President Roosevelt announced that America might be in a shooting war with Japan in a few days. The President echoed a forecast made ten days earlier by General George C. Marshall, Army Chief of Staff: “The United States is on the brink of war with the Japanese.” Marshall delivered the warning during a strictly secret press briefing.¹

Marshall’s briefing coincided with the start of phase two of Japan’s war preparations, which began on November 15 when she moved forces toward American territory. During the briefing, Marshall alluded to one of America’s most vital secrets when he revealed that the United States could read Japan’s encrypted messages. He told the correspondents that his war assessment was based on access to a leak from the Japanese: “We know what they know and they don’t know we know it.” Marshall then predicted that a Japan-America war would break out during the “first ten days of December,” according to the notes of one correspondent present.

Marshall invited seven newspaper correspondents (radio reporters were not invited) to his office in the Munitions Building. He explained his embarrassment in calling the secret conference and said anyone who did not care to share secrets was at liberty to leave before he started talking. Though the function of the press is to publicize, none left. They kept Marshall’s secret from their readers, who included many of the officers and sailors manning the warships on Pearl Harbor’s Battleship Row.

Two ethical questions are raised by Marshall’s secret conference with the reporters: (1) Instead of the press conference on November 15, 1941, why didn’t he confer with Lieutenant General Walter Short on November 15, 1941, and disclose that he had learned from secret Japanese sources that war with the United States would break out within the first ten days of December? Ethical questions abound. Who deserved the very secret information, the reporters or Short? General Short raised the ethics question during testimony before the 1945–46 Joint Congressional Investigation Committee: “After October 28, 1941, with the War Department receiving information almost daily which indicated that war was imminent, he [Marshall] communicated to me none of those personal messages containing the inside information.” (2) What was the responsibility of the reporters, their editors, and their publishers? In the land of the First Amendment, Americans expect journalists to abide by strict ethics and report the news, not hide secrets. Yet four of the nation’s major news media—the *New York Times*, *New York Herald Tribune*, *Time*, and *Newsweek*—and the three major wire services—Associated Press, United Press, and International News Service—were let in on secrets denied to General Short and Admiral Kimmel in Hawaii.²

On the 25th, seeking a diversion from matters pertaining to war, Roosevelt invited Crown Princess Martha of Norway for cocktails and dinner in his second-floor suite in the White House. She and her royal family had been granted refuge in the United States following the Nazi occupation of their country. FDR’s private quarters overlooked the south lawn, the Ellipse, and in the distance the Washington monument. Motorists or strollers on the Ellipse could see the lights of the presidential suite to the left as they faced the south portal of the mansion. On wintry nights, smoke swirled out the White House chimney from the wood-burning fireplace in FDR’s Oval Study.

Always a genial host, Roosevelt enjoyed serving what he called “yummy” cocktails to his dinner guests. The cocktail hour was usually only a thirty-minute affair beginning at seven o’clock. On most occasions, drinks ended when the family cook, Mary Campbell, was ready to serve dinner. Roosevelt measured the drinks himself in a sterling silver shaker, then poured the mixture into silver goblets. The ritual could be extended if he declared a “dividend”—usually proclaimed when he lost count of the martinis.

Crown Princess Martha was a frequent visitor to the White House. The thirty-nine-year-old princess and her three children—Princesses Ragnhild and Astrid and Prince Harald, heir apparent to the Norwegian throne—were given asylum in the United States by the President following the Nazi invasion of Norway in April 1940. Her husband, Crown Prince Olav—the future King of Norway—remained in London. In 1999 their son Harald is King of Norway. On many occasions in 1941, Princess Martha turned up at the White House on the eve of momentous world events—most often when First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt was out of town. On June 15, 1941, Martha was with FDR just days before the German invasion of Russia. And it was the princess who traveled with Roosevelt aboard the presidential yacht, USS *Potomac*, in August when FDR sailed to Newfoundland and the Atlantic Charter conference with Winston Churchill.³

Eleanor Roosevelt's two-room suite was dark on the night of the 25th. Her quarters were part of a series of suites on the second floor that open onto the east-west corridor. Mrs. Roosevelt had left the presidential mansion for National Airport in midafternoon to catch a 4:00 P.M. flight to New York. She was active in the Office of Civil Defense, and her duties required frequent flights to Manhattan and conferences with Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, head of the OCD.

Just as Mrs. Roosevelt's plane became airborne, the President met with reporters at a news conference in the Oval Office. Questioning lasted only fifteen minutes. At 4:15, the traditional "Thank you, Mr. President" ended the conference. Shortly after, Roosevelt called for the White House limousine and, escorted by Secret Service men, was driven to Pooks Hill, the Bethesda, Maryland, estate of Crown Princess Martha.

As the presidential motorcade left the White House, another departure was taking place half a world away in Hitokappu Bay. Dawn was breaking over the vast anchorage. Leaden skies obscured the sun and barely allowed daylight to fall on the snow-covered mountains of isolated Etorofu Island in the Kurile archipelago about 200 miles northeast of Hokkaido, Japan's northernmost home island.

Vice Admiral Chuichi Nagumo, commander-in-chief of the First Air Fleet, ordered the "Get Underway" signal flag hoisted from the mainmast of his flagship, the Japanese aircraft carrier HIMJS *Akagi*. Through the early morning mist, the signalmen attached to the vessels of the First Air Fleet saw the order. Blinker signal lights reflected off the bouncing waves as the warships flashed messages between vessels. The waters of the bay slowly sprang to life as three fleet submarines churned their way into the North Pacific. As the vanguard of the Hawaii force, the subs took position fifty miles ahead. Their mission was to intercept any vessels on the route that might discover and report the movements of the main force.

Nagumo was unaware of the Vacant Sea order issued by the United States that cleared the North Pacific of shipping. He had nothing to fear from the American Navy. There was little chance his sortie would be discovered by ships at sea. There wasn't a United States merchant vessel, warship, or aircraft patrolling in the North Pacific. Japanese naval headquarters erroneously thought that two Russian merchant vessels, the *Uritski* and the *Azerbaijan*, which were reported en route from San Francisco to Russian ports, might cross Nagumo's route, but it didn't happen.⁴

One of those ships, the *Uritski*, departed from the Golden Gate on November 28, headed for Petropavlosk on the Kamchatka Peninsula. Heeding the Vacant Sea orders from Washington, San Francisco's Twelfth Naval District directed the *Uritski* to proceed instead to Astoria, Oregon, a small anchorage at the mouth of the Columbia River. She anchored there on December 1. On December 5, after the Japanese carriers had cleared the North Pacific, the *Uritski* sailed from Astoria and resumed her journey to Petropavlosk. Records of the San Francisco Maritime Museum indicate that the *Azerbaijan*, a Russian tanker, sailed from the Golden Gate for Vladivostok on November 14 but was "diverted south."

Meanwhile, back on the East Coast the red lights of the Secret Service escort began flashing as the presidential convoy prepared to depart Pooks Hill. Roosevelt waited in the rear seat of the Packard as the Princess stepped up onto the running board, entered the tonneau, and sat next to him. On a signal from the President, the motorcade circled the driveway and then retraced its route back to the White House. Roosevelt was assisted from the limo and, following his regular practice, was wheeled to the White House doctor's office for a fifteen-minute rubdown by Lieutenant Commander George Fox, a Navy physical therapist and the White House pharmacist. Princess Martha went to the second-floor living quarters.

At 7:00 P.M., Roosevelt was ready for the cocktail hour, his favorite time of the day. He asked his guest, "Child, what would you like in the way of a cocktail this evening?" Princess Martha, enthralled by the president's attentiveness, answered, addressing him, at his request, as "dear godfather."⁵

At Etorofu Island, the smaller warships of the First Air Fleet weighed anchor and headed into the Pacific, setting a course that generally moved toward the fortieth parallel of north latitude. Once they reached the choppy ocean, they formed into a giant protective circle and waited for the six big carriers to join the force. Admiral Nagumo supervised the operation from the flag bridge of the *Akagi*.

Following years of Japanese naval communication procedures, some of the vessels transmitted an encrypted movement report to their homeport harbor-control master. But supposedly all Japanese warships and aircraft were maintaining complete radio silence. Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, commander of all Japanese naval forces, had ordered that radio silence commence at midnight November 26, 1941 (Tokyo Time). A proviso inserted into the order permitted fleet commanders to break radio silence for emergency purposes or at their option.⁶

Yamamoto's radio silence order was sound military procedure. If all the Japanese warships observed radio silence, British, Dutch, and American radio direction finders could not locate them. Any radio transmission would give away their location if identified by those communications facilities. Japanese naval officers and historians are unanimous: the First Air Fleet remained a silent force from November 26 to December 8, 1941. Radio transmitters were sealed and telegraph keys were bolted shut. No radio messages or transmitter sounds were possible from the vessels of the First Air Fleet. Commander Minoru Genda, air officer of the First Air Fleet, who stood at the side of Admiral Nagumo aboard the flagship, HIMJS *Akagi*, reported after the war, "The fleet maintained absolute radio silence from the time of departure from Japan to time of attack. All orders concerning the fleet's voyage to mid-Pacific were decided before departure. Consequently, no direct order was given from Yamamoto to Admiral Nagumo of the Task Force."⁷

American intelligence officers, both Army and Navy, have agreed with Genda. Edwin T. Layton,⁸ Kimmel's intelligence officer, concurred: "The Hawaii force was on super radio silence." So did retired Brigadier General Telford Taylor,⁹ an Army intelligence officer in World War II: "All sources in Japan insist that the Pearl Harbor task force observed absolute radio silence throughout its approach to Oahu." Respected names in journalism have accepted this assertion. Don Whitehead, twice a Pulitzer Prize winner, wrote, "All radios were silent as the pack headed eastward toward Hawaii."¹⁰

A key aide to Admiral Ernest J. King also subscribed to the radio silence doctrine: "The Striking Force as it moved north to the sortie point in the Kuriles, and thence to the Eastern Pacific, was operating under strict injunctions to maintain radio silence to help assure the secrecy of its movement and mission." So wrote Commander W. J. Sebald, who was King's communications intelligence aide during the war.¹¹

After sixty years it is clear that the US Navy, the Army, and the press were all wrong. Admiral Yamamoto did send radio messages to the Pearl Harbor force during its eleven-day sortie to Hawaii. Overwhelming evidence proves that Yamamoto, as well as the commanders of the Task Force warships, broke radio silence and that their ships were located by American communication intelligence units. First to ignore Yamamoto's silence order was Vice Admiral Nagumo. As he departed Hitokappu Bay at 6:00 A.M. on November 26 (Tokyo Time) he held extensive radio exchanges with Japan's Central Pacific commander and the submarine force commander. Their three-way conversations were intercepted by Station H operators at midmorning on Tuesday, November 25.

Joseph Rochefort revealed the Nagumo broadcasts directly to Admiral Kimmel in the Communication Summary dated November 25 but delivered to the admiral the next morning: "Commander Carriers was in extensive communications with the submarine commander and Central Pacific Forces."¹² Rochefort's source was the intercept operators at Station H, who overheard Nagumo using the *Akagi*'s radio transmitter and coordinating war tactics with Vice Admiral Shigeyoshi Inoue, Japan's Central Pacific commander (Fourth Fleet), and Vice Admiral Mitsumi Shimizu, commander of Japanese submarines (Sixth Fleet). Admiral Inoue, whose headquarters was at Truk in the Central Pacific, commanded the Guam and Wake invasion forces and the aerial operations of Air Flotilla 24—composed mainly of seaplane squadrons used for long-range search missions. None of these "extensive communications" intercepts have been released by US censors.

All three admirals were under British, American, and Dutch radio surveillance, including radio direction finders (RDF). Admiral Shimizu was aboard his flagship, HIMJS *Katori*, leading thirty fleet-type submarines and their sub tenders toward Hawaii. Shimizu continuously violated the radio silence orders as he headed on a southeastern course from Japan. Naval radio direction finders followed his route past the Bonin Islands and Iwo Jima. South of Saipan the sub force turned east toward Hawaii. Refueling stops were made in the Marshall Islands.¹³

Every message intercepted at H was examined for military information by at least three experienced radio intelligence experts: the intercept operator; his watch supervisor; and Homer Kisner, the radio traffic chief for the Pacific Fleet. Though not cryptologists, the operators could decipher parts of messages. Kisner flagged and analyzed the communication data contained in the most important messages, and every twenty-four hours issued a Daily Chronology, which he sent to Rochefort.¹⁴

November 25 was another typical day for Kisner. He bundled all the Japanese naval message sheets, supervisor reports, and the Chronology into a package and personally drove the secrets over the Pali Road, past the Japanese Consulate, to Station HYPO in the Pearl Harbor Naval Yard. The bundle contained crucial intelligence about Japanese naval war preparations.

Kisner knew his reports reached Admiral Kimmel in summary form, but he had not been told that the President also received the information.¹⁵ The reports and intercepts contained important information for the safety of the Pacific Fleet. At the top of his bundle were the code movement reports transmitted by units of the First Air Fleet from Hitokappu Bay.

At 7:20 A.M. the commander of Carrier Division Five (*Zuikaku* and *Shokaku*) filed a radio movement report from Hitokappu Bay. Admiral Nagumo continued his extensive radio communications with the commanders of the Japanese Central Pacific force and the submarine force. Then at about midmorning, when they were 120 miles east of the Kurile coastline, Japanese aircraft carriers were heard transmitting on 4963 kilocycles by Kisner's operators at Station H.¹⁶

Additional confirmation of the transmissions came from Dutch Harbor, Alaska, where radio direction finder personnel heard the *Akagi* transmitting on 4960 kilocycles. Harry Hood was one of the Navy intercept operators posted to Dutch Harbor in September 1941. In 1986, Hood confirmed to the author that he and other members of the RDF crew located Japanese warships in the southern Kuriles around November 25. "I recall very intensive Japanese navy traffic taking place around 25 November 1941 that lasted several days followed by a period of very light or no radio activity. Bearings pointed to the southern Kuriles." Hood said that these RDF positions were reported directly to Rochefort in Pearl Harbor by priority radio dispatch from Dutch Harbor. Hood did not testify at either of the Pearl Harbor congressional investigations.¹⁷

Rochefort's month-old prediction that Japanese naval forces would use the Kurile Islands for an advance toward Hawaii was now confirmed. On October 22 he had warned Admiral Kimmel of Japanese military plans for a "broad range of air operations" involving most of the Pacific Ocean. By "broad range," Rochefort meant land-based reconnaissance planes and aircraft carrier operations. Now he had evidence to prove it.¹⁸

The danger facing the Pacific Fleet in its Hawaii bases grew by the hour. After his morning intelligence briefing on November 25, Admiral Kimmel knew from reading Rochefort's communication summary that a large Japanese force of fleet subs and long-range patrol aircraft was heading eastward toward Hawaii from Japan. Kimmel had a right to be alarmed. Naval doctrine held that the presence of enemy submarines forecast a carrier attack: "If you detect submarines, then look for carriers" was straight out of naval textbooks.¹⁹

The massive movement toward Hawaii was unprecedented—not a training exercise and on a war footing. Kimmel learned that it included the commander and staff of the Sixth Fleet (submarines) aboard its flagship, *HIMJS Katori*, in company with support vessels and nine subs of Submarine Squadron Three. Reading on, he saw that "a large number of submarines from the Submarine Force are in the Marshall area" (Central Pacific).²⁰

What was Kimmel to do? He had complied with the November 24 order and pulled the Pacific Fleet from the now-Vacant Sea. Looking out his office window, he could see the warships had returned to the safety of their Pearl Harbor anchorages. He knew that he could not fire the first shot. About midmorning, deeply concerned by the implications in the Communication Summary, Kimmel decided to discuss the situation directly with Rochefort and his staff. Alone and without his intelligence officer, Edwin Layton, Kimmel left his office at the submarine base and drove to the Administration Building of the Fourteenth Naval District for a conference. En route, he joined up with Rear Admiral Claude Bloch, the commandant. Both admirals descended the concrete steps that led to the basement quarters of Station HYPO in the Pearl Harbor Navy Yard. For security purposes, a massive six-inch-thick steel bank-vault door barred all visitors. No one was admitted into the basement unless they were known to Chief Yeoman Durwood Rorie, HYPO's security head. Naval identification cards and security passes were not enough. At 10:30 A.M., they went over the intercepted Japanese messages brought in that morning by Kisner which represented Japanese naval intercepts through the evening of November 24. Though it was midday on the 25th in Hawaii, it was now 6:00 A.M. on November 26 across the international date line at Hitokappu Bay, and the First Air Fleet was on the move.

By noon, Rochefort convinced Kimmel and Bloch that the two pronged Japanese military operation—which he had discovered in October—was now in operation. It was aimed at countries containing nearly a billion people who resided in the Southeast Asian nations and in the United States. The admirals agreed and directed Rochefort to summarize the dangers posed by the Japanese military advance. His summary was then transmitted by priority radio to Washington. He said the Southeast Asia movement was led by the commander of Japan's powerful Second Fleet, contained invasion components, and was protected by the 500 aircraft of the land-based Combined Air Force:

FOR PAST MONTH COMMANDER SECOND FLEET HAS BEEN ORGANIZING A TASK FORCE WHICH COMPRISES FOLLOWING UNITS: SECOND FLEET, THIRD FLEET, INCLUDING FIRST AND SECOND BASE FORCES, AND FIRST DEFENSE DIVISION, COMBINED AIR FORCE, DESRON THREE, AIRRON SEVEN, SUBRON FIVE AND POSSIBLY UNITS OF BATDIV THREE.²¹

It said that the units were heading in the direction of Takao Navy Base (Formosa), Bako Navy Base in the Pescadores Islands in the South China Sea, and Sama Naval Base on the island of Hainan in the Gulf of Tonkin. There was no mention of carrier divisions in this force.

Rochefort then closed his summary by identifying the eastward submarine advance in the Central Pacific and linked it with a carrier division unit—not necessarily a flattop:

THERE IS BELIEVED TO BE STRONG CONCENTRATION OF SUBMARINES AND AIR GROUPS IN THE MARSHALLS WHICH COMPRISE AIRRON TWENTY FOUR, AT LEAST ONE CARRIER DIVISION UNIT PLUS PROBABLY ONE THIRD OF THE SUBMARINE FLEET.

Then, fulfilling his promise to reveal Japanese military strategy to his commander, Rochefort closed his dispatch:

EVALUATE ABOVE TO INDICATE STRONG FORCE COMPONENT MAY BE PREPARING TO OPERATE IN SOUTH EASTERN ASIA WHILE PARTS MAY OPERATE FROM PALAO AND MARSHALLS.

His reference to at least one carrier division unit lacks specificity. Kisner's operators at Station H had previously linked Carrier Divisions Three and Four with the Palao/Mandates region and said both divisions were under the command of the Third Fleet. Another omission can be detected in Rochefort's dispatch: the six carriers of the First Air Fleet, which were preparing to depart Hitokappu Bay for Hawaii. Earlier that morning, Kimmel had learned from the Communication Summary that Rochefort had intercepted extensive radio broadcasts between Admiral Nagumo and the submarine force.

At 2:40 P.M., the 224-word dispatch was marked PRIORITY, encoded in a highly secure Navy cipher system, and sent to Station US. It arrived in Washington at the office of the Chief of Naval Operations soon after 8:10 P.M. Eastern Standard Time. Laurance Safford, commander of Station US, was on duty. He initialed the dispatch and sent copies to the Navy high command, including Lieutenant Commander Arthur McCollum, Roosevelt's routing officer. At that moment in the White House the President and Princess Martha had finished their cocktails and started on the first course of their dinner.

Roosevelt's dinner with Princess Martha continued for nearly five hours. Courses were prepared in a third-floor kitchen, placed on trays, then brought to the Oval Study. FDR, according to historian William Seale, usually ate at his desk, and guests from a folding card table. Sometimes on her White House visits Princess Martha brought along a bottle of aquavit, the schnapps-like Norwegian national drink, according to Grace Tully, the President's secretary. The White House Usher Book indicates that the dinner ended at midnight and FDR retired at 12:15, but does not list the departure of the Princess.²²

The Kimmel-Bloch-Rochefort alert of November 25 is the only intelligence report generated by Station HYPO that can be linked to President Roosevelt. It can be traced by documentation from Hawaii to McCollum's office in the Navy Department. It received priority attention from the duty officer, Lieutenant Commander Ethelbert Watts, one of McCollum's assistants. A presidential monograph was prepared, numbered 65, and addressed: "Aide to President—Show." Watts directed delivery to the White House through the President's naval aide, Captain Beardall. Officer couriers rushed additional copies to the communications intelligence distribution list which included Secretary of War Henry Stimson. The list was tightly controlled. Only a handful of officials were allowed access to the Japanese intercepts.²³

In the two weeks prior to the attack, Roosevelt's access to Japanese naval intercepts is documented by a series of radio intelligence bulletins, called monographs, that were prepared by McCollum. According to his numbering system, McCollum had prepared seventy-four radio intelligence monographs as of December 3. Their delivery to the White House was assured when the route slip was checkmarked, "Aide to the President—Show." Five monographs were marked for FDR's attention between November 26 and December 3 and can be found in Navy files. But sixty-seven in the series are missing—a major concern to National Archives historians Richard A. von Doenhoff and Barry Zerby, who could not locate the documents. "We can confirm the monographs are missing from the Navy files but have no explanation for their removal," said von Doenhoff.²⁴

The Rochefort-Kimmel-Bloch alert is the sole HYPO monograph that has been located; the other four available monographs were originated by CAST. It is of immense historical importance. Forty-five hours after it was slated for White House delivery, Roosevelt placed America's military on a war footing. Tracing the Navy's copy of the HYPO message to the White House during this time frame is difficult. It was scheduled to be delivered by Beardall, the naval aide, on the night of the 25th. Extraordinary secrecy surrounds his delivery of presidential monographs. Beardall's White House visits between November 26 and December 3 are not recorded in the Usher Books kept by Chief Usher Howell Crim. Roosevelt's early morning schedule bypassed Crim; early visitors to the President's second floor bedroom saw him off the record, still in his pajamas, propped up in bed. Most days Crim's visitor list didn't start recording until FDR entered the Oval Office.²⁵

More information is available concerning the delivery of the Army's copy. Some time after 8:10 P.M., but before midnight, an Army courier delivered the monograph to Stimson's palatial Southern-colonial-style mansion, Woodley, which was situated on the high ground overlooking Rock Creek Park in northwest Washington. Acting swiftly, Stimson ordered an extra copy sent to the White House. Unknown to Stimson, the dinner in progress at the White House delayed the delivery of the Army's copy of the monograph to FDR.

The next morning, Stimson telephoned the President and reached him in his bedroom: "I talked to the President over the telephone and I asked him whether he had received the paper which I had sent him over last night about the Japanese having started a new expedition from Shanghai down toward Indochina. He fairly blew up—jumped up into the air, so to speak, and

said he hadn't seen it and that changed the whole situation because it was an evidence of bad faith on the part of the Japanese that while they were negotiating for an entire truce—which would require an entire withdrawal [from China]—they should be sending this expedition down there to Indochina. I told him that it was a fact that had come to me through G-2 [Army intelligence] and the Navy Secret Service [*sic*] and I at once got another copy of the paper I had sent last night and sent it over to him by special messenger.”²⁶

Roosevelt's denial to Stimson concerning the monograph appears to be classic Washington distancing. His denial contradicts earlier orders he issued. On November 12, according to the congressional evidence, FDR directed that Beardall bring him every intercept.²⁷ Specific contents of the Japanese intercepts delivered to President Roosevelt by Navy couriers are hazy. Administration officials referred to the intercepts as Magic; it appears their reference was to diplomatic messages in the Purple code system. About November 1, 1941, Roosevelt objected to the summaries of communications intelligence being brought to him by his naval aide Captain John Beardall.²⁸ Instead he wanted to see the “raw intercepts,” not condensed interpretations written by Army or Navy intelligence officers. On November 12, Beardall followed orders and began delivery of the “raw intercepts” to FDR. Each delivery contained at least three to fifteen pieces of data, according to Major General Ralph C. Smith, executive officer for the US Army's military intelligence division in 1941. The delivery procedure was elegant. The raw intercepts were placed in a leather pouch with gold lettering, especially constructed for the White House by Camalier and Buckley, one of Washington's swank stationery firms.²⁹ A zipper and a small padlock on the pouch, designed by Navy officials, guaranteed security. Gold lettering on the pouch announced its destination, “For the PRESIDENT,” and smaller lettering directed finders to “Return to Room 2711, Navy Department.” The White House Usher Book meticulously detailed Beardall's visits with FDR between May 15 and November 11, but none thereafter. During the Pearl Harbor Joint Committee investigation, Beardall confirmed delivering the intercepts—which he termed Magic—to Roosevelt in the White House.

MR. RICHARDSON: And when that Magic was brought there it was for the purpose of giving it to the President?

BEARDALL: Yes, sir.

MR. RICHARDSON: What would be done with it in the ordinary routine way if it was brought for delivery to the President?

BEARDALL: It would be delivered to him.

MR. RICHARDSON: By whom?

BEARDALL: By me, normally.³⁰

In his briefing of FDR, Stimson did not stress or even discuss the Japanese submarine advance on Hawaii reported by what he called the Navy's “secret service.” As the civilian head of the Army, he understood the expeditionary nature of the Japanese troop movement toward Southeast Asia, but he apparently failed to fully grasp the dangers of the naval movement of warships toward Hawaii. FDR, an Assistant Secretary of the Navy in World War I, fully understood naval operational strategy and tactics, for he loved sailing, the Navy, and warships. Rochefort's assessment of a two-pronged attack aimed at America was not lost on Roosevelt. The might of the Japanese navy was on the move, heading for US territory in the Philippines, Wake Island, Guam, and Hawaii.

Even after Stimson's phone call, FDR evaded answering Admiral Kimmel. Thirty-two hours went by. The Pacific Fleet commander was left dangling as Roosevelt tended to political matters. In the North Pacific, the First Air Fleet continued its journey—nothing would stop the warships. Then at 3:45 P.M., Thursday, November 27, the President met with the Navy's Atlantic Fleet commander, Admiral Ernest J. King, in the Oval Office. After two hours with Roosevelt, King left the White House and returned to Navy headquarters. FDR went swimming in the White House pool with his daughter-in-law, Betsey Roosevelt.³¹

Forty-seven minutes after King left the White House, Kimmel finally got his answer. It came in a radiogram sent from Navy headquarters: the Pacific Fleet and America's entire military forces were placed on a war alert. The radiogram was Roosevelt's reply to Kimmel's alert of November 25. The war warning was authorized by the President and was transmitted immediately, according to Secretary Stimson, who dispatched the Army alerts in the absence of General Marshall. “Normally I didn't meddle with military staff matters. I did so on this occasion because I felt I was conveying a message from the President. Since General Marshall was away for the day on maneuvers, I wanted to make certain that the President's orders were carried out accurately,” Stimson wrote in his diary.³²

Fifteen Army and four Navy commands were on the distribution list. The group comprised the entire American military command structure. Secretary Stimson approved the wording of the Army warning, signed General George Marshall's name, and sent the message to four Army generals—Short in Hawaii, MacArthur in Manila, Frank Andrews in Panama, and John DeWitt in San Francisco. Eleven additional Army posts in the continental United States received abbreviated alerts from Marshall's intelligence chief, Sherman Miles.

The Assistant Chief of Naval Operations, Rear Admiral Royal Ingersoll, dispatched the war warning to America's naval commands on November 27.³³ Ingersoll, substituting for Admiral Stark, who was ill with the flu, sent the war warning to four naval commands, including Admiral Kimmel. In effect, it was Roosevelt's answer to Kimmel's forecast of November 25, in

which the admiral warned of dangerous Japanese hostilities. Ingersoll noted that the dispatch was “to be considered as a war warning.” Copies went to Admiral Thomas Hart in Manila, to Admiral Ernest King of the Atlantic Fleet, and to Admiral Robert Ghormley, the American naval liaison observer in London. It begins and ends with padding designed to foil Japanese code-breakers. (See Appendix C for copies of the original war warnings.)

HELLS MM THIS DISPATCH IS TO BE CONSIDERED A WAR WARNING X NEGOTIATIONS WITH JAPAN LOOKING TOWARD STABILIZATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE PACIFIC HAVE CEASED AND AN AGGRESSIVE MOVE BY JAPAN IS EXPECTED WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS X THE NUMBER AND EQUIPMENT OF JAPANESE TROOPS AND THE ORGANIZATIONS OF NAVAL TASK FORCES INDICATES AN AMPHIBIOUS EXPEDITION AGAINST EITHER THE PHILIPPINES OR KRA PENINSULA OR POSSIBLY BORNEO X EXECUTE AN APPROPRIATE DEFENSIVE DEPLOYMENT PREPARATORY TO CARRYING OUT TASK ASSIGNED IN WPL46 X INFORM DISTRICT AND ARMY AUTHORITIES X A SIMILAR WARNING IS BEING SENT BY WAR DEPARTMENT X SPENVO INFORM BRITISH X CONTINENTAL DISTRICTS GUAM SAMOA DIRECTED TAKE APPROPRIATE MEASURES AGAINST SABOTAGE X MM LOOSE

But Ingersoll made a major goof in his text: he failed to include the stand-aside sanction approved by the President, calling for Japan to “commit the first overt act.” Stark, recovered from his illness, corrected the omission in a revised message he sent out the next day, November 28.³⁴ The revision was sent PRIORITY to Admiral Kimmel and the commanders of the Pacific Coast Naval Frontiers, a sea and coastal region that extended from Panama to the Territory of Alaska. Stark was direct:

IF HOSTILITIES CANNOT REPEAT CANNOT BE AVOIDED THE UNITED STATES DESIRES THAT JAPAN COMMIT THE FIRST OVERT ACT.

Admiral Stark’s revised message, with its padding, was received at Pearl Harbor after 2:40 P.M. November 28:

HOT ZZ REFER TO MY 272338 X ARMY HAS SENT FOLLOWING TO COMMANDER WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND QUOTE NEGOTIATIONS WITH JAPAN APPEAR TO BE TERMINATED TO ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES WITH ONLY THE BAREST POSSIBILITIES THAT THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT MIGHT COME BACK AND OFFER TO CONTINUE X JAPANESE FUTURE ACTION UNPREDICTABLE BUT HOSTILE ACTION POSSIBLE AT ANY MOMENT X IF HOSTILITIES CANNOT REPEAT NOT BE AVOIDED THE UNITED STATES DESIRES THAT JAPAN COMMIT THE FIRST OVERT ACT X THIS POLICY SHOULD NOT REPEAT NOT BE CONSTRUED AS RESTRICTING YOU TO A COURSE OF ACTION THAT MIGHT JEOPARDIZE YOUR DEFENSE X PRIOR TO HOSTILE JAPANESE ACTION YOU ARE DIRECTED TO UNDERTAKE SUCH RECONNAISSANCE AND OTHER MEASURES AS YOU DEEM NECESSARY BUT THESE MEASURES SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT SO AS NOT REPEAT NOT TO ALARM CIVIL POPULATION OR DISCLOSE INTENT X REPORT MEASURES TAKEN X A SEPARATE MESSAGE IS BEING SENT TO NINTH CORPS AREA RE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES IN UNITED STATES X SHOULD HOSTILITIES OCCUR YOU WILL CARRY OUT THE TASKS ASSIGNED IN RAINBOW FIVE SO FAR AS THEY PERTAIN TO JAPAN X LIMIT DISSEMINATION OF THIS HIGHLY SECRET INFORMATION TO MINIMUM ESSENTIAL OFFICERS UNQUOTE XX WPL52 IS NOT APPLICABLE TO PACIFIC AREA AND WILL NOT BE PLACED IN EFFECT IN THAT AREA EXCEPT AS NOW IN FORCE IN SOUTHEAST PACIFIC SUB AREA AND PANAMA NAVAL COASTAL FRONTIER X UNDERTAKE NO OFFENSIVE ACTION UNTIL JAPAN HAS COMMITTED AN OVERT ACT X BE PREPARED TO CARRY OUT TASKS ASSIGNED IN WPL46 SO FAR AS THEY APPLY TO JAPAN IN CASE HOSTILITIES OCCUR ZZ BABY

The Army message and the two sent by the Navy contained eight major directives that Stimson said originated with FDR: (1) A war warning; (2) Negotiations with Japan have ceased; (3) An aggressive move by Japan in any direction is expected in a few days; (4) Invasion of the Philippines, the Kra Peninsula, or Borneo expected; (5) Execute an appropriate defensive deployment; (6) United States policy calls for Japan to commit the first overt act [stressed twice]; (7) Before Japan strikes undertake necessary reconnaissance; and (8) Do not alarm the civilian population or disclose intent.

The Ingersoll and Stark messages handcuffed the Pacific Fleet. It is hard to see how Kimmel could disobey Stark’s message, already stressed by the President and repeated again in Stark’s next-to-last sentence. But because he followed these orders Kimmel would later take the blame for Pearl Harbor.

Nine American military commanders are on record as receiving the warning of pending hostile action by Japan. Seven of them immediately placed their units on a wartime footing. Hawaii—including Pearl Harbor—was the only exception. Neither Admiral Kimmel nor General Short took the war warnings seriously—or at least that was the conclusion reached by the Pearl Harbor investigations conducted between 1941 and 1946.

In the Philippines, the politically savvy American military chiefs, General Douglas MacArthur and Admiral Thomas Hart, read the meaning intended by Washington in the war warnings correctly. MacArthur wired: “Everything is in readiness for the conduct of a successful defense.” When the Japanese bombers arrived over Luzon, MacArthur’s pursuit fighters of the Far East Air Force, alerted by radar, rose to meet them but could not find the enemy, according to evidence given to the Joint Investigating Committee. Clark Field in central Luzon and Iba Field at the north were destroyed in the ensuing attack. Hart sent US Asiatic Fleet units south to link up with Dutch warships. Though Hart had nearly two dozen submarines that could have attacked Japanese invasion forces swooping down on the Philippines, he kept the subs in port. None interfered with Japan’s move toward war.³⁵

Later, once the attack succeeded and Japanese troops overran the Philippines, Roosevelt approved orders detaching both commanders from the Philippines. A Navy PT boat evacuated MacArthur, his family, and selected staff members from Corregidor and took them to the southern Philippines, where they boarded aircraft for Australia. Before his escape, MacArthur transferred the Philippine Army command to General Jonathan Wainwright, who later surrendered and was taken prisoner by Japan.

Admiral Hart withdrew to Australia. He had sent about ten of his warships south after receiving approval from Washington on November 25. Eight of those ships were destroyed by Japanese forces in the opening weeks of war. Thomas Hart returned to the United States and the backwaters of the Navy and never again received a combat command. In 1945, he was appointed US Senator from Connecticut to fill the term of Francis T. Maloney, who died in office. Hart served for two years but did not seek reelection in 1947.

On America's West Coast, General Frank Andrews of the Panama Command and General John DeWitt of the Western Defense Command placed their troops on an instant war footing. DeWitt was specific in his message to Washington: "This command now ready to carry out tasks assigned." He relayed copies of the Stimson/Marshall order to the Naval Districts in California and Oregon. In Panama, General Andrews assured Marshall that all was in readiness to defend the Panama Canal. Every troop unit was on a continuous watch and Navy vessels patrolled the Pacific sea lanes leading to the canal. He emphasized that Army radar operations were working around the clock on a mission to detect hostile aircraft.³⁶

A different military situation prevailed in Hawaii. Though ordering Short to conduct reconnaissance and not to jeopardize his defensive measures, the Stimson/Marshall message had specifically told Short: "Do not alarm the civil population or disclose intent." When he read these orders, Short was baffled. How was he to conduct reconnaissance or place his 25,000 troops on a war footing without alarming a civilian population intimately connected to life at the massive US base? There was no way to hide the troop movement or fighters and bombers engaged in a massive air search. Hillside home sites above Honolulu looked down on all the Army posts as well as on Pearl Harbor. General Short complained, "I couldn't possibly order my troops on an all-out alert without telling them who to shoot at."³⁷

Short was also well aware of the intense scrutiny of Hawaii's news media. The two daily papers, the *Advertiser* and the *Star-Bulletin*, covered military activities with determination. Putting Oahu's troops on full alert would have been front-page news. Both newspapers owned broadcast stations in Honolulu, affiliated respectively with the NBC and CBS radio news networks. Short saw only one military option: he placed his troops on a low-alert status, a sabotage/espionage watch that did little to actually raise the level of military readiness. Soldiers continued their daily routines. Guns and ammunition were stowed away in padlocked cabinets. He did order a secret predawn surveillance by the radar operations of the Army's Aircraft Warning Service. Hawaii's excellent Army radar facilities could detect aircraft at 130 miles' distance and provide at least a fortyminute warning to the approach of hostile aircraft.

In midafternoon on November 27, Short wired General Marshall:

DEPARTMENT ALERTED TO PREVENT SABOTAGE. LIAISON WITH NAVY.

The word "liaison" should have meant that Short had exchanged combat information with Admiral Kimmel. But there was no liaison. The Navy officers assigned to Short's radar unit never reported for duty. His eight-word message was the least responsive of all those of the sixteen Army commanders who acknowledged Marshall's alert. But those eight words were just what Marshall wanted to hear from Hawaii. Short and his soldiers were in no position to prevent a Japanese attack. Just to be sure that Short didn't adopt a more aggressive response, Marshall's adjutant general, Emory S. Adams, sent another message the next day. It pushed Short toward an antisabotage mode and away from the placement of the troops on a full alert which the available intelligence had shown so clearly was needed:³⁸

CRITICAL SITUATION DEMANDS THAT ALL PRECAUTIONS BE TAKEN IMMEDIATELY AGAINST SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES WITHIN FIELD OF INVESTIGATIVE RESPONSIBILITY OF WAR DEPARTMENT PAREN SEE PARAGRAPH THREE MID SC THIRTY DASH FORTY FIVE END PAREN STOP ALSO DESIRED THAT YOU INITIATE FORTHWITH ALL ADDITIONAL MEASURES NECESSARY TO PROVIDE FOR PROTECTION OF YOUR ESTABLISHMENTS COMMA PROPERTY COMMA AND EQUIPMENT AGAINST SABOTAGE COMMA PROTECTION OF YOUR PERSONNEL AGAINST SUBVERSIVE PROPAGANDA AND PROTECTION OF ALL ACTIVITIES AGAINST ESPIONAGE STOP THIS DOES NOT REPEAT NOT MEAN THAT ANY ILLEGAL MEASURES ARE AUTHORIZED STOP PROTECTIVE MEASURES SHOULD BE CONFINED TO THOSE ESSENTIAL TO SECURITY COMMA AVOIDING UNNECESSARY PUBLICITY AND ALARM STOP TO INSURE SPEED OF TRANSMISSION IDENTICAL TELEGRAMS ARE BEING SENT TO ALL AIR STATIONS BUT THIS DOES NOT REPEAT NOT AFFECT YOUR RESPONSIBILITY UNDER EXISTING INSTRUCTIONS X ADAMS.

General Short placed full trust in his "old friend of forty years," General Marshall. Admiral Kimmel did the same. Kimmel had been friends with his boss, Admiral Harold Stark, since their Naval Academy days. But after the successful Japanese raid on December 7, Marshall would go on to be lauded for his direction of World War II in his role as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Kimmel and Short would be fired.

WAR MAY COME QUICKER THAN ANYONE DREAMS

ON FRIDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 28TH, WITH THE STRENGTH OF the Japanese carrier and submarine fleet headed for Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt decided to leave the nation's capital and head for Georgia. To keep the President up-to-date on the crisis, a new communication official was added to the White House staff who would play an important role in delivering communications intelligence to the President during the last week of peace. He was Navy Lieutenant Lester R. Schulz,¹ who—because of the suddenness of the trip—wasn't fully prepared for the journey. Schulz had just one hour to pack his suitcase and jump aboard US Number One, the special presidential railroad train. Even worse, he had no train ticket. Just days before, Schulz had completed a training course in Navy radio communication methods given by instructors at Station US. Upon finishing the course, he was assigned as assistant naval aide to the President of the United States, to be used as a communications courier. His job: custodian of the presidential leather pouch that contained the secret Japanese radio intercepts and the intelligence monographs.

The presidential party was en route to Warm Springs, Georgia, for a delayed Thanksgiving holiday celebration with patients of the Polio Institute.² Before leaving, FDR held a fifty-minute White House meeting with William Donovan and Secretary of War Henry Stimson in the upstairs Oval Study. After Donovan departed, the President and Stimson moved to the Oval Office, where they were joined by the “War Cabinet” (Stimson's term) of Cordell Hull, Frank Knox, General Marshall, and Admiral Stark in a noon conference.³

Stimson's morning meeting in FDR's bedroom centered on strategies involving Japan. According to Stimson, “He branched into an analysis of the situation himself as he sat there on his bed saying there were three alternatives and only three that he could see before us. His alternatives were—first, to do nothing; second, to make something in the nature of an ultimatum again, stating a point beyond which we would fight; third, to fight at once. I told him my only two were the last two, because I did not think anyone would do nothing in this situation, and he agreed with me.”⁴

Stimson's account of the Oval Study discussion was disingenuous. Alternative number one *was* the policy. The military orders placing the policy in effect had been sent to America's admirals and generals the previous afternoon: do nothing militarily that could be regarded as a posture of offense; let Japan commit the first overt act. The morality issue of placing US servicemen and civilians in harm's way was discussed three days earlier at a noon meeting in the White House. It was a troublesome issue for the policy-makers, who included FDR, Stimson, Secretary of the Navy Knox, Secretary of State Hull, General Marshall, and Admiral Stark. Stimson's diary entry discussed the morality issue, “One problem troubled us very much. If you know your enemy is going to strike you, it is not usually wise to wait until he gets the jump on you by taking the initiative. The question was how we should maneuver them into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves. It was a difficult proposition,” Stimson wrote.⁵

The catalyst behind the White House discussion was overcoming America's opposition to war. Opinion polls—watched by the cabinet members—said that Americans, while favoring military aid to Great Britain, were opposed to sending troops overseas to participate in another world war. Pros and cons of the policy were recorded by Stimson in his diary. “In spite of the risk involved, however, in letting the Japanese fire the first shot, we realized that in order to have the full support of the American people, it was desirable to make sure that the Japanese be the ones to do this, so that there should remain no doubt in anyone's mind as to who were the aggressors.” A policy of doing nothing to oppose Japan militarily—it can be argued—had been firmly adopted.

The adoption came at noon on Tuesday, November 25, in Washington; across the international date line the time at Hitokappu Bay was 1:00 A.M. on Wednesday, November 26. Buglers were about to sound reveille for the crews of the thirty-one warships and awaken them for their journey to Hawaii, which was set to start at 6:00 A.M.

As the week drew to a close, more subtle diplomatic alternatives surfaced in Washington that appear to be cover stories designed—once Pearl Harbor was history—to take the focus off the stand-aside policy. During the November 28 White House meeting, the War Cabinet agreed with another presidential suggestion—that a special telegram⁶ be dispatched to Emperor Hirohito warning that “disastrous events would be set afoot” if a severe blow was aimed at the Allied powers of Britain, Holland, and America by Japan. Roosevelt addressed the message to the Emperor but delayed its transmission for over a week, until the night of December 6. In the 816-word cablegram, FDR said he was concerned about situations of extraordinary importance to both countries.

THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, BELIEVING IN PEACE AND IN THE RIGHT OF NATIONS TO LIVE AND LET LIVE, HAVE EAGERLY WATCHED THE CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS DURING THESE PAST MONTHS. WE HAVE HOPED FOR A TERMINATION OF THE PRESENT CONFLICT BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA. WE HAVE HOPED THAT A PEACE OF THE PACIFIC COULD BE CONSUMMATED IN SUCH A WAY THAT NATIONALITIES OF MANY DIVERSE PEOPLES COULD EXIST SIDE BY SIDE WITHOUT FEAR OF INVASION; THAT UNBEARABLE BURDENS OF ARMAMENTS COULD BE LIFTED FOR THEM ALL; AND THAT ALL PEOPLES WOULD RESUME COMMERCE WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION AGAINST OR IN FAVOR OF ANY NATION.

Roosevelt closed the message by asking the Emperor to

GIVE THOUGHT IN THIS DEFINITE EMERGENCY TO A WAY OF DISPELLING THE DARK CLOUDS.

Roosevelt held up this message and didn’t dispatch it to Tokyo until 8:00 P.M. on December 6 (EST). It was sent to Hirohito by way of Ambassador Joseph Grew. At 12:15 A.M. on December 8, Tokyo Time, Grew met with Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo and requested an audience with the Emperor. Togo replied, saying he would present the matter to the Throne, but made no definite commitment. Grew returned to the embassy. An audience was never granted. Launch time of the First Air Fleet was about three hours away.⁷

After Friday’s War Cabinet concluded, the President headed for Union Station and went aboard his special railroad car, the *Ferdinand Magellan*, for the Georgia trip. If FDR was anxious about the worsening crisis, he covered it well. On Saturday afternoon, November 29, he drove his Ford roadster (equipped with hand controls, since his legs were paralyzed by polio) through Warm Springs and the beautiful grounds of the Institute greeting patients and well-wishers. The car’s radio was tuned to the Army-Navy football game. He stopped at the cottage of his former secretary, Marguerite “Missy” Le Hand, who was recuperating from a stroke and neuritis suffered in 1940 while she was living in her third-floor White House suite.

Later that evening, Roosevelt was relaxed as he carved the roasted tom turkey. He sliced chunks of white meat for his guests in Georgia Hall, the spa’s grand dining room. The chefs had prepared a twenty-four-course meal including a choice of seven desserts. After dinner, the patients entertained the presidential party with a skit in which the leading character in a dream sequence heard the voice of the President appoint himself Dictator of Warm Springs. FDR picked up the skit’s theme when he addressed the gathering. He commented that much of the world was owned and controlled by real live dictators, and ended his remarks with this prophesy: “United States soldiers, sailors, and marines might be fighting in defense of this country’s institutions by next Thanksgiving.”⁸

Upon returning to the Little White House, FDR held a long conversation on the phone with Secretary of State Cordell Hull. Both agreed that the President should return to Washington immediately because of press accounts reporting bellicose statements by Japan’s Premier, General Hideki Tojo. They set an arrival deadline of “before noon on Monday” (December 1), according to Press Secretary Steve Early.⁹

The President’s personal car, the *Ferdinand Magellan*, and the rest of the railroad train were recalled from Atlanta to be ready for the President’s return.¹⁰ A. C. Spencer, the Southern Railroad official in charge of the train, passed orders to control towers. Along the nearly 700 miles of track between Newnan, Georgia, and the nation’s capital, Southern tower operators hoisted a dark gray ball—a railroad signal that ordered the tracks cleared. As the President’s train sped on its way, troop and military supply trains were shunted to sidings to permit its swift passage to Washington.¹¹

Upon his return to the White House on December 1, Roosevelt met for over an hour with Secretary of the Navy Knox, Secretary of State Hull, and Admiral Stark, who was the only military officer present. At least four diplomatic messages between Japan and Germany awaited the President. In the last week of peace, Japan’s Foreign Minister, Shigenori Togo, her ambassador to Germany, Baron Hiroshi Oshima, and Ambassador Kichisaburo Nomura in Washington were as talkative on their dot-dash transmissions as Admiral Nagumo.¹² Through these four intercepts, Roosevelt learned that Japanese military action was near. All four intercepts were obtained by one of the Pacific listening posts, Station SAIL at Seattle, which eavesdropped on the Foreign Ministry radio circuits transmitting the Purple diplomatic code, Japan’s high-security cryptic

system for overseas diplomatic missions. A November 28 Station SAIL intercept read:

IN A FEW DAYS US-JAPAN NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE DE FACTO RUPTURED. DO NOT GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE BROKEN OFF.

Two of Togo's other dispatches followed; they contained instructions to Ambassador Oshima in Berlin that added clarification to the foreign minister's intentions. They were directed at Adolf Hitler and Germany's Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop. One of the dispatches read:

SAY VERY SECRETLY TO THEM THERE IS EXTREME DANGER THAT WAR MAY SUDDENLY BREAK OUT BETWEEN THE ANGLO SAXON NATIONS AND JAPAN THROUGH SOME CLASH OF ARMS. THIS MAY COME QUICKER THAN ANYONE DREAMS.

Roosevelt asked for a copy of the "extreme danger" dispatch for his personal files.¹³

Although none of the Purple dispatches cited above mentioned Pearl Harbor as a target, a fifth intercept received midweek should have eliminated all doubt. It disclosed that Tokyo planned "last-minute" instructions for Washington and Honolulu. On December 3, Japanese diplomatic missions located in the United States, Great Britain, and the Netherlands East Indies received orders to destroy all their code systems. Japan's embassy in Washington and its Honolulu consulate were exempted; they were directed to retain certain code systems for eleventh-hour orders. If nothing else, these diplomatic intercepts and the massive submarine advance on Hawaii revealed by the naval intercepts signaled war in a matter of days.

In Washington, military officials recognized that Japan's code-destruction order meant war. Rear Admiral Richmond Turner, the Navy's war-plans officer, said, "Destruction of codes is a definite and sure indication of war."¹⁴ To Rochefort in Pearl Harbor, the code destruction "looked damn bad" and he personally warned Admiral Bloch, the Commandant of the Fourteenth Naval District, "We ought to take whatever steps we can."¹⁵

Admiral Kimmel received similar information from his assistant Edwin Layton, but failed to interpret the code-destruction order as meaning immediate war with the United States. Kimmel seems to have been influenced by his two war-plans officers, Captain Charles McMorris and Commander Vincent Murphy. Between December 1 and 6, both told Kimmel that a Japanese raid on Hawaii was unlikely.¹⁶

On December 3, as the crisis worsened, the Navy Department ordered Station SAIL to concentrate on the Tokyo-Washington radio circuits of RCA and Mackay and to forward the dispatches on a high-speed teleprinter circuit to the Navy Department. Almost all of the messages intercepted by SAIL were in the Purple diplomatic system. When they reached Washington, Army and Navy code-breakers decoded and translated the intercepts the same day, usually within a few hours. By December 4, a paper trail of Japanese intercepts had found its way to the White House. Japan's diplomatic messages, Japanese navy communications, and RDF bearings locating Japanese warships heading toward American territory in the Western, North, and Central Pacific were all in the pipeline and available to Roosevelt.¹⁷

Remarkable intelligence work by the cryptanalysts at Station CAST discovered most but not all of Japan's Hawaii force. Though Japan's navy reassigned radio call signs for her 200 warships and commanders at midnight of November 30, the CAST cryptographers detected the ruse. By switching radio identities Japan hoped to confuse American intelligence agencies and derail efforts in tracking the warships toward Hawaii. It didn't work. By constant monitoring of the naval broadcasts on December 1 to 5, CAST obtained the revised radio code names for all the vessels, including the carriers. The cryptographers also identified new radio call signs for Admiral Nagumo and Admiral Yamamoto, the commander-in-chief of the Japanese fleet. (See TESTM dispatch of Dec. 5, 1941, in Appendix D.)

CAST had developed the list of new call signs and quickly sent copies to HYPO at Pearl Harbor. But instead of reporting the crucial evidence of Japanese carrier radio transmissions to Admiral Kimmel, Rochefort ignored the CAST reports. In his Daily Communication Summaries of December 1 to 5,¹⁸ he wrote that there was no information on the carriers of the First Air Fleet: "Not one carrier has been identified." His next summary, based on intercepts of December 5 and delivered to Kimmel on Saturday morning, December 6, modified the statement. In six words, Rochefort informed Kimmel that Admiral Yamamoto had "originated several [radio] messages to the Carriers."¹⁹ There were more than "several." Station H operator logs list ten messages to fleet units that were dispatched by Yamamoto on December 5. Seven of those broadcasts were directed to the Hawaii force and were intercepted by radio operators Maynard Albertson, Henry F. Garstka, and Joseph C. Howard. In his log entry, Garstka said he copied one broadcast on the long-distance frequency of 16,620 kilocycles. All three operators obtained Yamamoto's call signs, which had been identified by CAST earlier in the week. Obviously Rochefort had received the information, was able to recognize the admiral's new call signs, and informed Kimmel.

By 1:00 P.M. on December 5, Homer Kisner at Station H had delivered Yamamoto's ten messages to Rochefort's office at Pearl Harbor. The full details of the crucial intercepts remain hidden by Navy censors. None were released by President Carter in his declassification order of 1979. John Taylor, the archivist in charge of Japanese naval intercepts, confirmed to the author in 1996 that they were not found in the Archives II files.

Rochefort should have identified the carriers by name, and fully discussed the seven intercepts with Admiral Kimmel on

Saturday morning, December 6, but he did not. America's top naval code-breaker failed to follow the creed: "Tell your commander today of Japan's plan for tomorrow." Instead Rochefort ignored the report from CAST and gave no communication details of the messages intercepted from Japan's naval chief. Such details are crucial in communications intelligence—and especially in this case, for they indicated a progressive movement away from Japan in an eastward direction. The move from 12,330 kilocycles to the 16,000-kilocycle spectrum detected by Henry Garstka represented a big jump in distance. Kisner's chronology set the stage for recognizing the jump the previous day, December 5, when he reported that Radio Tokyo was heard broadcasting simultaneously on dual frequencies²⁰ to ships at a great distance from Japan. He told Rochefort the frequencies used by Tokyo were 32 kilocycles and 12,330 kilocycles.

Kisner later explained the significance of the dual broadcasts during interviews with the author in 1988 and 1998. "Tokyo and Radio Ominato in north Japan wanted to reach the First Air Fleet's vessels and its escorting submarines in the North Pacific. So they chose two frequencies: the daytime long-distance frequency of 12,330 kilocycles, which bounces off the ionosphere, and the ground-wave frequency of 32 kilocycles, which travels over the surface of the earth and is ideal for reaching submerged (or half-submerged) submarines. The dual-frequency transmission was a well known communication technique in 1941 and necessary to communicate with a full fleet across a great distance." He pointed out that Garstka's discovery of a higher frequency of 16,620 kilocycles indicated a further progression of the warships from Tokyo. The powerful antenna systems and radio receivers of the battleships and carriers of Japan's First Air Fleet picked up the sky wave from the ionosphere, whereas the ground wave was perfect for the subs, which lacked the powerful radio facilities.²¹

Kimmel was entitled to know if Yamamoto was using the great-distance frequency to reach "the Carriers," which at the time were about 900 miles north of Oahu. There is no record that Kimmel and Layton discussed Yamamoto's radio contact with the flattops during their morning meeting on December 6. None of the original Station CAST reports that identified Japan's Hawaii force, nor Kisner's "great distance" intercepts, were ever introduced or discussed by any of the Pearl Harbor investigations, including the 1995 inquiry headed by Senator Thurmond.

Since the CAST reports directly contradict both American and Japanese claims that the Hawaii raiding force was on radio silence and never originated or received radio messages, the author sought verification of the reports from Navy Captain Duane Whitlock,²² who was one of the radio traffic analysts at CAST in the fall of 1941. When shown the reports by the author during a 1993 interview, Whitlock confirmed their authenticity. "Our radio direction finder was located on Corregidor Island and operated day and night on Japanese warships and military units. Not only did we furnish copies to Admiral Hart and General MacArthur, copies were sent by radio dispatch to HYPO," he told the author. In 1941, Whitlock believed that the copies sent to HYPO would be shown to Admiral Kimmel. "All of our COMINT was available to Admiral Hart. I assumed our copies were shown to Kimmel; that was Navy policy." Whitlock explained that the reports were first encoded in a Navy code system called TESTM before being dispatched to Hawaii.²³ The TESTM system was used exclusively for radio direction finder (RDF) data and could only be decoded at CAST, HYPO, or Station US in Washington. "No one else in the Navy could decipher TESTM or any of the other radio intelligence circuits we controlled. We didn't want our cryptographic success to leak out," Whitlock said. He had been posted to CAST as radioman first class for over a year and had extensive prior intercept experience at Navy radio stations in China. Six feet tall, slim, and with excellent language skills, Whitlock commanded attention. He had graduated from the Navy's intercept school at Station US in 1938. He knew and respected Kisner. Both had worked together at CAST until June 1941, when Rochefort picked Kisner to supervise the intercept operation at Station H in Hawaii.²⁴

During the eighteen days between November 16 and December 4, Station CAST identified and located the Japanese carriers *Akagi*, *Zuikaku*, and *Hiryu*, the battleship *Kirishima*,²⁵ and Cruiser Division Eight, according to Whitlock. On December 4, CAST succeeded in identifying Japan's top-secret radio call signs for both Nagumo and Yamamoto. Their ID came directly off the naval airwaves and indicates a wide disregard for radio silence by the Japanese navy. "We sent this information direct to Kimmel and Washington by radio dispatch and copies were sent to General MacArthur at his headquarters in Manila," Whitlock told the author.²⁶ According to the TESTM files, after December 4 neither Nagumo nor his warships were heard, though CAST continued to intercept messages involving the forces surrounding the Philippines and heading for areas of Southeast Asia.²⁷

"Our facilities intercepted both Japanese diplomatic and naval broadcasts. We had the Purple machine and the means to intercept, decode, and translate its messages. Radio receivers were tuned to every major Japanese diplomatic circuit," he continued. Their coverage included the entire diplomatic network serving China, the Pacific, and points in Europe and South America. "Since we were so near to Japan and its naval operation area we were in an excellent position to intercept radio broadcasts."

Station CAST's cryptographers, intercept operators, and linguists worked in Tunnel Affirm, dug and blasted from the rock of Corregidor, a rock island at the entrance to Manila Bay about thirty miles west of Manila.²⁸ The intercept facilities were forty feet underground, part of a military compound the Navy shared with Army troops stationed at Fort Mills. Intercept antennae and the radio direction finder were topside. Radio wire leads carrying the Japanese *katakana* message sounds were fed to

receiving sets in the 20-foot-wide tunnel. Four radio traffic analysts analyzed intercepts obtained by 63 operators organized in eight-hour shifts, copying Japanese diplomatic and naval broadcasts 24 hours a day. Unlike the Navy's Hawaii intercept operation, which was divided between Pearl Harbor and the windward side of Oahu, on Corregidor the CAST enlisted personnel and eleven officers all worked from the same quarters, producing the TESTM dispatches that should have then been sent to the Admiral.²⁹

None of the nine Pearl Harbor investigations examined the TESTM dispatches or questioned why their crucial data were cut from Kimmel's intelligence loop. Since he was never told, the admiral could not raise the question in his own defense. It was impossible for him to surface the TESTM records; they were locked in Navy vaults until December 1986, when a FOIA released them to the author. In April 1995, Congress reopened the Pearl Harbor probe at the request of Kimmel's family, and directed that the Department of Defense conduct an investigation. But the TESTM documents were not produced by the DOD, even though they had been released by the FOIA. Captain Duane Whitlock—one of America's most honored and heroic code-breakers—was available to explain and identify the dispatches in both 1945 and 1995. He was never asked to testify.

Kimmel's isolation from the intelligence loop can be traced to numerous directives issued from Washington. Explanations for the cut-off varied: His need to know did not apply to diplomatic negotiations since he was a military commander; providing him information from the intercepts would have risked revealing American code-breaking success. The crash of Hawaii's intelligence loop distribution started on November 24 shortly after the Pacific Fleet was pulled from the Vacant Sea. Commander Arthur McCollum contributed to the crash when he issued a new directive, which called a halt to the distribution of Rochefort's Communication Summaries (COMSUMs) and those of other monitoring stations that compiled Japanese naval movements. With the approval of the Director of Naval Intelligence, Captain Theodore S. Wilkinson, McCollum sent this directive to Kimmel [COM 16 was the cover name for CAST; OPNAV for Station US]:

ORANGE NAVAL MOVEMENTS AS REPORTED FROM INDIVIDUAL INFORMATION ADDRESSES ARE OFTEN CONFLICTING BECAUSE OF NECESSARILY FRAGMENTARY NATURE X SINCE COM 16 INTERCEPTS ARE CONSIDERED MOST RELIABLE SUGGEST OTHER REPORTS CAREFULLY EVALUATED BE SENT TO COM 16 FOR ACTION OPNAV FOR INFORMATION X AFTER COMBINING ALL INCOMING REPORTS COM 16 DIRECT DISPATCHES TO OPNAV INFOCINCPAC BASED ON ALL INFORMATION RECEIVED INDICATING OWN EVALUATION AND PROVIDING BEST POSSIBLE CONTINUITY X REQUEST CINCAF ISSUE DIRECTIVE AS NECESSARY TO FULFILL GENERAL OBJECTIVE X³⁰

McCollum's reasoning behind the order is highly suspect and can be seen as a means to distance Roosevelt from Rochefort's warnings. Kimmel's personal alert to the White House on November 25—during FDR's dinner with Princess Martha—was the last Hawaii-originated monograph prepared for FDR.

Hawaii's radio traffic chief Homer Kisner bristled fifty years later when the author told him of McCollum's "most reliable" pronouncement. Kisner dismissed the assertion. "Our reports were not fragmentary. We had very little reception difficulties in Hawaii," he said. "We intercepted at least a thousand Japanese naval messages every twenty-four hours. That's a minimum of about forty-two per hour. Yes, at times there were reception difficulties, but never significant, because Japan's radio facilities constantly repeated messages and we obtained missing broadcasts from the repeats."³¹

After November 26, the reports detailing the Japanese military advance on Hawaii were excised from the Presidential monographs. Decrypts about the movement of two-thirds of the Japanese fleet's submarines toward Hawaii, and the location of the *Akagi* and oil tankers in the Vacant Sea directly north of Oahu, were kept from the usual distribution by McCollum's order. So were the TESTM reports from the "most reliable" CAST. FDR's monographs were stripped of all the information that mattered.

When he returned from Warm Springs on December 1, President Roosevelt received the first "cleansed" monographs. They were monographs 70 and 71 and were based on Japanese naval intercepts and movement reports obtained and analyzed by CAST personnel. Roosevelt's final monograph, prior to the attack, was routed to him on December 3. No mention was made of locating in a communication zone at Hitokappu Bay the First Air Fleet and the carriers—the force that would soon arrive off Oahu.³²

But the American intelligence network was a complex and multifaceted one. If one channel was blocked, vital information could still flow through many others. The Japanese were coming and Roosevelt knew.

THE JAPS ARE BLASTING AWAY ON THE FREQUENCIES

TWELFTH NAVAL DISTRICT
INTELLIGENCE OFFICE
717 MARKET STREET
SAN FRANCISCO
NOVEMBER 28–DECEMBER 4, 1941

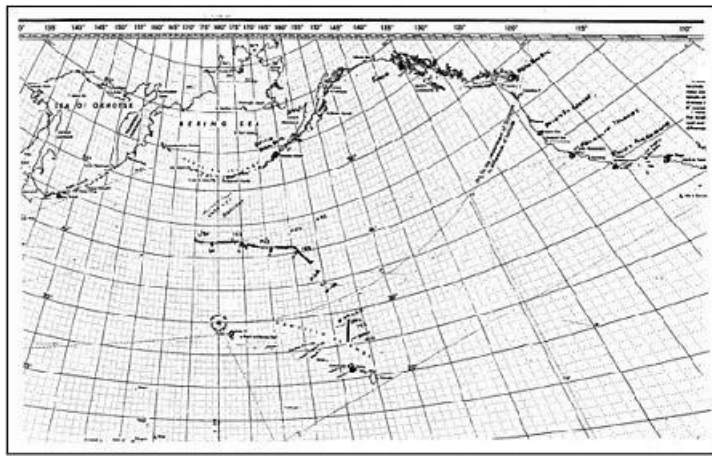
AS THE THANKSGIVING WEEKEND ENDED AND THE MONTH OF NOVEMBER drew to a close, FDR was obtaining the intelligence data that he needed to best serve his interests. Recent research has shown that the most conclusive evidence of the upcoming Japanese attack did reach the White House but has been withheld from public discussion.

In his book *Infamy*, published in 1982, John Toland wrote that San Francisco's Twelfth Naval District obtained radio direction finder bearings that placed Japanese warships in the Pacific Ocean north of Hawaii from about November 30 to December 4, 1941.¹ Toland's source was Robert Ogg, who in 1941 was on the staff of the naval district intelligence office (DIO) as a special investigator. Ogg remembered that during a five-day period from about November 30 to December 4, his boss, Lieutenant Ellsworth Hosmer, obtained radio direction finder bearings on Japanese warships. Hosmer asked Ogg to enter the bearings on a great-circle chart of the North Pacific Ocean that was kept in the intelligence office on Market Street in San Francisco. Once Ogg plotted them on the chart, the bearings disclosed Japanese warships in the North Pacific.² In his account to Toland and later to US Navy historian Commander Irving Newman, Ogg said he remembered that the bearings came from commercial sources such as RCA Radio and Globe Wireless and from the Navy's radio direction finder station at Dutch Harbor, Alaska. Ogg stated that verification of his account could be found in Dutch Harbor records. Today, over fifty years later, those records have been found.

When Ogg plotted the locations of Japanese warships on the DIO's nautical chart, he noticed that they were moving eastward from the international date line toward the United States mainland. On about December 3 the eastward movement stopped. Then the warships turned south toward Hawaii. At that point, no more RDF bearings were obtained. Based on the distinctive communications procedures of the vessels reported to the DIO, Hosmer felt certain the RDF bearings came from Japanese warships and alerted Captain Richard McCullough, the District's intelligence chief. McCullough told Ogg that he forwarded the alert over a secure radio circuit to Washington, where the information reached the White House.

Robert Ogg has strong ties to America's military; generations of his family served in command positions in both the Army and the Navy.³ Through these connections, Ogg found a close family friend in the commandant of the Twelfth Naval District, Vice Admiral John Greenslade. After Robert Ogg had completed his day's work, he often joined the admiral at his quarters on Yerba Buena island in San Francisco Bay. Over a cocktail the admiral called a "williwaw," the two left work behind and discussed personal matters.⁴

A portion of Greenslade's command included joint administration of the West Coast Communications Intelligence Network. The WCCI was anchored at its southern end by Station ITEM at Imperial Beach (San Diego), California, and extended 3000 miles north along the Pacific Coast to Station KING at Dutch Harbor. In between were RDF coastal facilities at Sitka, Alaska; Bainbridge Island, Washington; plus Point St. George in the Farallon Islands and Point Arguello in California. Greenslade held the keys to GUPID, a Navy code system that enabled him to copy and exchange communications intelligence with CAST, HYPO, and Station US. GUPID was similar to other highly secret systems such as TESTM and COPEK.



In 1987 Robert Ogg reconstructed the great-circle chart bearings he prepared for San Francisco's Twelfth Naval District (dark line). He used the dates November 30 to December 3, 1941. Though it was not part of his original 1941 information, he also traced a Navy RDF bearing, based on Station CAST, locating units of the First Air Fleet on a line of 030 degrees from Corregidor (upper left). The line shows the warships off the Kurile Islands. Ogg added locations of the Navy's RDF stations at Dutch Harbor; Sitka; Bainbridge, Washington (Station SAIL); and California's Point St. George, Farallon Islands, Point Arguello, and San Diego Station ITEM, on the chart. The December 6 positions (lower center) were part of his original bearings, and show the final route of the Japanese warships.

Source: Robert Ogg.

Additional sources for the WCCI included direct liaison with Canadian RDF operations and input from Pan American Airways Clippers, RCA Communications, Mackay Radio & Telegraph, American Telephone & Telegraph, and Globe Wireless. San Francisco was the hub of Pacific Rim commercial communications. All Tokyo diplomatic messages intended for Japanese missions in America passed through the RCA-Mackay-ATT communication funnel in San Francisco. Voice telephone service to and from Japan went through American Telephone & Telegraph offices near Market Street. All Japan-USA commercial wireless messages were routed over RCA and Mackay transmitters and receiving apparatus in the headlands north and south of the Golden Gate. Radio messages for Japanese merchant marine vessels originated in San Francisco at Globe Wireless.

Through this vast network, Greenslade's intelligence crew could listen in all along the Pacific Rim. They purchased Japanese navy code books from Japanese naval communication officers assigned to *Marus* calling at San Francisco, and placed "bugs" inside the Japanese Consulate. Thus Japan's government secrets sent through the Golden Gate, both military and diplomatic, were readily available to the highest officials in Washington, including Roosevelt in the White House.

Robert Ogg's expertise was in electronics and navigation; it was his superior, Ellsworth Hosmer, who assembled communications intelligence for the Twelfth Naval District from the San Francisco cable (telegraph) and telephone firms and the Navy's intercept stations. Then he and Commander Frank Venzel, the District's communications officer, coordinated the flow of Japanese intelligence data obtained from the Navy's West Coast network to Station US in Washington. Hosmer was known in Navy intelligence as the San Francisco contact man, and he had a direct link to Arthur McCollum at Station US.⁵

Over the November 28–30 weekend, US Navy intercept facilities were told to be on the lookout for the Japanese carrier force.⁶ About Sunday November 30, according to Ogg, commercial radio firms supplied Hosmer with RDF bearings that placed Japanese warships in the North Pacific. The report of vessels in the North Pacific surprised Ogg and Hosmer, for both were aware of the Vacant Sea orders. Ogg said the RDF bearings that he plotted were obtained from the Japanese navy's four-megacycle radio band of 4000 kilocycles.⁷

Vice Admiral John Greenslade, who was both the District's commandant and the commander of the Western Sea Frontier, wore a third hat as naval convoy director for American controlled shipping proceeding west across the Pacific Ocean. Under provisions of the National Emergency Declaration, President Roosevelt had designated two ocean areas off the West Coast as Sea Frontiers: The Panama Sea Frontier and the Western Sea Frontier. Both frontiers extended United States sea authority to about the international date line. One purpose was to exclude German raiders from the areas and to protect British shipping in the Pacific Ocean, principally in the South Pacific. Another was to comply with the Vacant Sea orders from Washington, which rerouted trans-Pacific shipping via the Torres Strait between Australia and New Guinea in the South Pacific.

According to Ogg, Hosmer identified the radio transmissions as Japanese, since the vessels used the unique *kana* telegraphic code of Japan's navy.⁸ He was certain that the radio signals did not originate with American or Allied vessels, for there were none at sea in the area. Two separate bearings were obtained. One took off from north of San Francisco, the other south. When Ogg traced the two bearings on his chart they intersected in the North Pacific, north of Hawaii. Hosmer was sure that the

bearings plotted by Ogg had located warships heading for Hawaii.

Captain Richard McCullough, the District Intelligence Officer, sent these findings in a report to the Navy Department. Most likely it was sent in the GUPID system, which had been assigned to Admiral Greenslade for supersecret contact with Station US and Arthur McCollum. As this book went to press in 1999, censorship prevented a look at the GUPID system. In 1946 the Joint Committee investigating the Pearl Harbor attack was asked to delete all reference of GUPID from the official record of the investigation by the Chief Assistant Counsel Gerhard A. Gesell.⁹

Once received in the nation's capital, the Japanese warship locations were delivered to President Roosevelt in the White House, according to district intelligence chief McCullough.¹⁰ In a handwritten memo filed by Hosmer with the Twelfth Naval District's intelligence office, Hosmer wrote that around November 28 he learned that: "at least six, possibly eight Jap [*sic*] units were operating between Hawaii and the Aleutians and clearly indicated that a force was to steal out on a secret [mission] and attempt to obtain mastery of the air."¹¹ Hosmer's account differs from Ogg's. Ogg recalled the source as commercial radio facilities; Hosmer said the information was contained in an intercept obtained by a Navy operator from the "Jap *Kana* code." Asked about the conflicting accounts in 1998, Ogg said there was not really a conflict. "After fifty years, I did not recall the Navy intercepts. It is quite possible Lieutenant Hosmer obtained the bearings from both commercial and Navy sources for he had extensive contacts within the radio industry."¹²

Ogg never testified before any Pearl Harbor investigation, including the 1995 probe. He first disclosed his role in locating the Japanese force north of Hawaii to writer John Toland. Soon after Toland's book appeared, Ogg's statements were challenged by prominent historians, who cited Japanese claims that the Pearl Harbor warships were on radio silence and could not possibly have been intercepted by Americans. Ogg admitted he had no tangible proof of his assertions, since Navy intelligence personnel were forbidden to retain classified documents. But he assured skeptics that confirmation could be found in the records of the Navy's intercept station at Dutch Harbor, Alaska. "Look in the four-megacycle records [4000 kilocycles]. I recall the Japanese broadcasts reported to us were on an odd frequency in that radio spectrum," Ogg said.¹³ But no one looked.

In 1984, all original Japanese intercept records of the Pacific Theater were classified TOP SECRET CODEWORD and held in the custody of the Naval Security Group Command in Washington. The author's requests to the Navy to see the 4000-kilocycle records of Dutch Harbor for November and December 1941 were turned down. Navy historians George W. Henriksen and Commander Irwin Newman told the author that there were no such records in the NSGC files.

Trying a different tack, the author learned of a Navy radio direction finder station at Dutch Harbor known as Station KING, which was a unit of Rochefort's Mid-Pacific Direction Finder Network in 1941. Since KING came under the administration of the Commandant of the Thirteenth Naval District in Seattle, the author checked with the National Archives and in October of 1985 discovered the 4000-kilocycle Dutch Harbor reports.¹⁴ They irrefutably confirm Ogg's intercept details. According to a secret report issued in November 1941 by Chief Radioman Robert Fox, the traffic chief for KING, the *Akagi* was heard on 4960 kilocycles in tactical communication with several merchant vessels. Fox wrote that the broadcasts were transmitted on a rarely used Japanese naval radio frequency, but did not list the date. The records of Station H provided the last piece in the puzzle and revealed that Hawaii also intercepted an *Akagi* broadcast on November 26, when the carrier used 4963 kilocycles.¹⁵

The series of intercepted Japanese broadcasts centering in the North Pacific have been overlooked by every Pearl Harbor investigation. They are described here for the first time. Each report is compelling evidence for Ogg's assertions. As of December 3, the number of Japanese warship broadcasts in the North Pacific was significant. In addition to the Hosmer-Ogg source, five Navy listening posts—Stations ITEM, CAST, H, KING, and SAIL—and a Matson liner, the SS *Lurline*, heard the broadcasts and placed the information in the intelligence pipeline intended for the White House. This vital information obtained by the five units was logged in official Navy reports and forwarded to Washington, but was withheld from Admiral Kimmel and the Pacific Fleet. CAST's identification of the carriers and of Admiral Yamamoto occurred at the same time as and parallels the reports given to Hosmer.

About mid-November, Japan's navy assumed control of overseas civilian broadcast operations. High-powered Japanese radio stations normally used for worldwide commercial overseas broadcasts aimed their signals at the North and Central Pacific. Instead of transmitting to civilian/commercial radio addresses in North or South America or Europe, each broadcast was now directed to Japanese warships, using the secret *Yobidashi Fugo* address system of radio call signs. Long-distance frequencies beamed the broadcasts from shore stations in Osaka and Tokyo. Immediately, the powerful transmissions reached the American West Coast and disrupted Navy transmissions. Station SAIL at Seattle and Station ITEM at Imperial Beach, California, reported the interference. Station US in Washington requested details of the disruptive Japanese transmissions. One of the first stations to reply was Station ITEM. Chief Radioman Martin Vandenberg, ITEM's traffic chief, investigated the interference and said it was coming from Japanese naval radio stations in Tokyo and Osaka. He wrote that all classes of navy traffic were noted and that the "reception at Station I is very good." Vandenberg gave an example of one intercept. It was addressed to the radio call sign of the Japanese battleship HIMJS *Kirishima*, part of the Hawaii raid force, in the urgent special cipher code.¹⁶

The broadcasts to and from the North Pacific grew in intensity and reached the radio room of the American liner *Lurline*,

plying the Pacific between California and Hawaii.

Captain C. W. Berndtson headed the SS *Lurline* toward Honolulu. The luxury liner, pride of the Matson Line and synonymous with cruises to Hawaii, departed San Francisco on Saturday, November 29, slid under the Golden Gate Bridge, sailed south along the California coast, and picked up more passengers from the docks at Long Beach, the harbor for Los Angeles. The *Lurline*'s staterooms were filled with civilian workers headed for Hawaii and Pacific isles to build up American defenses.

Leslie Grogan, the *Lurline*'s first assistant radio operator, had little to do. Yearning for more radio work during his midnight-to-morning watch, Grogan moved the dial of his radio receiver—and discovered unusual transmissions from Japan. “The Japs are blasting away on the lower marine radio frequencies. All in the Japanese code and continues for several hours,” Grogan wrote in the *Lurline*'s radio log.¹⁷ He noted that the broadcasts originated from shore stations in Japan and were beamed toward the Northwestern Pacific.

Grogan's next log entry is startling. He reported that Japanese ships in the North Pacific repeated the messages from the shore stations. “We noted that signals were being repeated back possibly for copying by craft with small antennas [*sic*].”¹⁸ The broadcasts continued for the next two nights, December 1 and 2. “We continue to pick up the bold Japanese general order signals—it can't be anything else. We got good radio direction finder bearings, mostly coming from a Northwesterly direction from our position. The Jap floating units continue their bold repetition of wireless signals, presumably for the smaller craft in their vanguard of ships. Floating units repeat the signals from JCS, the shore station.”¹⁹

Commercial radio call signs such as JCS were not normally used by Japan to address warships, but rather for commercial ships.²⁰ When Japan addressed warships, radio station JCS switched procedure and used the call sign of HA FU 6. Grogan's intercepts appear to coincide with Japanese naval messages originated by HA FU 6 (the same transmitter as JCS) and addressed to units of the Hawaii strike force, which were then proceeding eastward across the North Pacific. Grogan's account of hearing warships repeat radio messages fits in with Admiral Nagumo's radio communication plan, which called for repeating the Tokyo broadcasts for the smaller warships within the task force. The intercepted radio signals from JCS only indicated a land-based station near Tokyo. Each separate vessel had to transmit signals in order to be located by the *Lurline*'s direction finder. Grogan understood the implications of the Japanese naval broadcasts: “We are now making a concise record to turn into the Naval Intelligence when we arrive in Honolulu, Wednesday, December 3, 1941.” Immediately upon docking at the Aloha Tower, Grogan presented his transcript of the broadcasts and the RDF bearings to Lieutenant Commander George Pease of Naval Intelligence. According to Grogan's account, Pease was a “good listener but showed little outward reflection as to what we felt was a mighty serious situation.”²¹

If Pease, who died in a plane crash in 1945, ever submitted a report on the *Lurline*'s locating Japanese warships north of Hawaii by RDF, it has disappeared. So has the *Lurline*'s original radio log. On December 10, the liner returned to San Francisco and Lieutenant Commander Preston Allen boarded the ship and confiscated the radio log. Allen, a member of the Twelfth Naval District intelligence unit, took the log containing the details of Grogan's interceptions to his District office. It has never been seen since. Grogan's account, quoted in this book, is based on a reconstruction of the missing log that he prepared for Matson Lines after Allen took possession of the log.

During research for this book, the author uncovered details of the *Lurline* log's disappearance. In the late 1970s, shortly after John Toland began research for his book, he filed an FOIA with the Navy asking to see the log. The Navy said there was no record of such a log, but a withdrawal slip in the National Archives, San Bruno, California, tells another story.²² After he took possession of the log, Lieutenant Commander Allen did not return it to Matson Lines. Instead he filed it in the voluminous records of the Port Director, Twelfth Naval District. There it remained, unknown to all Pearl Harbor investigations. In 1958, the Port Director files were turned over to the Federal Records Center [FRC] in San Bruno, a division of the National Archives.

Sometime in the 1970s someone removed the log from the National Archives and left a withdrawal slip form in its place. The caption on the slip refers to the *Lurline*'s radio log, but it is not dated or signed—a possible felony violation of National Archives procedures. “It had to be someone connected with the Navy,” said Kathleen O'Connor, who discovered the withdrawal slip in August 1991. O'Connor, an archivist at San Bruno, told the author that the white withdrawal slip is yellowed, indicating deterioration based on a storage period of about twenty years—from about the time that Toland made his FOIA request. At the time the *Lurline*'s log was in the physical custody of the Center but under the legal control of the Navy. The FRC is a government records center where both temporary and permanent Federal records are kept. Permanent records are eventually transferred to the National Archives' custody and opened for public access. Most FRC records are not open for public inspection. “Only naval personnel had access,” explained O'Connor.²³

She noted the “curious coincidence” of the above events. “Every federal regulation pertaining to the care and preservation of archival documents was neglected,” O'Connor said. “There is no date of withdrawal, nor any signature of the person who removed these highly significant records.”

The *Lurline*'s radio operators weren't the only ones recording the Japanese radio “blasts.” Station SAIL at Seattle confirmed the reports of Hosmer/Ogg and the *Lurline*. On December 3, operators at SAIL said that strong radio signals were

originating in the North Pacific. By the next day three other Navy intercept stations reported the same signals. But 98 percent of the intercepts acquired by the four Navy facilities have been hidden from public view. Included are radio messages to and from the Pearl Harbor-bound warships *Kirishima*, *Akagi*, and *Tone* and Admiral Nagumo, commander of the raiding force.²⁴ Radio logs of the three monitoring stations found by the author in Archives II provide the evidence.

December 4, 1941, was a busy day for Japan's powerful radio transmitters. Broadcasts to three vessels of the Hawaii-bound carrier force were detected by three US Navy monitoring stations—ITEM, CAST, and H.²⁵ Each broadcast was transmitted on long-distance frequencies. Messages to the battleship *Kirishima* were intercepted at Stations ITEM (San Diego) and H (Oahu). On Corregidor, Station CAST intercepted messages to the First Air Fleet and its flagship, the *Akagi*. At Station H radio intercept operator Henry F. Garstka wrote in his operator log that he intercepted two messages to a warship with the radio call signal of NU TO4. According to Garstka's log entry,²⁶ the message came from Radio Yokosuka, who kept asking, "Kan?, Kan?," which was a Japanese naval communication procedure meaning: "Can you hear me, and if so, please answer." The warship did not answer and for a good reason. NU TO 4 was the heavy cruiser HIMJS *Tone*, and the supersecret call sign was reserved for the Hawaii attack. The cruiser was part of the First Air Fleet—Japan's Pearl Harbor raiding force. The *Tone*'s captain wisely did not answer, for Radio Yokosuka violated Japanese communication security. It made a mistake in jump-starting the secret Hawaii list—it was not to be used, presumably, until the day of the attack. While Garstka did not identify NU TO 4 as the *Tone*, it proves Radio Yokosuka was a gross violator of Yamamoto's radio silence order. And Henry Garstka's intercept of NUTO4 provides firm evidence that warships of the Pearl Harbor force were addressed by radio before the raid started and intercepted by US Navy monitoring stations.

Garstka intercepted the broadcast on a long-distance radio frequency used by Japan to contact individual ships and shore stations.²⁷ It was one of many Japanese communication procedures that enabled US intercept operators to estimate the warships' general location. Three distinct communication procedures were generally used: (1) "All Points" broadcasts for the entire Japanese navy; (2) shore to ship and vice versa; and (3) ship to ship.

The "All Points" broadcasts were sent over a vast radio network used by Tokyo to issue orders to commands in the Western and Central Pacific Ocean regions and areas of the Far East under Japanese naval control. Regular time schedules were maintained and Japanese radio operators assigned to diverse units copied the broadcasts, which contained general information for various commands. American cryptographers called these transmissions the "UTU Broadcasts." Japan set aside the frequencies of 4155, 8310, and 16,620 kilocycles for the exclusive use of the UTU transmissions. Prime time started at midnight on 4155 kilocycles, then switched to 8310 for the predawn hours and continued throughout daylight on 16,620 kilocycles. As twilight approached the switch was made to 8310, then 4155, etc. These UTU schedules continued twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. Every Japanese naval command received general orders from the UTU broadcasts. Other eager listeners were the US Navy's intercept operators at CAST and H. As war neared, Japan set up additional UTU frequencies when the regular radio circuits became overloaded. Although the overload broadcasts did not necessarily provide locations for the warships or air units, they did indicate that her navy was gearing up for some kind of drastic operation, as Homer Kisner dutifully reported in his Chronology of December 4, 1941.²⁸

An entirely different communication procedure provided US Navy intercept operators with the general location of warships and merchant vessels. This procedure is called point-to-point broadcasting and involved reserved frequencies. Each major Japanese naval base had its own set of frequencies. So when intercept operator Henry Garstka of Station H intercepted radio transmissions from the Yokosuka naval base's point-to-point broadcast, that intercept disclosed that the *Tone* was a great distance away in the North Pacific. Garstka noted that Yokosuka beamed the message on the long-distance frequency of 12,690 kilocycles. There was no other rational analysis in determining her location. If she had been in the Western or Central Pacific, naval radio station transmitters at Sasebo, Saipan, or Takao would have been used to contact the warship. It was a communication intelligence error by Radio Yokosuka and was recognized as such by the captain of the cruiser, who did not respond.²⁹

In the same December 4 Chronology where he predicted Japan's navy was preparing for drastic action, Homer Kisner of Station H reported that "The Carriers are believed to have remained in the vicinity of Kyushu [the southernmost of the main islands of Japan]."³⁰ But which carriers? The Third Fleet carriers of Carrier Divisions Three and Four or the First Air Fleet's Carrier Divisions One, Two and Five—which, at the time, were in the North Pacific headed for Hawaii? Those questions were posed to Kisner by the author during interviews in April 1988 and April 1998.³¹ "I was locating the Third Fleet carriers," Kisner said of the December 4 Chronology. He maintained that his locations were consistent. Since early November 1941 his daily Chronology linked Carrier Divisions Three and Four with the Southeast Asia movement organized by the commander of the Third Fleet in the area of Kyushu and the port of Sasebo.

Kisner pointed to his Chronology of November 20, where he placed the warships of Cruiser Division Eight, Destroyer Squadron One, with the Carrier Commands [Kisner's capitalization].³² He admitted that by late in the day of Friday, December 5, the locations of the Japanese warships had been obscured by Japan's communication procedures. But the obfuscation didn't fool Kisner. He analyzed the broadcasts of Radio Saipan (Central Pacific), Radio Takao (Philippines and Southeast Asia), and

Radio Ominato (North Pacific) and wrote that the “method of delivering the [Japanese fleet] messages tends to keep unknown the position of vessels afloat.” He predicted that “Japan’s navy operations were near a war-time basis.”³³ It was the unknown positions of the vessels afloat between Hawaii, Saipan, and Ominato that worried Kisner, according to his April 1998 interview with the author. “I came to the conclusion they were going to jump us.”³⁴

Japanese navy officers involved in the Pearl Harbor attack insist that the carrier fleet of Divisions One, Two, and Five were on total radio silence and developed a fallback position to deflect questions on their location. They say American monitoring stations heard deceptive broadcasts originated by Japanese naval air stations that pretended to be the *Akagi* and other vessels. Captain Sadatoshi Tomioka provided details. “The Main Force in the Inland Sea and land-based air units carried out deceptive communication to indicate the carriers were training in the Kyushu area.”³⁵

Tomioka’s assertions were backed by the first witness before the 1945–46 Congressional investigation. On November 15, 1945, Admiral T. B. Inglis said Japan used deceptive³⁶ radio broadcasts and simulated the presence of carriers in the Inland Sea prior to the attack. But he gave no details and did not produce a single intercept indicating deceptive messages. Admiral Kimmel’s intelligence chief Edwin Layton gave Congress two contradictory stories. He told the Army Board in 1944 that “the Japanese practiced radio deception.” Then in his 1985 book he wrote, “Contrary to popular myth and the assumption of many historians, there was no sustained deception plan put into operation by Japan.” Layton had gotten it right the second time. No real examples have ever been located. If radio deception was attempted by Japan, it was inept and soon discovered.³⁷

Radioman First Class Paul E. Seaward of Station H reported hearing naval air stations at Kanoya, Omura, and Yokosuka in radio contact with a call sign of 1 NI KU on December 5 and 6. Whoever they were attempting to contact—or whether it was an attempt at deception—remains a mystery. The call sign was not assigned to any of Japan’s aircraft carriers, battleships, or cruisers with the First Air Fleet.³⁸

American intercept operators were not duped. The ruse (if it occurred) was recognized instantly. On America’s West Coast, Navy interception operations at Station SAIL and Station AE at Sitka, Alaska, discovered the false signals. Radioman First Class Fred R. Thomson, the Navy’s Sitka traffic chief, wrote that they came from the radio station attached to the Japanese naval air base at Kasumigaura, 34 miles northwest of Tokyo. The air station sent a radio message to a fleet unit, then pretended to receive a reply.³⁹ Thomson detected the sham when Kasumigaura used the same transmitter for the response. In effect, Kasumigaura was talking to itself. In his oral history interview, Joseph Rochefort said that none of his officers or operators were fooled by Japanese radio deception: “It is awfully difficult to deceive a trained counter-communications intelligence organization, awfully difficult.”⁴⁰

A PRETTY CHEAP PRICE

DECEMBER 1–6, 1941

IN HIS POSTWAR TESTIMONY TO CONGRESS, ADMIRAL HUSBAND Kimmel maintained that he would have been ready to defend Pearl Harbor . . . “if I had anything which indicated to me the probability of an attack on Hawaii.”¹ The information that Kimmel needed was available—so available, in fact, that it often appears as though the Japanese had made few efforts to conceal it. As we now know, Lieutenant Commanders Joseph Rochefort and Edwin Layton could have provided that indication, but they did not do so.

Their failure allowed Japan’s First Air Fleet to make its surprise attack and then to escape to Japan. In a postwar assessment of the attack Rochefort said, “It was a pretty cheap price to pay for unifying the country.” But others would angrily question that conclusion.²

Seven Japanese naval broadcasts intercepted between November 28 and December 6 confirmed that Japan intended to start the war and that it would begin at Pearl Harbor. The evidence that poured into American intelligence stations is overpowering. All the broadcasts have one common denominator: none ever reached Admiral Kimmel. The Navy’s head cryptographer in Hawaii developed an excuse. It is a powerful statement that has assured the American and Japanese people that indeed Japan’s navy observed radio silence and never divulged in any manner that Pearl Harbor was the target. “There is not the slightest reason to believe that JN-25 or any other navy system contained anything that would have forecast the attack.” This assurance came from Lieutenant Commander Thomas Dyer, second in command and chief cryptographer at Station HYPO, in a letter to the author on June 4, 1983.³ But in the Station H records there were plenty of indicators found, in the form of intercepted Japanese broadcasts.

The first of these came on November 28, when Tokyo Naval Radio transmitted a message in the 5-Num code to the First Air Fleet. It warned that the warships could expect a powerful winter storm in their path. Aerographers of the Imperial Navy had located several low-pressure centers in the North Pacific.⁴ Each low indicated the presence of storm conditions that were steering Siberian polar winds in a southerly direction to meet up with the Kuroshio Current—Japan’s Gulf Stream.⁵ For centuries, mariners knew that the warm waters of the Kuroshio or Black Current, which originated in the East China Sea, became storm catapults once they reached the North Pacific and clashed with cold Arctic air south of the Kamchatka Peninsula and Alaska’s Aleutian Islands. Carried eastward by the high-altitude winds of the jet stream, these storm systems deliver heavy rains and snow packs to the United States and Canada. The intensity of the storms can be ferocious, often resulting in the monstrous forty-foot waves that break on the north-facing shores of all the Hawaiian Islands.

Radio operators within the Japanese First Air Fleet didn’t need the warning—the storm was already roiling the stomachs of many crew members. Soon the storm slowed the forward speed of the entire thirty-one-vessel fleet and scattered the warships over a fifty-mile area at 42 degrees of north latitude near the international date line. From the deck of the light cruiser *Abukuma*, flagship of Destroyer Squadron One, Petty Officer Iki Kuromoti described the scene in near-*haiku* style: “The weather grows worse, a gale blows, the seas rage, a dense fog descends. In this bitter weather, a show of actual force, a test by the gods. Though tossed about in their struggle with the elements, the ships continue on their glorious way.” Kuromoti said men were washed overboard and signal flags were blown away. “Without sleep, and by the silent struggle with nature every man was completely exhausted by continuous watches. Our spirits were buoyed that we were soon to strike the first blow in this greatest of all wars.”⁶

By November 30, the storm’s fury had subsided and Admiral Chuichi Nagumo decided to round up his warships. Blinker light signals were out of the question. Driven off course by the typhoon-force winds, warships and tankers were scattered beyond the fifteen-mile horizon line, out of sight and unreachable by light signals. Radio was the only means to return the First

Air Fleet to its tight formation. With the *Akagi*'s transmitter tuned to 4960 kilocycles, the carrier sent out broadcasts to the strays and directed them back to the task force. Since the broadcasts were intended for ships relatively close by, the radio operators set the transmitters on low power—a communication procedure that limited their signal range to about a hundred miles.⁷

But another storm was forming millions of miles away on the surface of the sun. In a sunstorm or solar storm, ions created on the sun's surface bombard the earth's atmosphere, wreaking havoc with radio transmissions.⁸ These sunstorms distort electronic communications and create what is called the northern lights or aurora borealis, which can be observed in the earth's higher latitudes. (The southern counterpart is called the southern lights or aurora australis.) Radio signals—even those generated by low transmitter power—can be bounced halfway across the earth's surface by the quirks of solar storms. A radio receiver thousands of miles from a transmitter can sometimes clearly hear a broadcast while a similar receiver a short distance away draws a blank.

The *Akagi* radiomen were not aware that one of the largest solar storms of the century was taking place as they continued on their glorious journey. They were confident that low-power tactical frequencies, limited to a few miles, would be secure. There was no way, they believed, that American, English, and Dutch eavesdroppers would hear the messages.

Admiral Nagumo's round-up directions were transmitted to the flagships within the First Air Fleet. There was a designated command flagship for each type of vessel—battleships and cruisers, destroyers, and the oil tankers. Each flagship, known as a type commander, served as a communications sentinel for its type of vessel. The *Kirishima* was the flagship for the battleships and heavy cruisers, the *Akagi* for the carriers. The destroyers relied on radio orders from the *Abukuma*; the oil tankers, from the *Kyokuto Maru*. Homer Kisner of Station H told the author that the type of the broadcasts provided clues to his staff that enabled them to penetrate Japan's hostile plans. He referred to the flagship system as the "mother hen and chickens" breakthrough. "It enabled us to first identify who was bossiest, then who was being bossed," Kisner said. He gave the *Abukuma* as an example. "If a single warship continually talks to the same vessels, obviously it is the controlling authority."⁹

Nagumo's orders to gather the scattered task force were first transmitted to the command flagships within the First Air Fleet. Then the orders were repeated to the "chicks." An important vessel was the *Kyokuto Maru*, flagship of the seven-tanker fuel train. The tanker was first spotted for Admiral Kimmel in Rochefort's Communications Summary (COMSUM) of October 9, 1941. In the summary the tanker was associated with what became the thirty-one vessels of the Japanese Pearl Harbor force. Writing that the warships had been fairly prominent during the last part of September and early October 1941, Rochefort identified the commands (the mother hens): Battleship Division 3, Commander Carriers (Admiral Nagumo), Destroyer Squadron 1, Cruiser Division 8, and the *Kyukuto Maru*. He also listed the Commander of the First and Second Fleets and the oiler *Tsurumi*, which eventually were attached to the opening salvos of the Southeast Asia campaign.¹⁰ By mid-November, the staff had solved the tanker's code-movement reports and associated the vessel with the First Air Fleet.¹¹ In what Kisner later called "a remarkable bit of intelligence," he placed the commanding officer of the *Kyokuto Maru* aboard the carrier *Kaga* on October 27. Admiral Kimmel saw and initialed the unusual report the next morning.¹²

Throughout the weekend of November 28–30, the solar storm bounced the *Akagi*'s radio transmissions across the Pacific to US Navy intercept stations on Oahu, Alaska, and America's West Coast and to the SS *Lurline*. Kimmel was informed of the *Akagi* broadcasts by Rochefort's report dated November 30. The admiral read the warning on the morning of December 2 and asked his intelligence officer, Edwin Layton: "Where are the carriers?" Layton said he didn't know. With a twinkle in his eye, Kimmel asked, "Could they be rounding Diamond Head?" Layton's reply was, "I hope they would have been discovered before then."¹³ But Layton may not have been completely frank. He said that Japan's Carrier Divisions One and Two had not been heard from for at least fifteen to twenty-five days—starting from mid-November. He then expanded the falsification: "Neither the carriers, carrier division commanders or the carrier commander-in-chief [Nagumo] had been addressed in any of the thousands of messages that came out of the Naval General Staff. In addition, no traffic [radio transmissions] had been originated by the carriers."¹⁴

Joseph Rochefort of Station HYPO backed up Layton, claiming that from December 1 onward "We lost our knowledge of their activities and their position because they had gone on radio silence." On the eve of the attack he told Kimmel, "Carriers are lost, carriers not heard." Later in 1946, during the Pearl Harbor investigation, Rochefort modified his statement, testifying on February 15, 1946, that he had "located them in a negative sense."¹⁵

Homer Kisner told the author that bearing locations obtained by the radio direction finder operators were part of the complete intelligence bundle he delivered each day to Station HYPO. Until the end of October, RDF reports were included in intelligence summaries sent to both Kimmel and the White House. But beginning November 1, the RDF reports were omitted from the summaries delivered to Kimmel. When shown the omissions by the author in 1988, Kisner was astounded. "Who held them back? They should have gone to the admiral!" he said.

Why were the RDF reports missing from Admiral Kimmel's copy? Rochefort's original Communications Summaries were found by the author stored among Navy records in the National Archives, but all the RDF reports for November and December 1941 were crudely cut from the copy of each report that had been prepared for Kimmel. Every RDF fix had been excised

sometime after Kisner delivered the complete ports to Station HYPO. No one at the National Archives could explain the deletions. When were they cut? Before they were delivered to the admiral? Did the deletions trigger the “Where are the carriers” question Kimmel directed to Layton?

In 1993, the deletion questions were posed to Richard A. von Doenhoff, a specialist in the Pearl Harbor section of the National Archives. He confirmed that more than sixty-five of Rochefort’s November and December Summaries intended for Kimmel had been mutilated. Von Doenhoff wrote the author that the RDF pages which listed Japanese warship locations had been cut prior to the start of the 1945 Congressional Hearings. “We examined the Fourteenth Naval District Communication Summaries and found that those summaries had indeed been cut off from the bottom of the pages. We have no idea why this was done, but it appears that the documents were entered into evidence during 1945 and 46 in this manner.”¹⁶

So began the myth of the radio silence of the Japanese carrier force. It is a myth that has endured for over fifty years and that continues to baffle historians. In 1995 Stephen Ambrose, one of America’s most distinguished historians, excoriated the pre-Pearl Harbor intelligence when he wrote: “It was simply terrible. In late November, intelligence ‘lost’ the Japanese aircraft carrier fleet,” Ambrose wrote. He repeated this charge in the *Wall Street Journal* in May 1999.¹⁷

Layton’s claim about the carrier commands’ radio silence does not hold up to scrutiny. There were 129 Japanese naval intercepts obtained by US naval monitor stations between November 15 and December 6 that directly contradict Layton’s figures. The intercept rate can be documented from the records of Stations CAST and H. For the 21-day period, it averages 6.3 intercepts per day. All categories of Japanese carriers and carrier commands cited by Layton as on radio silence either originated radio broadcasts or received messages during the three-week period, according to an analysis of the intercepts conducted by the Navy’s 1941 radio traffic experts, Captain Duane Whitlock of Station CAST and Homer Kisner of Station H.¹⁸

Kisner’s reports and intercepts collected in Hawaii have been preserved. The intercepts gathered by Whitlock’s operators after mid-November 1941 were burned so they would not fall into the hands of the Japanese troops that were advancing on Corregidor in the spring of 1942. An exception was Station CAST’s radio direction finder reports, which were sent to Hawaii over the US Navy’s TESTM radio circuit before the attack.¹⁹

During separate interviews with the author, Kisner and Whitlock identified the 129 intercepts that refute Layton’s claim of radio silence. Whitlock analyzed the radio direction finder reports obtained by Station CAST, and Kisner analyzed the intercepts obtained by his operators at Station H. The 129 reports, dated during the 21-day period, were compiled by the author from three sources found in Archives II: (1) Japanese naval intercepts, (2) Japanese code movement reports filed by warships, and (3) the TESTM radio direction finder reports obtained by Station CAST. Admiral Nagumo, the commander-in-chief of the Hawaii-bound force, was the most talkative. He originated nearly half of all Japanese naval radio broadcasts intercepted by the US Navy monitoring stations. The author compiled the seven categories of intercepts:

A. Radio transmissions by Admiral Nagumo:	60
B. Tokyo radio to the vessels of the First Air Fleet:	24
C. Broadcasts originated by carriers:	20
D. Broadcasts originated by Carrier Division Commanders:	12
E. Messages originated by vessels attached to the First Air Fleet, but were not carriers:	8
F. Messages originated by the Midway Neutralization Unit:	4
G. Tokyo radio to individual Carrier Division Commanders:	1

129²⁰

Radio silence was ignored as more Japanese naval broadcasts hit the airwaves. The first military intercept that specified Pearl Harbor as the target came from Japan’s highest naval commander, Admiral Osami Nagano, Chief of the Imperial Navy General Headquarters. He breached security in a radio broadcast and disclosed that a Japanese carrier strike force would attack Hawaii. The broadcast was beamed from Tokyo to the communications officer of the Eleventh Air Fleet, a powerful naval air command based on Formosa, composed of 500 bombers and fighters that had been massed for an aerial attack on General MacArthur’s command in the Philippines and other objectives in Southeast Asia.

Nagano’s broadcast was first publicly disclosed in a postwar article written by Commander Koiichi Shimada, an air officer of the Eleventh Air Fleet, who wrote that his command received a radio dispatch from Imperial General Headquarters packed with highly secret information. The message said:

IMPERIAL HEADQUARTERS IS QUITE CONFIDENT OF SUCCESS IN JAMMING THE ENEMY’S RADIO FREQUENCIES SO THAT ANY

WARREN DISPATCHED TO THE PHILIPPINES AS A RESULT OF THE CARRIER STRIKING FORCE'S ATTACK ON HAWAII WILL NOT GET THROUGH. MEANWHILE, IN ORDER TO ASSURE SUCCESS OF THE HAWAII ATTACK, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT ELEVENTH AIR FLEET IN FORMOSA TAKE EVERY PRECAUTION TO GUARD AGAINST THE ENEMY'S LEARNING OF OUR MILITARY MOVEMENTS BEFORE THE ATTACK TAKES PLACE.²¹

The disclosures contained in this Tokyo-to-Formosa broadcast are confounding. Why would Japan's top naval officer abandon basic radio security? An even more important question for the Pacific Fleet: Was the broadcast intercepted by US Navy cryptographers, or was Commander Dyer of HYPO correct in asserting that Japan did not transmit a single message naming Pearl Harbor as the target?

Although Shimada provided few communication details of Nagano's broadcast, he indicated that it was received on a Tokyo-Formosa radio circuit before the attack. He suggested the date was before December 5, 1941, Formosa Time. The broadcast is another of Pearl Harbor's mysteries. No transcript of it was found in President Carter's 1979 release of Japanese naval intercepts, nor was it discussed by any Pearl Harbor investigation. Since the message dealt with Japanese plans to disrupt American radio-receiving facilities of General MacArthur and Admiral Hart, the author looked for Tokyo radio messages directed to the Eleventh Air Fleet's communication officer in Formosa. Station H in Hawaii kept a daily log of messages dispatched to Japanese commands. These messages are listed in that log as the UTU broadcast schedule. Each UTU log discloses Japanese communications details, but not the message text. The text—in either navy code or plain language—was recorded on a separate message sheet. Entries in the UTU log contain the Japanese originator and the intended receiver of each message, as well as the radio frequency, the time of the intercept in Tokyo Time, and the initials of the Station H intercept operator.

In the Japanese navy's radio-address code (*Yobidashi Fugo*), the suffix 49 always designated the staff communications (radiotelegraphy) officer of each command. The suffix code never changed. The November 1941 radio code address for the communications officer of the Eleventh Air Fleet was SU YO 449; it changed to SI HA 149 on December 1. Japanese attempts to mask the change didn't work. American cryptographers at CAST saw through Japan's disguise and instantly identified the new name for the Eleventh Air Fleet. They sent a TESTM dispatch to Hawaii on December 4 (Manila Time) and named the five new radio call signs: "Idents for Eleventh Air Fleet: HI ME 6, MO NO 1, RE HE 8, SI HA 1, YO NO 1."²²

A message sent by Radio Tokyo to SI HA 149 in the UTU log for December 4 (Formosa Time; December 3 in Hawaii) used the same radio call—"idents"—provided by Station CAST. The log tells this story: on December 3, Station H operator CU heard a message sent to the communications staff officer of the Eleventh Air Fleet. CU intercepted the message at 7:45 A.M., entered the communication details of the message in the UTU log book, typed the Japanese text on a separate message sheet, and sent both on their way to Admiral Kimmel.²³

As with the other crucial intercepts of the week, there is no record that the message ever reached Kimmel. Yet there is firm evidence that Nagano's message was intercepted in Hawaii. In his Chronology for December 4, Homer Kisner noted that the Communications Division in Tokyo sent high-precedence messages to "general collective calls." One was SI HA 149, the communication officer of the Eleventh Air Fleet. Except for CU and Commander Shimada, no one in America has admitted seeing the original message that names Pearl Harbor as the target for a carrier attack. Extraordinary secrecy surrounds the intercept. None of the SI HA 149 intercepts have been released.

There were many more clues. Another radio broadcast placed the Japanese submarine *I-10* off American Samoa in the South Pacific. On December 4, Tokyo Time, the sub reconnoitered the small US Navy base at Pago Pago on American Samoa, a United States possession of several islands about 1500 miles east of Australia in the South Pacific, and launched a small scouting aircraft on a reconnaissance mission. When the plane, believed to be a float plane converted for submarine operation, failed to return, *I-10* broke radio silence, contacted the commander of the submarine fleet, and reported it missing.²⁴ The broadcast originated within easy intercept range of Station VICTOR, a Navy direction finder station at Pago Pago. VICTOR, named for the small village of Vaitogi, operated around the clock, obtaining radio direction finder fixes of Japanese naval units in the South and Central Pacific. RDF fixes obtained by VICTOR were radioed immediately to Joseph Rochefort's office at HYPO in Pearl Harbor. Yet Rochefort testified that he never received anything from VICTOR. National Archives documents in San Bruno, California, contradict him. So does one of his assistants, Lieutenant Commander Thomas Huckins, who wrote that VICTOR "has been giving excellent service as a strategic DF station."²⁵

There are 300 pages of RDF fixes that were originated by VICTOR between July and December 1941 locked in Archives II vaults at College Park, Maryland. Another set of documents at San Bruno traces them to Rochefort's office in Hawaii. But neither set of VICTOR documents has been released as of the writing of this book.

The *I-10* transmission demonstrates the wide disregard of radio silence by Japan's navy. A captured Japanese communication document obtained in 1944 by the Pacific Strategic Intelligence Section is the source. According to the translation by PSIS, the broadcast reporting the loss of the scout plane was transmitted by the sub on December 4, but gave no communication details. Confirmation of the broadcast can be attributed to the commander of the Japanese submarine fleet, Vice Admiral Mitsumi Shimizu, who used the radio call sign FU NE 44 to contact Tokyo, according to Station H records. Admiral Shimizu, who at the time was aboard his flagship in the Marshall Islands at Jaluit Atoll, used the UTU long-distance daytime

frequency of 16,620 kilocycles. His message was intercepted by Stanley Gramblin, Radioman Second Class, at 2:59 P.M. Wednesday, December 3, at Station H in Hawaii. There is no mention of the *I-10* broadcast in Rochefort's Communication Summary presented to Kimmel on December 4 or 5. Nor was Gramblin's intercept found in President Carter's release.²⁶

Not all of the information available to the intelligence community was mysterious or subtle. Contrary to cryptologist Dyer's assertions, Japanese naval messages did confirm that war was near. Two such messages were on Dyer's desk or inside the HYPO office on December 6, Hawaii Time. Vice Admiral Shigeyoshi Inoue, commander of the Fourth Fleet in the Central Pacific, informed his forces by radio that a declaration of war was imminent. His radio message was intercepted by Henry F. Garstka at Station H at 8:40 P.M. on Friday, December 5, and included in Kisner's bundle, which was given to Dyer at 1:00 P.M. the next day, but was never delivered to Admiral Kimmel. According to Garstka's intercept, Inoue sent the war message as high-precedence information to ten of his Central Pacific commands including the Maizuru Special Landing Force, an amphibious unit of Japanese marines scheduled to invade and seize Wake Island. A 1946 English translation of the intercept indicates that it was encoded in JN-25-B. But in 1941 there was no such American or Japanese code designator. Verification of the code system is impossible because of American censorship of Garstka's original documents.²⁷

Inoue began:

A SPECIAL MESSAGE ON THE OCCASION OF THE DECLARATION OF WAR, TO ALL UNDER MY COMMAND.

About two hours later, Inoue repeated the war declaration dispatch. Again it was intercepted in Hawaii by a different operator, LF, and included in the Kisner intelligence bundle delivered to Dyer.²⁸

Most Japanese naval intercepts in President Carter's 1979 release contain interception details, but not Inoue's war message. Two omissions—which appear deliberate—wipe out the intercept's link to Hawaii before the attack: (1) There is no record that the message was intercepted at Station H, and (2) the initials of the intercept operator are missing. Without these two details for guidance, the Pearl Harbor investigators had no way to learn that Inoue's war declaration dispatch was intercepted in Hawaii. The author learned the intercept details from Garstka's radio log after it was declassified in January 1995.

Another radio message, issued jointly by Admiral Yamamoto and Emperor Hirohito, announced Japanese war intentions during the early morning hours of Saturday, December 6, Hawaii Time. Similar to the Inoue dispatch, it was intercepted in Hawaii but never delivered to Kimmel. It was dispatched in two parts, twenty-four hours prior to the Hawaii attack, and directly links Emperor Hirohito with the Japanese war moves. An English version of the message, released by President Carter in 1979, lists the intercept date as December 7, 1941—but that date is per Tokyo Time. American censors have not released the original two parts nor disclosed whether the messages are in code or in plain language.

The true intercept details of the Hirohito–Yamamoto dispatch can be found in the Station H logs. Emperor Hirohito issued an Imperial Rescript, which was transmitted to the Combined Fleet, urging the officers and men to “annihilate the enemy.” Admiral Yamamoto told the Combined Fleet that he received the Rescript from the Emperor on Tuesday, December 2 (Hawaii Time), and was passing it on to every officer and man “prior to declaration of war.” True to his word, Yamamoto set the broadcast release time of the Rescript at midnight, December 7, Tokyo Time, about twenty-four hours before the war's scheduled start. (Midnight Tokyo Time on December 7 was 4:30 A.M. on Saturday, December 6, in Hawaii.) Due to a mix-up his chief of staff, Rear Admiral Matome Ugaki, authorized the first broadcast two hours early, at 2:45 A.M. Hawaii Time.²⁹ It was transmitted throughout the Pacific to Japanese units. The cruiser *Aoba* confirmed receiving the message on December 7, Tokyo Time, while anchored in the Bonin Islands.³⁰

Radio operators at Station H intercepted the Hirohito–Yamamoto messages directly off the naval airwaves during the five-hour period. Admiral Ugaki's premature broadcast was obtained by operator Maynard Albertson, a Radioman Second Class. Two hours later, at 4:45 A.M. on December 6, Hawaii Time, Yamamoto took over the airwaves and repeated the dispatches to the Combined Fleet and the carriers of the First Air Fleet.

By 8:30 A.M. on December 6, Hawaii Time, seven duplicates of the Hirohito–Yamamoto message had been intercepted and transcribed at Station H in Hawaii by Albertson and his relief, Radioman Third Class Jesse Randle. The four that Albertson intercepted entered America's communication pipeline around 9:00 A.M. when they were turned in to Kisner. Randle's intercepts (repeats of Albertson's) didn't enter the pipeline until the following morning, at the height of the attack.

As is the case with a huge amount of intercepts and documents still sequestered by Secret classification, the Defense Department continues to deny access to the seven Hirohito–Yamamoto messages. Only the one English version with the misleading December 7 date has been publicly released. None of the seven message sheets prepared by Albertson and Randle at Station H before the attack have been declassified.³¹

By late morning on December 6, Hawaii Time, Captain Homer Kisner had finished his analysis of the intercepts, including Albertson's report of Hirohito's declaration of war, and prepared a two-page report which warned that Japan's navy was on a wartime footing. Kisner accurately identified three areas of potential hostile Japanese action: (1) massing of Japanese warships and aircraft of the Eleventh Air Fleet around the Philippines and Southeast Asia, (2) arrival of the Japanese submarine force, including its commander, at Jaluit in the Marshall Islands, and (3) two identical Tokyo naval broadcasts that

were aimed at ships a great distance from Japan.

Kisner did not mention any of the Japanese carriers in the report. Asked why by the author in 1988, Kisner said his policy was to stick with verified communication data of the carriers. His last verification took place on December 2 before Pearl Harbor and involved the three carriers associated with the invasion forces heading for Southeast Asia. That estimate held until new information came over the airwaves. As for the six carriers of the First Air Fleet, Kisner said he placed them operating with Destroyer Squadron One and Cruiser Division Eight on November 20, and since he had no contradictory evidence, left them there as he prepared his report on the morning of December 6.³²

Kisner grasped the full impact of Japan's communication procedures disclosed in the overnight naval broadcasts. After completing his analysis about noon on December 6, he prepared his daily written report. He fully expected that what turned out as his last peacetime report would be delivered to Admiral Kimmel. It included this prophesy based on Japan's naval broadcasts: "The use of this method of delivering messages tends to keep unknown the positions of vessels afloat, and is probably one of the first steps toward placing the operations of the [Japanese] Navy on a war-time basis." In 1998, Kisner explained the "wartime" comment in a video interview: "From reading the messages between radio stations and ships which were between us and Tokyo, I came to the conclusion based on leaked words in the message that the Japanese were moving toward Pearl Harbor and were going to jump us." By "leaked words" Kisner meant that he and the radiocryptographers at H were able to understand enough of the coded Japanese naval text to make sense of the messages—but after fifty-seven years he could not recall the exact details. "One thing is for sure," he said. "That's the only time I ever forecast war with Japan."³³

Following his usual custom, Kisner jumped into his pick-up truck and drove the intelligence bundle to Station HYPO. On the way he passed by the Japanese consulate, where spy Tadashi Morimura had just sent his message indicating that Pearl Harbor lay helpless before a surprise attack. When Kisner delivered his intelligence bundle to the basement cryptology center for the Pacific Fleet, he noted that Joseph Rochefort had left. In his place stood Lieutenant Commander Thomas Dyer, second in command at the station. Joseph Rochefort, exhausted by the week's work, had left HYPO at noon; he returned to his home in the Honolulu hills behind the University of Hawaii, about ten miles from Pearl Harbor, and took the rest of the weekend off.

Kisner left the intelligence bundle containing his war warning on Dyer's desk. The bundle went no further. Though it was on the top of the package, Dyer did not pass the war warning to Kimmel. Instead, the bundle of 900 intercepts, including the four "annihilate the enemy" and declaration-of-war messages originated by Emperor Hirohito and Admiral Yamamoto, remained untouched. Dyer later claimed in a letter to the author that only he and a yeoman staffed Station HYPO after the weekend liberty began at noon. The other twenty-six cryptographers and linguists were given the weekend off. "There were not enough warm bodies left," he wrote to the author in 1983.³⁴

Granted the station was short of staff, it still seems clear that Dyer should have read Kisner's war warning and passed it on to Kimmel and the fleet. A phone call to the weekend duty officer of the fleet, reciting Kisner's war warning, might have changed the course of events. Reminded of his war warning in 1998, Kisner said that if he had to do it all over again he would have personally notified Kimmel's duty officer.

As Japanese warships headed eastward through the Pacific toward the Pacific Fleet, there were more disclosures of the Japanese fleet's destination, including one from the oil tanker *HIMJS Shiriya*. During the evening watch on Sunday, November 30, Hawaii Time, a radio operator at Station H intercepted a movement-report message from the *Shiriya*'s captain: "This ship is proceeding direct to a position 30-00 North, 154-20 East. Expect to arrive that point at 1800 on December 3. Thereafter, will proceed eastward along the 30-degree north latitude line at a speed of 7 knots." As every chart of the Pacific Ocean shows, the 30th degree of north latitude leads directly to Midway Island.³⁵

The *Shiriya*'s original radio message is difficult to trace in American records. Though it was intercepted at Station H, it is impossible to identify the intercept operator. His initials have been removed from an English version released by President Carter's 1979 executive order. The code system used by the *Shiriya*'s captain is also blacked out, but since the radio dispatch is essentially a movement report it is presumably in Japan's naval-movement code system. Vice Admiral William "Bull" Halsey was not too far from the tanker. Halsey was aboard the USS *Enterprise*, about 500 miles south of the *Shiriya*, on December 3, delivering twelve fighter planes to Wake Island as a reinforcement for the Marine air group protecting the island. Though Halsey conducted aerial searches out to 300 miles from his Task Group, his scout planes missed the *Shiriya* and her destroyer escort.³⁶

Following the radio exchange between the *Akagi* and her tankers on November 30, Station H operators began an intense search for more broadcasts. Radio transmissions to the tankers appear prominently in the log books of H starting December 3, Hawaii Time. Radio Tokyo attempted to contact the ships on the great-distance frequency but none responded. However, the powerful transmissions directed to the tankers' radio receivers carried throughout the Pacific Basin and were intercepted at Station SAIL near Seattle.

Tokyo's broadcast to the tankers disclosed important intelligence for Admiral Kimmel. According to Kisner, "We didn't need to fully decrypt messages. As long as we had the ship's identity, Japan's communication procedure to the tankers told the story. Stepping up the daytime radio frequencies from 11,000 kilocycles to above 16,000 kilocycles indicated a progressive eastern movement from Japan."³⁷

The long-distance frequency showed that Japan's navy was refueling warships at sea—far from local oil reserves available in the Empire or at naval bases in the Formosa region. Earlier in November, the tankers had been linked with all six carriers of the First Air Fleet in radio dispatches. Kimmel was told that Kisner's operators placed the captain of the *Kyokuto Maru* (the flagship of the tankers) in conferences held aboard the carrier *Kaga*. Though it is obvious that the tankers practiced refueling at sea with the six flattops of Carrier Divisions One, Two, and Five in early November, the idea that the real thing was underway in early December north of Hawaii never occurred to Admiral Kimmel and his staff.

Over the weekend of November 28–30 diplomatic negotiations between America and Japan collapsed when the United States presented a calculated ten-point proposal that called for settling relations. Japan, according to Rochefort, was backed into a corner with no place to go—a situation forecast by Arthur McCollum fourteen months earlier. In Hawaii, Rochefort recognized Japan's dilemma. "Anyone who knew anything about the Japanese or things Japanese would have said that when we sent the November 26 letter you better run up the red flag. I believe sincerely that the November 26 message was an actual ultimatum the Japanese could not accept and their only alternative was to go to war."³⁸

The American proposal insisted that Japan renounce the war with China, renounce their Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy, and renounce the economic plan for Southeast Asia called the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Secretary of State Cordell Hull presented the proposal to Ambassador Nomura late in the afternoon of November 26. It contained ten points that Hull called a *modus vivendi* (temporary agreement).³⁹ Two of the points angered Japan: point 3, "The Government of Japan will withdraw all military, naval, air and police forces from China and from Indo-China," and point 4, "The Government of the United States and the Government of Japan will not support—militarily, politically, economically—any government or regime in China other than the National Government of the Republic of China with the capital temporarily at Chungking." FDR held views similar to Rochefort's on Japan's reaction. In a handwritten note to Hull, the President said he regarded the proposal as fair but did not believe that Japan would agree. "I am not very hopeful and we must all be prepared for real trouble, possibly soon."⁴⁰

From Japan's point of view, renouncing the war in China was impossible. It would have turned the nation's back on hundreds of thousands of Japanese military personnel who had been killed or wounded in the four years of fighting there. To abandon either the Tripartite Pact or the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere would have been equally difficult for Japan. Japanese officials felt that their nation's survival depended upon access to the natural resources of Southeast Asia. And her only governmental friends in the world were Germany and Italy.

Emperor Hirohito and his council of advisors, the Liaison Conference, responded to the ultimatum by giving the go-ahead to Admiral Yamamoto: start the war on Monday, December 8, 1941—Tokyo Time. Yamamoto then sent a message using a prearranged phrase to the Combined Fleet. According to American sources and most Japanese accounts the phrase was broadcast in plain Japanese in the *katakana* naval syllabary. It read:

NIITAKA YAMA NOBORE, 1208.

In English:

CLIMB MOUNT NIITAKA, 1208 REPEAT 1208.⁴¹

At 1:30 A.M. on December 2, the message reached Hawaii. One of Kisner's operators at Station H, Joseph Christie Howard,⁴² intercepted the order. He had started his midnight watch and had been on intercept duty ninety minutes when he heard the familiar dot-dash of Japan's navy *kana* on his earphones. Like most of the bachelor radiocryptographers, Howard lived on the base of Station H in a large open-porch barracks and walked to the radio shack—the operations center. He transcribed the message on his code typewriter, entered it in the log book, and put it in the intelligence pipeline. But in the next step of the pipeline, deceit took over. According to Edwin Layton, Hawaii never received the NIITAKA transmission. He developed four different stories that implied that the message was never intercepted or received in Hawaii.⁴³

But the stories were flawed, for the message was intercepted by Joseph Howard at Station H. For 58 years Howard's account of intercepting Yamamoto's war start message never became public. Howard never testified before any Pearl Harbor investigation, including the Thurmond-Spence inquiry of 1995. During most of Layton's postwar lifetime, the Navy intercept records of Station H remained in locked vaults, classified TOP SECRET CODEWORD, unavailable to the public. Layton certainly had reason to believe that the intercepts would never be declassified and would never be used to contradict the assertions he made about the NIITAKA messages. Most of all no one could foresee that Joseph Howard would outlive Layton. But Edwin Layton died on April 12, 1984. And as this book goes to press in 1999, Howard is alive and well and living in Kent, Washington.⁴⁴

In truth, the message was intercepted by three Navy listening posts—on Corregidor, Guam, and Hawaii—and was available by December 3 Hawaii Time for delivery to Admiral Hart and General MacArthur in Manila, Admiral Kimmel and General Short in Hawaii, and President Roosevelt's military staff in Washington. But there is no record indicating that any of the

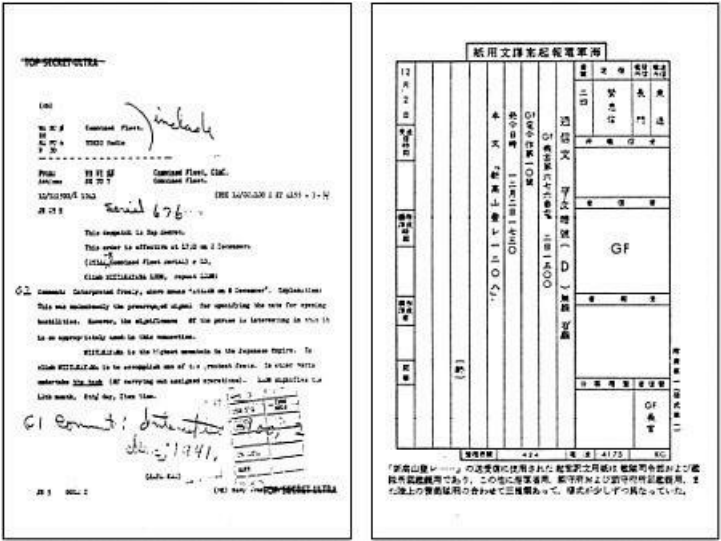
officials saw the intercept. None of the Pearl Harbor investigations followed the paper trail of the NIITAKA dispatch that led from Stations CAST, HYPO, or BAKER on Guam.

Japanese naval historians are split on the broadcast details of the CLIMB NIITAKA message. Two authoritative Japanese historians say the message was transmitted in plain language, while Yamamoto's biographer, Hiroyuki Agawa, writes, "The message was encoded syllable by syllable using the five-digit, random numbers code."⁴⁵

President Carter first released an English-language version of the infamous intercept in 1979. The original American interception documents that provide the complete details of the text have not been declassified by the United States. The original Japanese intercept, obtained by Joseph Christie Howard, produced at least two official Navy documents on 8½ × 11 paper. The Navy has censored Howard and his original records. Though he was America's expert witness to the CLIMB NIITAKA message, he never testified before any Pearl Harbor investigation.⁴⁶

Beginning in 1988, the author filed FOIA requests with the Navy, the National Security Agency (NSA), and the National Archives asking to examine Howard's original documents.⁴⁷ Nothing was released. Instead, three officials supervised a ten-year blackout and denied the author access. From 1988 to 1997, FOIA appeals were made to NSA officials including Vice Admirals William Studemann, John McConnell, and the Navy's communications intelligence head, Rear Admiral Thomas Stevens. All replied with a firm No.

The last person believed to have seen the records was Homer Kisner, the traffic chief at Station H. Asked by the author whether he or Howard could translate the plain-language Japanese *kana* of the NIITAKA message, Kisner said he could not recall Howard's language skills because he had been aboard for only a few months. But the more senior personnel could read simple Japanese *kana* text. "All of us who had been in the organization since the mid-thirties knew the word *yama* meant mountain." Did he understand the message's significance? He said he could not recall but added, "The original intercept and working papers of the message would disclose my reaction." Did he believe the message was withheld from Admiral Kimmel? "I have no way of determining what happened to the message once I delivered it to HYPO. Our organization's primary purpose was to provide information to the admiral, not withhold."⁴⁸



Both versions of the NIITAKA message released by the United States (left) and Japan (right) are suspect. the US version asserts that Tokyo Radio, HA FU 6, transmitted the message on 4155 kilocycles and used Yamamoto's personal radio call sign YO WI 00. Japan's version appears to be a postwar reconstruction and contradicts Joseph Howard's version by claiming the frequency was 4175 kilocycles. Neither version clarifies whether the original transmission is in plain Japanese. Japanese translators at the University of California, Berkeley, could not find any radiocall signs listed in Japan's version.

Source: USA= SRN #115376 in RG #457, Archives II; Japan, Miyauchi p. 11.

Since none of the original documents were presented to the congressional investigations, no official determination has been made whether the message is in plain Japanese. If Japanese historians are correct, Yamamoto chose his phrase from the "hidden-word" code book devised by Japan's naval cryptographers, not the more sophisticated Code Book D, which used a five-number system to encode messages. The hidden-word code is from Code Book A, which contained scores of phrases with hidden meanings.

Words with hidden meanings might intrigue Japanese scholars but they are a disaster when used for communications

intelligence. Even a relatively inexperienced communication intelligence specialist could discern their meaning—and did. When the English version of the message was prepared (but never introduced into evidence) for Congress in 1945, a cryptographer whose Navy initials are RK interpreted the meaning of NIITAKA YAMA NOBORE, 1208. RK wrote: “This was undoubtedly the prearranged signal for specifying the date for opening hostilities. However, the significance of the phrase is interesting in that it is so appropriately used in this connection. Niitaka Yama is the highest mountain in the Japanese Empire. To climb Niitaka Yama is to accomplish one of the greatest feats—in other words, undertake the task (for carrying out assigned operations). 1208 signifies the 12 month, 8th day, Item time.”⁴⁹

Howard used his Elliott-Underwood code typewriter to convert the Japanese naval *kana* dot-dash to message text. He spent about five minutes typing the short message, finished his shift about 8:00 A.M., and filed his logs and message sheets with watch supervisor Elliott Okins.⁵⁰

Howard intercepted at least eight Japanese naval messages, including the NIITAKA dispatch, during his shift. Two messages involved the aircraft carrier *Kasuga Maru* (a.k.a. HIMJS *Taiyo*), Carrier Division Four, and Air Flotilla Twenty-Two, the powerful land-based navy air force that sank Britain’s HMS *Prince of Wales* and HMS *Repulse* during the first week of hostilities. Okins analyzed Howard’s intercepts but did not include the CLIMB NIITAKA dispatch or those involving the *Kasuga Maru* and Carrier Division Four in his report to Kisner.⁵¹

After he received Okins’ analysis at about 8:30 A.M., Kisner prepared his Daily Chronology for December 2. He noted the Carrier Division Four report but failed to mention the *Kasuga Maru* and the remarkable CLIMB NIITAKA dispatch. Kisner then took the intercepts gathered by Howard and other radio operators to Rochefort’s office. His intelligence bundle contained radio direction finder and code movement reports of the Japanese fleet. About 1000 intercepts were in the bundle, representing reports from the previous twenty-four hours. Kisner believes that Rochefort would have spotted Yamamoto’s NIITAKA message and recognized the importance. “He was an expert Japanese translator and was assisted by four other language officers attached to HYPO,” Kisner told the author.

Rochefort and his staff distilled the bundle into the Daily Communication Intelligence Summary and delivered it to Admiral Kimmel for his scheduled 8:00 A.M. briefing by Edwin Layton on December 3. The Summary’s contents had nothing to say about the NIITAKA dispatch or Howard’s intercepts of the carrier *Kasuga Maru* and Carrier Division Four, whose mission was to attack American bases in the Philippines. Under the heading “CARRIERS,” Rochefort wrote, “Almost a complete blank of information on the Carriers today. Lack of identification has somewhat promoted this lack of information. However, since over two hundred service calls have been partially identified since the change on the first of December and not one carrier call is at a low ebb.”⁵²

Admiral Thomas Hart, the Asiatic Fleet commander, saw decoded and translated copies of most intercepts produced at Station CAST. On orders from Washington, Hart normally shared them with General MacArthur.⁵³ Circumstances suggest that Hart learned of the message—for speedy military action in the Philippines followed soon after NIITAKA hit the air-waves. Hart cleared all his warships from Manila Bay on December 3 (Manila Time) and sent them south to Dutch naval bases. MacArthur ordered his construction engineers to enlarge an airstrip used by the Del Monte pineapple plantation on Mindanao Island in the southern Philippines for use by B-17 bombers.⁵⁴

The evidence available today is plentiful, but circumstantial. Until the Navy comes clean, the true fate of the NIITAKA message will remain a mystery.

Captain Charles Horatio McMorris, Kimmel’s war plans officer, assured the admiral that there wasn’t a chance of a Japanese air raid on Pearl Harbor: “The admiral asked me when I thought there would be an attack on Pearl Harbor by air and I said, Never.”⁵⁵

Was Kimmel convinced by McMorris’ answer? On December 5, he had McMorris draw up a secret action plan for the fleet in case war broke out within the next forty-eight hours. McMorris prepared twelve war-action recommendations that essentially kept the fleet’s aircraft carriers, *Enterprise* and *Lexington*, together with their escorts of six cruisers and thirteen destroyers, out of Pearl Harbor. The third carrier, *Saratoga*, was held on the West Coast of California. Then, after approving the weekend waraction plan, Kimmel returned to a peacetime routine. He accepted a Saturday-night invitation to a luau at the Halekulani Hotel on Waikiki beach and scheduled a round of golf with General Short for Sunday morning, December 7.

THIS MEANS WAR

CBS RADIO BUREAU
SINGAPORE
DECEMBER 6, 1941, HAWAII TIME

ADAMIRAL HUSBAND KIMMEL MIGHT NOT HAVE GONE TO THE LUAU AND might have canceled his golf game if he had heard Cecil Brown's radio broadcast from Singapore: "The British military is prepared for a Japanese surprise move over the weekend. Soldiers and sailors have been recalled to their barracks and ships." Brown reported that American reconnaissance planes had sighted a strong force of Japanese warships and troop transports heading for invasion beaches in central Malaya.¹

But despite the many indications of an attack that had been received over the airwaves, Kimmel wasn't looking for carriers or anticipating a surprise move by Japan. Though he had seven aircraft in the air on local patrol, fifty-four of his long-range PBV scout planes were grounded.²

The paradox of the White House ordering Kimmel to stand aside, all the while denying him full access to Japanese communications intelligence, is further illustrated by another cryptographic channel that revealed Japanese war moves. Japan's military wasn't the only organization divulging secrets. On December 5, Japanese Foreign Ministry officials transmitted two messages which disclosed that war between Japan and America would start December 7. Stations US, CAST, and FIVE obtained two intercepts. They were in the Purple Code; interception of the messages went fine, but there's no evidence that Stations US and CAST forwarded the intercepts to Hawaii—even though both cryptographic centers knew the keys to Purple and decoded such messages in hours.

Neither message was decoded until after the attack. This was true of every Japanese military and diplomatic message obtained during the week of December 1–6, which stated that Hawaii was the target of a carrier attack, set the date for the war's start, or named the enemy as Britain and America.

The American policy of noninterference with Japan's first overt act of war can be further documented through four diplomatic intercepts that were obtained December 6 and 7, before the Pearl Harbor raid, and that reveal the speedy decryption service provided to President Roosevelt. Japan transmitted the messages in four parts over a twenty-four-hour period—a time frame that permitted American cryptographers ample opportunity for rapid decoding and translation. First Tokyo sent a "pilot" message, known as Part 1, to Ambassador Kichisaburo Nomura in Washington, which said that Japan would reply to nearly one year of diplomatic negotiations with America. The reply was arranged in two messages. Tokyo outlined the subject of both, saying Part 2 would contain thirteen parts and Part 3 would contain the final fourteenth part. Nomura was told that Part 4 would be dispatched last and would set the time of presentation of the reply to the United States.

[Secret]

From: Tokyo
To: Bangkok
December 6, 1941
Purple (Urgent)
(CA)
#852.

The (——)* day (X Day) decided by the ——^b liaison conference on the 6th (?)^c is the 8th and the day on which the notice is to be given is the 7th (?) (Sunday). As soon as you have received this message, please reply to that effect.

Army 25881 Trans. 12/8/41 NR)

Translator's assumptions:
* "Proclamation" or "declaration."
^b "Ambassadorial" or "China."
^c This word is garbled and could be either the word "6th" or the word "November."

This is the Station CAST intercept that assigns a date to “X Day.” It is the first of two Japanese Foreign Ministry messages in Purple Code dated December 5, 1941, Tokyo Time.

According to the intercept shown above, Foreign Minister Togo notified his Bangkok ambassador that “X Day” would be December 8 Tokyo Time. His message, sent in the Purple Code, was intercepted at Station CAST, but neither the C designator nor the time of interception was included in this document, presented to the Joint Congressional Investigating Committee in 1945–46. Cryptographers at CAST said they could decode Purple messages in one day or less but “trans” took two days, according to the notation above.³

[Secret]

From: Peking
To: Tokyo
5 December 1941
(Purple)
Cir #625—(Circular Number) To be handled in government code.
Re my secret military communication #262* of November 30th.
1. Concurrent with opening war on Britain and America we have considered Holland as a semi-belligerent and have exercised strict surveillance over her consulates and prohibited all communication between them and the enemy countries.
2. Coincident with the beginning of the war against Britain and America we have taken steps to prohibit the use of code messages and the use of wireless by the Holland consulates.
3. In case war breaks out with Holland we will take the same steps toward that country that we have taken in the case of Britain and America.
26108
JD-1: 7335
*Not available.

(H) Navy Trans. 12-11-41 (AR)

Source: PHPT 12, p. 236.

The beginning of the war on Britain and America is plainly stated in this Purple message sent from Japan’s minister in Peking to Tokyo. General Short’s interception unit at Fort Shafter, Station FIVE, obtained this all-telling message on December 4, Hawaii Time. Congress was not told that this message was intercepted in Hawaii; neither was Short. The designator 5 has been omitted and AR [Army Radio] substituted. There is no explanation for why it took eight days for a “Navy trans.” Both Army and Navy cryptographers commonly produced decodes of Purple Code intercepts for FDR within hours.

Unknown to Japan, US Army and Navy cryptographers intercepted, decoded, and translated the four messages before they reached Ambassador Nomura. In essence, the four intercepts directed the ambassador to present a fourteen-part memorandum that severed Japanese relations with the United States government and set a presentation deadline of 1:00 P.M. EST for Sunday, December 7. Though the deadline message lacked specificity, Washington’s senior military leaders realized that 1:00 P.M. corresponded to 7:30 A.M. in Hawaii and that some hostile action by Japan could occur then or shortly thereafter.

All four intercepted cablegrams were decoded, translated, and delivered promptly to President Roosevelt over a twelve-hour period starting at 9:30 P.M. Saturday, December 6, and ending at 10:00 A.M. December 7. But for reasons that are difficult to accept, direct delivery of the messages to Army Chief of Staff General George Marshall was delayed for fifteen hours. During the 1945–46 Pearl Harbor investigation, Republicans would wonder aloud: was the delay deliberate, to forestall American military interference with Japan’s attack?

Instead of picking up his scrambler telephone and tipping off General Short to the 1:00 P.M. deadline, Marshall sent the warning to Hawaii using a combination of Western Union and RCA, a slower method.⁴ A bizarre paper trail follows the four intercepts from Tokyo to the Oval Study in the White House. It includes a later attempt to distance Pearl Harbor investigators from Marshall and the 1:00 P.M. deadline and involves coercion of a US Army colonel to alter his testimony. It even reaches to post-surrender Germany in 1945 when that colonel, Rufus Bratton, was flagged down on the Berlin Autobahn and persuaded to “modify” evidence against Marshall.

The first of Foreign Minister Togo’s four orders, which preceded the 14-part message breaking off relations and declaring war, is known as the “pilot” message. It laid out Japan’s plans for war notification. On December 5, Togo demanded that secrecy be maintained and messaged Nomura to be on the lookout for a fourteen-part memorandum that would be sent “tomorrow” (December 6, EST). Togo said that the last part of the message—the time of delivery to the Americans—would be sent later. In the meantime, Nomura was to prepare the memorandum “in nicely drafted form and make every preparation to present it to the Americans just as soon as you receive instructions.”⁵

By 3:00 P.M. December 6 (EST), the first thirteen parts of Togo’s war scenario notification were intercepted at Station SAIL

and sent to Station US by teleprinter for decoding. Commander Laurance Safford, head of Station US, supervised the decryption and, to speed up decoding, sent six parts of the memo to the Army's cryptographic section in the adjoining Munitions Building. By about 4:00 P.M., with the Army's help, all thirteen parts had been converted to English except for minor garbles. Upon reading all thirteen parts, Safford knew war was coming; he notified the White House. He asked FDR's naval aide, Captain Beardall, to alert the President to expect delivery of very important intelligence that evening. Safford then worked out a delivery schedule with his principal Japanese translator and thirty-eight-year-old aide, Lieutenant Commander Alwin Kramer. The schedule called for delivery of the message to the White House and separate copies to go to Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox and other top naval officers. Kramer then took extraordinary steps to get the intercept to Roosevelt. He telephoned his wife at home and explained the emergency. She agreed to act as chauffeur and drive her courier husband on his delivery rounds. Mrs. Kramer pulled up to the gates of the White House at 9:00 P.M. Her husband jumped out, passed through the Secret Service checkpoint, and raced to the small basement office of the naval aide. Here he found Lieutenant Lester Schulz, who had been alerted to the delivery by Beardall.⁶

Schulz phoned the White House ushers' office and was told to come over, the President is expecting you. By 9:30 P.M. he was ushered into Roosevelt's Oval Study in the second-floor residential quarters. Schulz quickly opened the leather pouch and handed the secret documents to the commander-in-chief, pointing out that the set of messages was incomplete. Two more messages were expected from Japan: Part Fourteen and a delivery deadline. Schulz recognized Harry Hopkins, FDR's confidant and former secretary of commerce, pacing back and forth in the room.

The President spent about ten minutes reading all thirteen parts, according to Schulz's testimony before the Joint Congressional Investigations Committee. The long message conveying Japan's official reasons for making war charged America with obstructionist tactics aimed at Japan's economy and favoring the side of Chiang Kai-shek in the China War, and it alleged that the American government wanted to extend the war:

THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT CANNOT TOLERATE THE PERPETUATION OF SUCH A SITUATION SINCE IT DIRECTLY RUNS COUNTER TO JAPAN'S FUNDAMENTAL POLICY TO ENABLE ALL NATIONS TO EACH ENJOY ITS PROPER PLACE IN THE WORLD.⁷

Schulz remembered that FDR finished the last page of the memorandum, turned to Hopkins, and pronounced the famous utterance: "This means war." It was 9:45 P.M. Neither the President nor Hopkins discussed Pearl Harbor as the Japanese target, nor did they mention any date for the war's start. While he waited in the study, Schulz overheard Hopkins express the view that since war was going to come at the convenience of the Japanese, it was too bad we couldn't strike the first blow to prevent our being surprised. "The President nodded and then said, in effect, 'No, we can't do that. We are a democracy and a peaceful people.' Then he raised his voice, and this much I remember definitely. He said, 'But we have a good record.'"⁸

Schulz said that FDR then picked up the telephone and tried to reach Admiral Stark. Told that the admiral was attending a performance of the Sigmund Romberg operetta *The Student Prince* at the National Theater, Roosevelt decided to wait. "He did not want to cause public concern by having the admiral paged inside the theater, for if he left suddenly it would have been seen by the audience and cause undue alarm," Schulz testified. Stark's hasty departure would have been reported by news media and could have tipped off Tokyo that America anticipated hostile action.

At about 10:00 P.M., FDR handed the documents back to Schulz, who then returned to his small office and gave them to the waiting Kramer. For the next three hours, the Kramers traveled about the District of Columbia and the Virginia suburbs of Alexandria and Arlington showing the top brass the memorandum that Roosevelt had called a declaration of war. Except for the Kramers and President Roosevelt, Washington's senior military brass were all involved in social activities on Saturday night, December 6. Admiral Stark, the Navy's operational boss, was at the theater and Secretary of the Navy Knox was entertaining officials of the *Chicago Daily News* in his Wardman Park Hotel suite. The Kramers found Captain Theodore Wilkinson, Director of Naval Intelligence, hosting a gathering in his Arlington, Virginia, residence that included Captain John Beardall and Brigadier General Sherman Miles, head of Army Intelligence. After showing the Japanese memorandum to a select few of Wilkinson's military guests, Kramer returned to Station US and placed the secret document in its safe. Lieutenant Commander Watts, the duty officer, told Kramer that the two crucial elements of the memorandum, the fourteenth part and the deadline instructions, had not yet been intercepted. Kramer then left for his home, assuring Watts he would return at 7:30 in the morning when Commander Arthur McCollum took over as duty officer.⁹

A few hours later, a highly unusual Japanese communication procedure caught the eye of intercept operators at Station SAIL. Just before midnight, Pacific Standard Time, Radio Tokyo, using Morse code, contacted RCA Wireless and Mackay Radio & Telegraph in San Francisco. The contact was in plain English and alerted both firms to expect two very important messages addressed to KOSHI (Ambassador) in Washington. Transmitting messages over the dual facilities was a rare procedure for Radio Tokyo and served as a special alarm to the intercept operators at SAIL. At five minutes past midnight, the Tokyo-San Francisco circuit sprang to life with the arrival of the delayed fourteenth part of Togo's memorandum. Then at 1:37 A.M. the final part of the message—the deadline—arrived. SAIL operators instantly intercepted the messages and verified that "VERY IMPORTANT"—in English—prefaced each. By 2:00 A.M. both messages were entered on the SAIL logs as intercepts 380 and

381 and sent by teleprinter to Station US in the nation's capital.

The time was about 5:00 A.M. in Washington and 11:30 P.M. Saturday night in Hawaii when watch officer Lieutenant Francis M. Brotherhood pulled the two messages off the printer. Brotherhood was part of the Navy's cryptographic team that had solved Japan's main Navy code, the 5-Num system. He was also adept at decoding the Purple machine's diplomatic code. He noted that both intercepts were in the Purple system. When he ran it through the machine, 380 turned out in English. "It was perfectly clear to me," Brotherhood said. "It was the missing part fourteen and I readied it for dissemination through the customary channels."

OBVIOUSLY IT IS THE INTENTION OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT TO CONSPIRE WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND OTHER COUNTRIES TO OBSTRUCT JAPAN'S EFFORTS TOWARD THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE THROUGH THE CREATION OF A NEW ORDER IN EAST ASIA, AND ESPECIALLY TO PRESERVE ANGLO AMERICAN RIGHTS AND INTERESTS BY KEEPING JAPAN AND CHINA AT WAR. THIS INTENTION HAS BEEN REVEALED CLEARLY DURING THE COURSE OF THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS. THUS, THE EARNEST HOPE OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT TO ADJUST JAPANESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND TO PRESERVE AND PROMOTE PEACE OF THE PACIFIC THROUGH COOPERATION WITH THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT HAS FINALLY BEEN LOST.

THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT REGRETS TO HAVE TO NOTIFY HEREBY THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT THAT IN VIEW OF THE ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IT CANNOT BUT CONSIDER THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT THROUGH FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS.

Message 381 was in Japanese, so Brotherhood, who was not a translator, walked the intercept to the nearby Munitions Building, where Army translators were on duty. It was the deadline message:

VERY IMPORTANT. WILL THE AMBASSADOR PLEASE SUBMIT TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT (IF POSSIBLE THE SECRETARY OF STATE) OUR REPLY TO THE UNITED STATES AT 1:00 P.M. ON THE 7TH YOUR TIME.¹⁰

It was nearly seven o'clock in the morning and the end of Brotherhood's shift. Before going off duty, he placed the decoded and translated SAIL messages on the desk of Alwin Kramer, who Brotherhood knew was expected in at about 7:30 A.M. Now it was up to the "runner," Kramer, to get both messages into the hands of Roosevelt and his top military and diplomatic advisors. Kramer reported to his office at 7:30 promptly, picked up the two SAIL messages, and realized their import: Japan planned to end diplomatic relations with the United States and directed that the rupture notice be delivered at 1:00 P.M. local time, which was 7:30 A.M. in Hawaii. Kramer discussed the two intercepts with Commander Arthur McCollum, who had just arrived. Both realized the significance of the 7:30 A.M. time in the Pacific, but neither had authority to transmit any warnings. Only Stark or Marshall could issue war warnings. The time was now about 8:00 A.M. in Washington and 2:30 A.M. in Hawaii. After assuring himself that Army intelligence officials were aware of the 1:00 P.M. deadline, Lieutenant Commander Kramer set off to deliver both messages to the White House while McCollum took copies of the messages to Admiral Stark. The time was now about 9:30 A.M. EST. In Hawaiian waters, Japan's First Air Fleet was speeding along the 157 degree meridian of longitude and nearing the Prokofiev Seamount. In two hours the carriers were scheduled to launch their first bombers.

The paper trail of the deadline message is fully documented in Navy files. It was intercepted in the early morning hours of Sunday and delivered to the White House by Commander Kramer at 10:00 A.M.—4:30 A.M. in Pearl Harbor. Instead of relying on his wife as chauffeur, Kramer ran the four blocks to the White House. There Captain Beardall, the naval aide, handed the message to Roosevelt in his bedroom. According to Beardall, the President read the intercept but made no comment on the 1:00 P.M. deadline. "I had no sense that he was alarmed," Beardall said.¹¹

Even though the night before FDR had said that the earlier Japanese intercept "meant war," Navy officials in Washington continued to delay sending war warnings to the Pacific. After the curtain came down on *The Student Prince*, Stark returned home and about midnight discussed the memorandum with Roosevelt by telephone. According to Stark's account, Roosevelt stated that "our affairs with Japan were in a very critical condition" but did not suggest any action be taken. Stark went to sleep.¹²

Tracing the Army's delivery of the identical set of Foreign Minister Togo's intercepts during the weekend is labyrinthine. Evasive accounts from some of the Army's top generals of World War II contribute to the complexity. The trail is obscured by charges of intimidation, perjured testimony, coercion of witnesses, and obstruction of justice. Two of the most famous and respected American generals of World War II—General George C. Marshall and Lieutenant General Walter Bedell Smith—are involved. Controversy reached into the congressional investigation of 1945–46 when two congressmen verbally battled over whether or not changes in Army testimony involving the 1:00 P.M. message were coerced by "small-town police court tactics."

These charges and countercharges focused on the Army's "runner," Colonel Rufus Bratton, and whether he delivered Togo's

four intercepted messages to General Marshall in a timely manner. Bratton's duties paralleled those of Kramer. He worked for Army Intelligence and distributed the secret intelligence reports to a select list that included Secretary of State Cordell Hull and Marshall. Bratton never delivered intelligence messages to the White House; that was a Navy responsibility, by presidential edict.

Bratton said he obtained the first two messages—the pilot and the first thirteen parts—from Kramer at about 4:00 P.M. Saturday. He read and recognized their importance and placed them in two locked leather pouches, one for Marshall and the other for Secretary of State Hull. Then he began delivery, leaving the pouch intended for Marshall with the Secretary of the Army's General Staff, Colonel Walter Bedell Smith, who promised immediate delivery to the general's residence in Fort Myer, Virginia, about a ten-minute drive from the War Department. Between 9:00 and 10:00 P.M., Colonel Bratton reached the State Department and delivered the pouch to Hull's office, then went off duty.

The delivery intended for General Marshall was delayed fifteen hours and did not reach him until about 11:00 A.M. EST on December 7, when it appeared on his desk in the War Department. Japan's 1:00 P.M. deadline message was turned over to Bratton on Sunday morning around 9:00 A.M. Bratton, like his Navy counterpart, realized the significance of the time-frame and frantically tried to reach Marshall at his home. Told the general was out riding horseback, Bratton asked that an orderly be sent out to the bridle paths of Fort Myer to locate the Army chief and advise him of the emergency. More delay ensued. Finally, at about 10:00 A.M., Marshall returned Bratton's phone calls and learned of the emergency. Bratton offered to come immediately to Fort Myer. Marshall declined the offer and said he would drive directly to his office—a ten-minute drive.

Marshall didn't arrive in his office, however, until about 11:15, a 75-minute delay. The thirteen-part message was on the top of his desk. Marshall spent 30 minutes with it. Bratton repeatedly tried to interrupt Marshall and show him the 1:00 P.M. deadline message but was rebuffed. But by 11:45, Marshall apparently realized its significance, and wrote out a warning to the Army's Pacific commanders. He checked by telephone with Stark, who asked that naval commanders also be notified and offered the use of the powerful Navy radio stations to broadcast the message to the Pacific. Marshall declined the offer and sent this message to four Army commands:

JAPANESE ARE PRESENTING AT ONE P.M. EASTERN STANDARD TIME TODAY WHAT AMOUNTS TO AN ULTIMATUM ALSO THEY ARE UNDER ORDERS TO DESTROY THEIR CODE MACHINE IMMEDIATELY STOP JUST WHAT SIGNIFICANCE THE HOUR SET MAY HAVE WE DO NOT KNOW BUT BE ON ALERT ACCORDINGLY STOP INFORM NAVAL AUTHORITIES OF THIS COMMUNICATION. /SS/ MARSHALL

At 11:52 A.M. in Washington and 6:22 A.M. in Hawaii, the Army's radio station WAR began transmitting Marshall's handwritten alert to the Caribbean Defense Command in Panama, General MacArthur in Manila, and the Western Defense Command in San Francisco. Last on the list was Hawaii, where at 12:17 P.M. [EST] WAR tried to contact General Short's command at Fort Shafter. The radio signals failed to reach from Washington to Hawaii, so the message to Short was sent via the Western Union land lines between Washington and San Francisco, then by RCA radio to Honolulu. The transmission delay has never been adequately explained. Just twelve minutes earlier, at 12:05 P.M., WAR had successfully relayed Marshall's alert to MacArthur in Manila through the Fort Shafter radio.

According to Bratton's testimony, he spent nearly three hours, from 9:00 to 11:45 on Sunday morning, December 7, attempting to convince Marshall to act on the emergency. This delay was investigated in 1944 by the principal Army inquiry into the Pearl Harbor disaster. Three Army generals determined that the delay began on Saturday night, December 6, and ended at eleven o'clock the next morning, a time lag of fifteen hours.¹³

Their investigation, authorized by Congress and called the Army Pearl Harbor Board, coincided with the fall 1944 presidential contest between Roosevelt and Thomas Dewey. After concluding their three-month investigation on October 6, 1944, the three generals issued a report that damaged the reputation of General Marshall. One finding concluded that Marshall failed in his communications with Short over the weekend of December 6–7. They found that “[Marshall failed] to get to General Short on the evening of December 6 and the early morning of December 7, the critical information indicating an almost immediate break with Japan, though there was ample time to have accomplished this.”¹⁴

Marshall quickly sought to counter the charge and, with the approval of Henry Stimson, Secretary of War, dispatched an Army major on a 55,000-mile aerial journey throughout the European and Pacific war theaters to gather affidavits and testimony that contradicted Bratton's account. Hostilities were still raging over the entire globe, as Major [Later Lieutenant Colonel] Henry Clausen began the sixth Pearl Harbor investigation in March 1945.

Clausen, an Army reservist and a lawyer in civilian life, obtained affidavits from ten Army officers during 1945 who disputed Bratton's account of the evening of December 6, but with the caveat, “to the best of my memory.” Most important was the sworn affidavit given by Lieutenant General Walter Bedell Smith, by then chief of staff to General Dwight Eisenhower. Smith confirmed that Bratton brought intercepts to him in a locked pouch on various occasions in the fall of 1941, but did not recall seeing him on the night of December 6. “To the best of my recollection, I left the office at around seven P.M. that night.” Neither Smith nor the other nine officers actually denied Bratton's assertion that he dropped off the thirteen-part message for delivery to Marshall's residence at Smith's office that evening. Their affidavits contain the numerous qualifications easily recognized in military circles as passing the buck.¹⁵

In what might be the most bizarre episode in the Pearl Harbor raid's story, Henry Clausen confronted Rufus Bratton with the ten affidavits. Clausen traveled to Berlin after the German surrender, tailed Bratton's automobile, and flagged it to the shoulder of the Autobahn. As military vehicular traffic whizzed by, Clausen persuaded Bratton to "modify" his recollection concerning his intended delivery to General Marshall on December 6, 1941. Both then flew to the Hotel Prince of Wales in Paris, where the text of the modification was drawn up. Bratton then "made some statement to Colonel Clausen to the effect that in light of the evidence before me now it seems advisable for me to modify some of the statements that I gave before the Grunert Board" [the Army Pearl Harbor Board].

But despite Clausen's efforts, Bratton never changed his original testimony. The Army Board's assignment of failure to General Marshall stood. During the congressional investigation of 1945–46, Republicans and Democrats verbally clashed over whether Bratton's affidavit was coerced under pressure from America's top generals. Republican Congressman Frank Keefe of Wisconsin, in a quarrel with Democrat John Murphy of Pennsylvania, complained that "There have been so many changes of testimony relative to this matter, produced by the Clausen report, and testimony under oath in the Army and Navy reports and so on that I am having difficulty finding out what the fact is."¹⁶

Even after the countless American missteps in the early morning hours of December 7, there was still an opportunity to alert the American fleet to the raid. Between 6:50 A.M. and 7:15 A.M. Hawaii Time two Army radar operators detected the first wave of Japanese aircraft closing in on Oahu. Two large blips appeared on their radar screen during that twenty-five-minute period. As the blips became progressively larger, indicating an approach to Oahu, the operators became concerned and telephoned warnings to the Army's Aircraft Warning Service (AWS) at Fort Shafter. Neither operator identified the mass of aircraft as either friendly or hostile, just that "it was the largest group of planes I ever saw on the oscilloscope."

Privates Joseph Lockard and George Elliott focused the electronic beam of the radar's set directly north along the 157th meridian of longitude. They were part of an Army signal battalion that operated several radar sites in Hawaii.¹⁷ Both privates were in their early twenties, had had at least four months of training in radar operations, and were considered experienced in this still-new technology. As they stared at the radarscope, images appeared indicating that large groups of aircraft were heading toward their vantage point on 700-foot Opana Hill, on Oahu's north shore near Kahuku Point. Both privates checked their instruments and antennae to be sure the radar beam was not reporting a flight of birds or false echoes off the water. Certain that their evaluation was correct, Elliott used a direct telephone link to the AWS center and reported the bearings. No interest was shown by the duty officer, Lieutenant Kermit Tyler, an Army fighter pilot who was learning basic intercept operations. It was his first day on the radar post and he knew nothing about AWS skills. Tyler told Elliott to "forget it." As the planes continued to move from 130 miles out and closed in on Oahu, Lockard got on the phone again, but he could only reach the switchboard operator, Private Joseph McDonald. McDonald was as experienced in radar technology as Elliott and Lockard, even though the Army only gave him a lowly private's rating. The threesome knew far more about radar operations than the very inexperienced Tyler. McDonald had been working at the AWS center since August, first installing the radar-plotting equipment, then manning the telephone switchboard. Like the other trained enlisted personnel, McDonald worked every day, including weekends.

Lockard pleaded to be connected with Tyler. He told McDonald, "It's the first time I have ever received anything like this. It's an awfully big flight. Large number of planes coming in from the north, three points east. I am really excited." Twice McDonald tried to get Tyler to answer the phone: "Sir, I would appreciate it very much if you would answer the phone."¹⁸

Tyler gave in about 7:20 A.M., and talked with Lockard, but dismissed his radar report as "nothing." In testimony he gave to the prime Army investigation of Pearl Harbor, McDonald said he had wanted to send a message to General Short and had showed it to Tyler. But the inexperienced Tyler would not allow the message to be sent; he closed down the center and released the radar crews for breakfast. Tyler believed the planes to be Army B-17 bombers en route to Hawaii from California. Earlier, as he drove to the AWS center for his four-to-eight-o'clock shift, Tyler had heard traditional Hawaiian music on his car radio. He offered the less-than-compelling explanation that a bomber pilot friend had told him that whenever Hawaiian music was played on the radio during the early morning hours it meant that flights of bombers were due to arrive from the mainland. Tyler said he thought the pilots used the music as a directional guide to Hawaii.¹⁹

Lieutenant General Short had acted on the November 27 orders from Washington directing that he establish reconnaissance operations and had directed that the Army radar detection search start two hours before sunrise and continue until 11:00 A.M. daily. He specifically stated that the operation was to include Sundays and holidays. He added an order that "all radar reports of aircraft involved with carriers come directly to me and keep the Commanding General and all interested staff officers informed regarding the enemy situation."²⁰

Five Army radar stations were placed in operation by the order, three on Oahu and two on Kauai. All five aimed their radar beams toward the North Pacific. General Short said his staff decided that the most dangerous time for hostile action was the

two hours before dawn.²¹ Thirty men, headed by an Army major and assisted by a Navy and an Air Corps officer, were detailed to the control center during the danger period. Then for the remainder of the morning a training schedule went into effect.

When Tyler arrived at the center at 4:00 A.M. he found seven or eight enlisted men whose job entailed plotting radar reports on a large map of the Hawaiian Islands. There was no Army major to be seen. None of the promised Army, Navy, or Air Corps controllers were there either. Tyler was the only officer present.²² None of the others showed up until after the attack was in progress. Later, the commanding officer of the radar unit, Major Kenneth Berquist, testified that he was “not alert” that morning and not on duty at the time of the attack.²³ He never faced disciplinary action by Short. According to Tyler, there was no radar activity reported to him until about 6:10 A.M. when a radar station on Kauai reported several aircraft flying around Oahu (probably the scout planes from the *Tone* and the *Chikuma*). Radar was still in its infancy and there was no way to distinguish enemy from friendly aircraft. Tyler assumed that all radar reports were friendly and took no action. Besides, he didn’t know whom to call in an emergency.

When he heard the full details of the Opana Hill radar site debacle in 1944, Lieutenant General George Grunert, president of the Army’s Pearl Harbor investigating board, said the entire organization was faulty, its instruction faulty, and lacked common sense and reasoning. “There was nobody to do the work,” Grunert said. “The Navy liaison man wasn’t there, then at seven A.M. everybody disappeared except the telephone operator.” Grunert summed up the Opana situation: “It seems all cock-eyed to me—and that, on the record.”²⁴

The confusion in the air was mirrored by pandemonium on the water. During the early morning hours of December 7, crewmen of a minesweeper, USS *Condor*, sighted the periscope and conning tower of a Japanese submarine about one and three quarters miles off the Pearl Harbor entrance. At 3:42 A.M., a fluorescent wake near the *Condor*’s port bow caught the attention of Ensign Russell McCloy. He focused his binoculars on the wake and discovered that it was caused by a periscope that was moving at about nine knots and stirring the waters to a brilliant glow. On closer examination, McCloy detected a conning tower of a partially submerged submarine. Two crewmen standing watch alongside him confirmed the sighting and realized it was not a US sub; they were forbidden to be submerged in the entrance channel and adjacent waters, which were in a Defensive Sea Area, a ten-square-mile zone where submerged vessels were prohibited. Admiral Kimmel had previously issued standing orders directing Navy vessels to attack submerged vessels in the zone.

When sighted, the sub was proceeding toward the Pearl Harbor entrance and was on a collision course with the *Condor*. Apparently it sighted the minesweeper and turned sharply to port. McCloy then sent a visual blinker light message to a destroyer, the USS *Ward*, patrolling the Defensive Zone: “Sighted submerged submarine on westerly course, speed nine knots.” After receiving the visual signal, the *Ward* made a sonar search for about an hour and a half, without result. Meanwhile the *Condor* returned inside the Pearl Harbor anchorage after an antisubmarine net that stretched across the entrance was retracted. The entry remained opened, for another Navy vessel—the USS *Antares*, with a 500-ton steel barge in tow—as expected at about 6:00 A.M.²⁵

During this period at least two Japanese midget submarines passed through the opened entrance and entered the Pacific Fleet’s anchorage. They were part of a force of five midget submarines transported from Japan while strapped to the top decks of mother subs. Between 2:00 and 3:00 A.M. the mother subs took positions about ten miles west of the entrance channel and released the five midgets. According to Admiral Yamamoto’s plan, the midgets were supposed to submerge and slip into the harbor prior to the carrier attack and contribute to the destruction of the Pacific Fleet.

When the *Ward*’s search proved fruitless, her captain, Lieutenant Commander William Outerbridge, contacted the *Condor* by radio for additional location data. In response, McCloy advised that the sub had been sighted in the channel. Their radio conversations took place over a fifteen-minute period and were conducted in plain language so that other warships and fleet command posts would be instantly alerted to submarine contacts. They followed orders issued by Admiral Kimmel a month earlier: “When American warships definitely know an enemy submarine is in the area then they are to broadcast the information in plain language in order to sound the alarm and alert the proper people and put them in a state of readiness.” A twenty-four-hour communication watch was established and a special radio frequency was set aside so every Pacific Fleet unit could monitor submarine alerts.²⁶

The fifteen-minute radio exchange between the *Condor* and the *Ward* did reach the Communication Watch Office of the Fourteenth Naval District. But the watch officer, Lieutenant Oliver Underkofler, was asleep and did not hear the loudspeaker report of the sub sighting.²⁷

At 6:30 A.M. the *Antares*, a large supply vessel with a barge in tow, entered the channel, spotted a small submarine about 1500 yards off its starboard side, and asked the *Ward* to investigate. The *Ward* complied, and at 6:40 A.M. sighted a partially submerged submarine following the *Antares* into Pearl Harbor. A shouted call from the officer of the deck, “Captain, come up on deck!” reawakened Outerbridge, who had retired to his cabin after the *Condor*’s alert proved elusive. Outerbridge took one look at the object following the *Antares*, sounded general quarters, and at 6:45 opened fire on the sub, hitting its conning tower. Four depth charges dropped by the *Ward* finished off the sub, which sank in 1200 feet of water. Just to be sure, a PBY search plane, also guarding the Defensive Zone, dropped two more charges on the spot. Outerbridge saw black fuel oil bubbling up on

the water's surface. The first overt act by Japan, envisioned by McCollum in October 1940, had now taken place. The Empire had lost its first ship of war and two crew members to American defensive action.²⁸

Outerbridge radioed an alert in plain language over the special frequency: "We have dropped depth charges upon subs operating in Defensive Sea Area." Believing his first message wasn't strong enough, he sent another: "We have attacked, fired upon, and dropped depth charges upon submarine operating in Defensive Sea Area." These plain-language messages woke up Underkofler, who rushed the *Ward's* report to the senior duty officer for the Fourteenth Naval District, Lieutenant Commander Harold Kaminski. Now it was up to Kaminski to inform Rear Admiral Claude Bloch, the commandant of the Fourteenth District and the naval officer charged with protecting the fleet while at anchor in Hawaii. Kaminski received a busy signal when he dialed Bloch's aide. He then called Admiral Kimmel's office at the Submarine Base—a mile away—and reached the assistant duty officer, Lieutenant Commander F. L. Black.²⁹

Kaminski did not, however, inform General Short, though there was an Army teleprinter connected to Fort Shafter for just such a purpose. Later, Kaminski said he didn't have time. The time was now 7:15 A.M. It was thirty-seven minutes before the first Japanese bomb would be dropped on American soil.

Black took the *Ward's* report to Commander Vincent Murphy, the fleet duty officer, who had just awakened and was dressing. Acting with dispatch, Murphy telephoned Admiral Kimmel at his nearby residence and told him of the attack on the sub. "I'll be right down," Kimmel replied. The time was 7:35 A.M. Hawaii Time. Murphy's regular job was assistant war plans officer for Kimmel and he rotated the weekend duty officer position with other command officers.³⁰

It is perhaps ironic that of all the commissioned naval officers in the United States, Vincent Murphy should end up being the decision maker for the Pacific Fleet, until Kimmel's arrival. Navy documents show that Murphy had accompanied Admiral Richardson to Washington during the week of October 7–12, 1940, when the admiral held the tumultuous meeting with Roosevelt, and also attended dinner conferences that week with senior naval officials including Chief of Naval Operations Harold Stark. Murphy had even been present at the naval conferences on American Pacific policy in November 1940. Murphy, in other words, was aware of the strategy to provoke an attack.

Chance had thrust Murphy into a decisive role at Zero Hour. Predictably, he would do little to upset the Washington policy that called for Japan to fire the first shot. Regardless, it was almost too late. By 8:00 A.M., the attack was in full force.

THE ESCAPE WAS NORTH

ADAMIRAL KIMMEL'S GOLF GAME WITH GENERAL SHORT ON SUNDAY, December 7, 1941, was set for 9:30 in the morning on the nine-hole Army course at Fort Shafter.¹ But the relaxation promised by the vistas of fairways and tees vanished with the 7:45 A.M. phone call from Commander Vincent Murphy, reporting the discovery of an enemy submarine in the Pearl Harbor entry channel. As Kimmel was preparing to leave his quarters bombs began to fall on his warships. The USS *Arizona* exploded in a giant fireball.² Kimmel witnessed the terrible destruction from the lanai of his home while he awaited his driver.

Most captains of the Pacific Fleet warships had remained on board during the weekend. Captain Charles "Savvy" Cooke, Jr., of the fleet's flagship, the USS *Pennsylvania*, slept aboard in his cabin. So did Captains Franklin Van Valkenburgh of the *Arizona*, Mervyn Bennion of the *West Virginia*,³ and R. Bentham Simons of the light cruiser *Raleigh*. But not Rear Admiral Walter Anderson, who was in command of the seven battleships tied up to Ford Island and an eighth in dry dock. Anderson spent Saturday night, December 6, in his ocean-front residence on the Maui side of Diamond Head. His battleships bore the brunt of the raid: four were sunk, four others damaged. Loss of life aboard the *Arizona*, the flagship of Battleship Division One, was staggering. Between 80 and 90 percent of the personnel on board were killed, including Rear Admiral Isaac Kidd, commander of BATONE, and the ship's captain, Franklin Van Valkenburgh.

There were 2,476 Navy, Marine, Army, and civilian personnel killed in the Japanese attacks of December 7. The casualties stretched across the Pacific from Pearl Harbor to Wake Island and Guam. An additional 400,000 residents of the Hawaiian Islands were placed at risk. Japan seized 1,951 Americans as prisoners of war from the military and civilian populations on Guam and Wake, and many of those POWs died while in Japanese custody.⁴

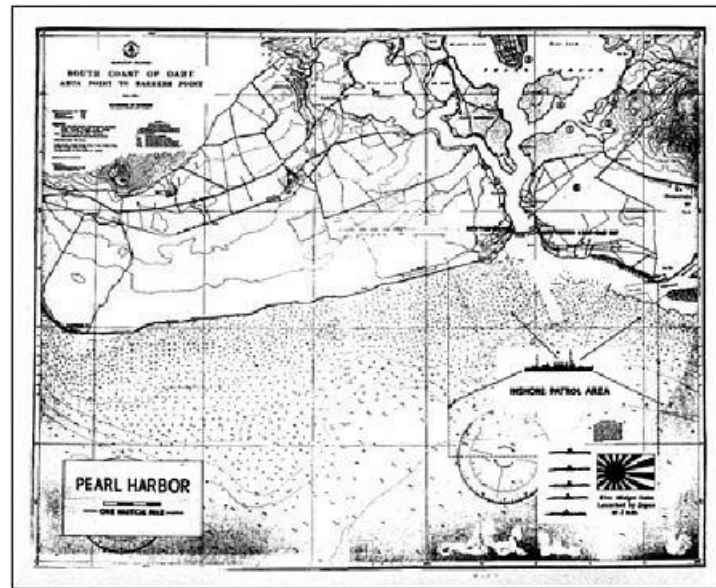
Knocking out the warships of the US Pacific Fleet was Japan's primary aim in attacking Pearl Harbor. The six carriers of the First Air Fleet carried a total of 414 aircraft and launched 360 of them in two waves at Hawaii. Fifty-four Zero fighters were reserved for combat air patrol over the carriers in case American planes located the force and retaliated. There was no retaliation of the kind Japan expected. During the first attack wave, which lasted from 7:53 to 8:25 A.M., bombers, torpedo planes, and fighters crippled the American military forces on Oahu. First, Army, Navy, and Marine airfields were bombed and strafed, destroying most of the island's air defense. Commander Mitsuo Fuchida said that the air attack was designed to first immobilize the air bases on Oahu, then temporarily knock out the Pacific Fleet by "sinking battleships and aircraft carriers."⁵ Enormous damage and a huge loss of life, delivered by 189 planes, occurred during the thirty-two minutes of the first wave. Battleship Row came under torpedo-plane assault at 7:55 A.M. From Hickam Field observers saw nine single-engine low-wing monoplanes aim at the seven battleships moored to quays on the Diamond Head side of Ford Island. Torpedoes, each equipped with a 1000-pound explosive charge, hit the battleships. One of the first was the USS *Oklahoma*, moored outboard of the USS *Maryland*, which took hits about 8:00 A.M. Huge gaps in her hull caused the warship to capsize at 8:32 A.M.

Battleship Row stood directly across the Pearl Harbor waters, about a mile from Admiral Kimmel's office. Had they been looking out on the scene, Kimmel's staff could have seen the crew of the *Maryland* prepare for 8:00 A.M. morning colors. On orders of their commanding officer, Captain D. C. Godwin, half the crew on board manned their battle stations, "just in case." High up in the foremast Seaman Lawrence McCutcheon, a seventeen-year-old native of Gridley, California, stood watch at his machine-gun post. At about 7:52 A.M. Lieutenant Jinichi Goto, leader of the *Akagi's* torpedo planes, led his pilots in the first attack on Battleship Row. Racing in from the Diamond Head side of Ford Island, Goto took aim at the *Oklahoma*. Low to the water—below the tops of the mainmasts of the two warships—he dropped his torpedo, then flew over both vessels firing his machine guns. At that instant a bullet tore into McCutcheon's heart, killing him instantly. His shipmates and family believe he was the first American killed that morning at Pearl Harbor.⁶

At 8:10 A.M. the forward powder magazine of the USS *Arizona* exploded, killing almost 90 percent of her crew. On the Ewa side of Ford Island, a separate torpedo attack hit the USS *Utah*, an old battleship converted for aerial gunnery practice. Her

destruction was rapid. At 8:05 she took on a list of 40 degrees to port, then reached 80 percent at 8:10. Two minutes later she capsized, trapping crew members in an air bubble that formed under the bottom plates. All along Battleship Row, Japanese torpedoes or bombs found their mark. The USS *California*, *Tennessee*, *West Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *Nevada* took hits. Of the capital ships, only the *Nevada* managed to get underway and head out through the channel to open seas. But she came under attack from the Japanese planes, and her captain beached the battleship at Waipio Point rather than risk foundering in the narrow channel. It was a fortunate choice, for a sinking in the channel would have bottled up all US Pacific Fleet warships inside Pearl Harbor.

Though the warships were in Condition X-Ray—a low state of alert—firing at the attackers began promptly at 7:55. Machine guns on the USS *Honolulu* focused on the attackers, and fired 2000 rounds of 30-caliber ammunition. The destroyer USS *Blue*, fully alert by 8:00 A.M., got underway and fired her main battery of five-inch AA guns, downing an attacker. A gunner on the *Blue*, listed in records as Smith, became famous as the inspiration for a World War II hit song, “Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition,” when his ammunition hoist became jammed: “Oh, Lord! Oh, Lord! Make this ammunition hoist work just this once.” When the hoist was unjammed, gunners of the destroyer spotted a midget sub in the harbor, aimed the guns at the sub, and sank it.



Japan's first overt act of war against the United States took place in the channel entrance leading to Pearl Harbor, when five midget submarines attempted to gain entrance to the anchorage during the early morning hours of December 7. The USS Ward, patrolling the area, sank one of the subs, but at least two gained entry when the antisub nets were left open (center right). Legend: (1) Station HYPO; (2) Pacific Fleet headquarters, (3) Admiral Kimmel's residence, (4) Battleship Row and adjacent Ford Island naval airstation, (5) Pearl City peninsula, where Japanese spy Morimura watched fleet operations; and (6) Hickam Field.

Heroism ruled the morning throughout the Army, Navy, and Marine bases and the Pacific Fleet's warships. Acts of bravery and self-sacrifice by the sailors and soldiers of Oahu were awarded fifteen Congressional Medals of Honor, sixty Navy Crosses, five Distinguished Service Crosses, and sixty-five Silver Stars.

Rear Admiral Walter Anderson arrived on Battleship Row at about 9:00 A.M., as the second wave began. Though he had elected to spend Saturday night in the safety of his Diamond Head home, Anderson took charge, directed rescue efforts and damage control, and heaped praise on his officers and men: “I pay homage to the unusual exhibition of courage and magnificent fighting spirit by absolutely all the personnel of the battleships. Their conduct was in accord with the highest traditions of the service. Faced with the treacherous surprise attack on Pearl Harbor the battleship's ready guns opened fire at once.” He said the anti-aircraft fire downed between fifteen and seventeen enemy planes. He praised the courageous crews' efforts to save the ships by fighting the large and menacing oil fires.⁷

Chief Boatswain's Mate Lewis W. Adkins of the *West Virginia* was among scores cited for heroism: “In charge of the after repair party, his leadership and heroic conduct while fighting the fires contributed much toward saving the ship from destruction. Throughout the attack he was in an exposed position and continued to fight the fires until they were brought under control.”⁸

Uncommon bravery saved many lives. When the *Utah* capsized at 8:12 A.M., Fireman John Vaessen was trapped in the

dynamo room, where he valiantly tried to keep the electricity flowing to the ship. As the ship began to roll over, Vaessen saw the lights dim, and then total darkness descended as he felt the battleship overturn. Trapped in an air bubble against the bottom of the hull—which was now facing skyward—Vaessen started banging on the steel. The tapping sound was heard by fellow crew members who had successfully abandoned ship and reached nearby Ford Island. Machinist S. A. Szymanski heard the tapped call for help, organized a rescue party, obtained a cutting torch, returned to the ship, and cut a hole in the bottom—where a grateful Vaessen climbed out to freedom.⁹

At 9:35 A.M. the Japanese ended the raid and began returning to their carriers. They left a heavy toll on Oahu: there were 2,273 Army and Navy dead, 1,119 wounded. Of the 101 warships in the anchorage, sixteen suffered major damage. Five were permanently out of World War II: *Utah*, *Oklahoma*, *Arizona*, *Cassin*, and *Downes*. The Army Air Force lost 96 planes and the Navy and Marine air bases lost 92.¹⁰

For Honolulu, the only American city ever subjected to an air raid, the human toll was equally heavy. The first civilian casualties were city firemen, called to Hickam Field in response to what they believed was a three alarm fire: Captains John J. Carreiro and Thomas S. Macy, along with Hoseman Harry L. Pang, were killed and six other firemen were injured when their fire trucks arrived at Hickam and were hit in the second wave. Four of Honolulu's residential districts were hard hit—not by the Japanese, but by exploding five-inch shells fired from the US Navy's 232 anti-aircraft guns. According to Navy testimony given to Congress, 3,188 rounds of five-inch shells were fired at the attackers; many missed their marks and rained down on the streets of Honolulu. Very little city damage occurred during the first wave—probably because the five-inch guns were not yet manned. The Honolulu Fire Department received a call at 8:00 A.M. reporting a “bomb drop” on Hala Drive near the Bishop Museum. But as the Pacific Fleet warships gradually put their AA guns into action the toll mounted in the city's neighborhoods. Six hits were reported to the Fire Department during the forty minutes of the second wave—8:50 to 9:30 A.M.

But after the Japanese pilots had returned to their carriers the civilian toll increased. Fifteen civilians were killed and scores injured by fifteen shells (called “bombs” in 1941) between 9:35 A.M. and 2:15 P.M. that afternoon. The worst was in an eight-block area surrounding McCully and South King Streets on the northern edge of Waikiki. Twelve people were killed, and homes and apartments were destroyed. Three unlucky civilian workers, rushing to their jobs at Pearl Harbor, died at 2:10 P.M. when a shell burst over their 1937 Packard sedan on Judd Street, near the Japanese consulate.¹¹

Some historians have called the Japanese military strategy at Pearl Harbor brilliant. They cite the multifaceted plans: thirty full-size submarines with five midget subs poised to sink Pacific Fleet warships fleeing the anchorage from the air attack; the early Sunday morning timing when Hawaii's military was still in a peacetime mode. Japan's strategists shared a worldwide (but mistaken) belief that a nation's naval might could be destroyed or curtailed by sinking its battleships. Pearl Harbor's Battleship Row and its old dilapidated warships presented a mouth-watering target. But it was a major strategic mistake for the Empire. Japan's 360 warplanes should have concentrated on Pearl Harbor's massive oil stores of five million barrels and destroyed the industrial capacity of the Navy's dry docks, machine shops, and repair facilities. Oahu's electrical-supply grid was untouched. Had Japan destroyed the industrial base, the blow would have stunted American response in the Pacific, forced a retreat to the West Coast, and given the Japanese military another few months of offensive operations. By the Battle of Midway in June 1942, America had regained the offensive: repaired US warships, staged from the relatively undamaged Pearl Harbor naval base, sank four of the aircraft carriers that had attacked them six months earlier.

Once the Pearl Harbor raid was over, of course, the same large fleet that had attacked with such stunning success had to escape. Their chosen escape route was northward. Most of the 360 planes of Nagumo's First Air Fleet (which lost only 26) regrouped over Kaena Point at the northwest corner of Oahu and continued in that direction. Verification of this route came at midmorning during a spectacular twenty-minute dogfight when two of the US Navy's slowest airplanes shot down a speedy Japanese Zero fighter between Kaena Point and Kauai. It left a spiraling trail of smoke as it plunged into the waters off Kauai.

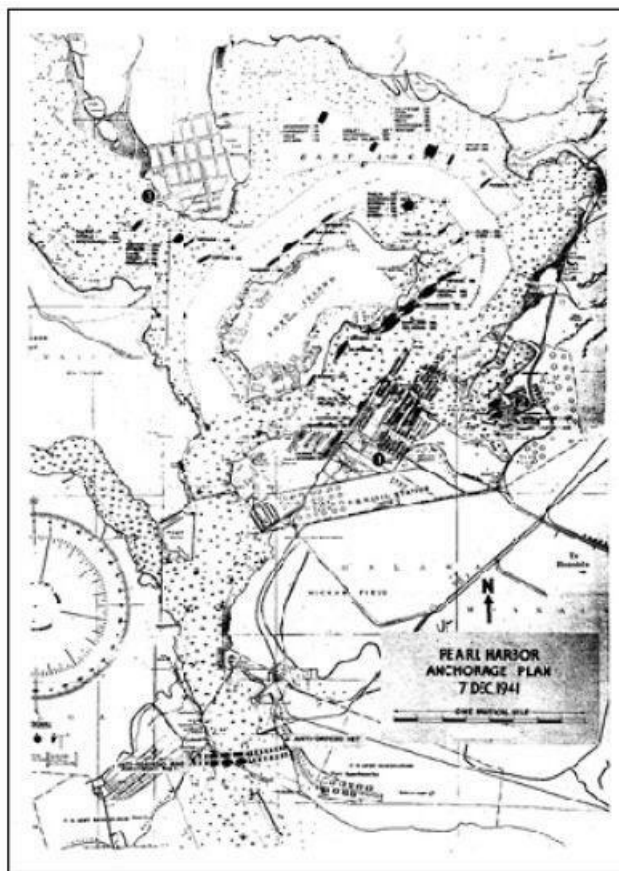
By 9:35 A.M., Japan had ended the attack. Admiral Nagumo moved his carrier fleet from the Prokofiev region toward the Mendelssohn Seamount, 200 miles northwest of Kauai. His planes followed their squadron leaders back north to their carriers. This large-scale movement of bombers and torpedo planes continued to be tracked by Army radar units as well as by Station H. Both intelligence facilities pinpointed the escape route. There was no doubt—the hostile aircraft came from, and escaped to, the north of Oahu.

Americans have never been given the full details of the First Air Fleet's escape to the north. However, bits and pieces of guarded testimony presented to various Pearl Harbor investigators between 1942 and 1946 show, when pieced together, that some American warplanes did chase after the First Air Fleet, and engaged Japanese planes in battle during the late morning and early afternoon of December 7. These dogfights extended over 150 miles of the North Pacific—from the Na Pali Coast of Kauai to near the Mendelssohn Seamount. Admiral Nagumo confirmed that the Pacific Fleet's planes pursued his force, but Admiral Kimmel never disclosed the full details of the pursuit—and missed a golden opportunity to establish himself as a

forceful commander.¹²

Between 8:05 A.M. and noon, Station H radio operators and direction finder experts intercepted radio dispatches that clearly placed the First Air Fleet north of Oahu. The dispatches were originated by Nagumo, the carriers *Akagi*, *Kaga*, *Zuikaku*, *Hiryu*, and *Soryu*, and the battleships *Kirishima* and *Hiei*. First, Admiral Nagumo reported the successful attack to Tokyo at 8:05 A.M. Later, when a number of pilots became lost and couldn't find their way "home," the carriers broke radio silence and in plain language guided them north. Radioman First Class Donovan Chase, one of the operators at H, obtained the exact location of the carriers when the *Akagi*'s air officer talked over the radio and guided a lost pilot: "Head northwest and you will find us." Other carriers of the First Air Fleet repeated the directions to pilots unable to find their way home: "Head north." One pilot from the carrier *Kaga* radioed that his fuel would last ten minutes. Chase counted out the ten minutes then added a postscript to his log: "Outa gas I hope." Another *Kaga* pilot said flames were engulfing his plane and he planned to jump. Chase recorded these conversations in his radio log during the opening moments of the war. They are published here for the first time.¹³

The mass exodus of the Japanese planes registered on the radarscope at the US Army's Opana radar site. Again Army privates Joseph Lockard and George Elliott picked them up and tracked them on a northerly course headed for the general area of the Mendelssohn Seamount. According to the Opana tracking chart, the planes appeared on the scope at 10:12 A.M. and went out of range at 10:39 A.M. when they were about 150 miles north of Oahu.¹⁴ But as was the case three hours earlier, none of the north exodus reports were sent to General Short.



Source: General Short's papers, Hoover Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

When the bombers, torpedo planes, and fighters of the First Air Fleet arrived over Pearl Harbor at 7:53 A.M. December 7, they found the warships of the Pacific Fleet neatly tied up to docks or buoys. Destroyers and light cruisers were anchored in East Loch (top); auxiliary vessels in Middle Loch [upper left]; the Pacific Fleet's flagship, USS Pennsylvania, along with other vessels were in overhaul berths in the Navy Yard (middle); seven other battleships were moored to Ford Island (center). Legend: (1) Station HYPO; (2) Pacific Fleet headquarters at the Submarine Base; (3) China Clipper base.

Japanese pilots continued to stagger back to their carrier flight decks throughout the late morning. But some pilots of the First Air Fleet ran into trouble. Two scout planes from the heavy cruiser USS *Northampton* encountered a straggler about 11:30 A.M. off the west coast of Kauai and, in a twenty-minute air battle, shot it out of the sky.¹⁵

On December 16, 1941, Admiral Kimmel was relieved of his command and demoted to rear admiral.

DESTROY ANYTHING IN WRITING

UNITED STATES CAPITOL
DECEMBER 1941

COMMANDER ARTHUR MCCOLLUM'S PREDICTION OF OCTOBER 7, 1940, comes true throughout America on Monday, December 8, 1941. His Action F—keep the fleet in Hawaii—was one of the eight provocations that he said could lead to Japan committing an overt act of war, uniting America. And indeed unification was instant. Congress declared that a state of war existed with Japan, then three days later with Germany and Italy. There was one dissenter, Congresswoman Jeanette Rankin, who had also voted against United States participation in World War I. Young men ready to die for their country formed huge lines outside Army and Navy recruiting stations. Former isolationist leaders Henry Ford, Charles Lindbergh, and William Randolph Hearst joined the cry, “Remember Pearl Harbor!” Ford converted his auto factories to assembly lines for tanks. Lindbergh helped boost aircraft production and the Hearst papers championed the Administration’s war efforts. America went from a peacetime economy to full war production virtually overnight. There was no military or moral limit to the American resolve to destroy the Axis powers and win the war. But President Roosevelt sensed an underlying uneasiness stemming from Japan’s devastating attack on Hawaii. The war was only ten days old when some congressional leaders, mostly Republicans, questioned why America’s great military bastion in the Pacific had been unprepared. The *Chicago Tribune*, led by its publisher, Roosevelt-hater Colonel Robert McCormick, called for an independent inquiry that “can investigate in Washington.” In Topeka, Kansas, *The Capital* suggested that the higher-ups in the War and Navy Departments should be investigated.¹

On December 19, Republican leader Senator Robert Taft of Ohio sided with calls for an investigation: “Perhaps the fault at Hawaii was not entirely on the admirals and generals.” A Democrat, Senator Tom Connally of Texas, while supportive of the Administration, said he was amazed and astounded by the attack and found its success “almost unbelievable.” Senator Arthur Vandenberg (R., Michigan), one of the most powerful members of Congress, joined with the House Naval Affairs Committee and proposed a full inquiry into the Pearl Harbor raid. Vandenberg wrote to the President and recommended reestablishing the Committee to Conduct the War, modeled after a Congressional group that had functioned during the Civil War.²

Alarmed by the criticism leveled at the Administration and fearing that a congressional investigation would harm the war effort and provide political fodder for the 1942 elections, President Roosevelt sought a way to defuse the critics and called upon Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter for advice.³ Full disclosure of the pre-Pearl Harbor information—including McCollum’s eight actions—would have compromised American code-breaking and disclosed the US success in solving the various Japanese cryptographic systems. Therefore the President headed off a proposed congressional inquiry by appointing a five-man board of inquiry, headed by Associate Justice Owen J. Roberts of the United States Supreme Court. Frankfurter endorsed Roberts as the most “forthright of men.” But because of the need to maintain military secrecy the Roberts Commission was understandably unable to conduct a full examination or a public discussion of the Japanese naval intercepts. None of the US Navy’s intercept operators testified or produced their radio logs and documents. Nothing was revealed about them.⁴

President Roosevelt approved the Roberts Commission’s report on Saturday, January 24, 1942. It concluded that the attack was successful due to failures and errors of judgment by Admiral Kimmel and General Short. They were charged with dereliction of duty. At the same time the commission cleared General George Marshall and Admiral Harold Stark of any wrongdoing, saying they had fulfilled their command obligations. The 13,000-page report said that Japan’s success “resulted largely from a sense of security due to the opinion prevalent in diplomatic, military and naval circles, and in the public press, that any immediate attack by Japan would be in the Far East.” The United Press story, written by Joseph L. Myler,⁵ received front-page play throughout the nation. Myler wrote of the report: “After thorough investigations in Washington and Hawaii, it told an amazing story of lack of preparation, arbitrary conclusions reached by Kimmel and Short in conflict with the advice from Washington.”

Admiral James Richardson condemned the findings. “It is the most unfair, unjust, and deceptively dishonest document ever

printed by the Government Printing Office. I cannot conceive of honorable men serving on the commission without greatest regret and deepest feeling of shame.”⁶ After the war ended in August 1945, Congress announced a comprehensive series of hearings intended to end all political speculation on Pearl Harbor. But in 1967, Max Freedman, the editor of Felix Frankfurter’s correspondence, chided Washington: “To this day there is an obstinate suspicion in Congress, especially among those who sat on the investigating committees, that Congress never got the full story about Pearl Harbor.”⁷

The key evidence of what really happened began to be concealed as early as December 11, 1941, only four days after the attack. The first step in the clean-up came from Rear Admiral Leigh Noyes, the Navy’s Director of Communications. He instituted the fifty-four-year censorship policy that consigned the pre-Pearl Harbor Japanese military and diplomatic intercepts and the relevant directives to Navy vaults. “Destroy all notes or anything in writing,” Noyes told a group of his subordinates on December 11.⁸ Among the group was Commander Laurance Safford, head of Station US (appointed captain in January 1942). Though head of the Navy’s cryptographic efforts, Safford reported to Noyes through Naval Communications, since it controlled all categories of service-involving communications. Safford implied that some destruction of records was carried out and added that he felt no shame or embarrassment in ordering his staff to destroy all unofficial notes.

At first Noyes denied ever issuing the destruction order, but later he admitted: “I may have instructed my subordinates to destroy personal memoranda. Nothing was said to destroy official records.” Noyes was on shaky legal ground. Personal memoranda prepared in Navy offices by Navy personnel belong to the people of the United States if the files concern naval matters. They cannot be destroyed except by authority of Congress.

Noyes’ destruction directive was issued just a few days before the formation of the presidential board of inquiries headed by Justice Roberts. His dictate set a policy that effectively excluded Japanese military intercepts from all Pearl Harbor investigations. Noyes said it was common practice to destroy “intercept stuff” after three or four months. However, some files escaped destruction. Every naval officer involved in the intercept and cryptographic operations (including those at outlying facilities) maintained a personal file at Station US for classified documents. The McCollum memorandum, for example, was discovered by the author in January 1995 in the personal classified file of Arthur McCollum.⁹

Two weeks after Japan surrendered in August 1945, the Navy blocked public access to the pre-Pearl Harbor intercepts by classifying the documents TOP SECRET. Even Congress was cut out of the intercept loop. The Navy’s order was sweeping: it gagged the cryptographers and radio intercept operators who had obtained the Japanese fleet’s radio messages during the fall of 1941. Fleet Admiral Ernest King oversaw the censorship. He threatened imprisonment and loss of Navy and veteran’s benefits to any naval personnel who disclosed the success of the code-breaking. He prophesied that “writings of irresponsible people” would test the loyalty of all concerned. “The Navy Department does not intend to dignify any stories concerning successes in Ultra [code breaking] by official denials or confirmations. I repeat that it is most important that leaks and partial disclosures be not fortified or reinforced nor further discussion stimulated by additional statements of those who know the facts from the inside.” King then reminded the code-breakers of the legal obligations embedded in their secrecy oath. The oath applied to all naval personnel, even those discharged: “The oath which you have taken must not be violated.”¹⁰

When the congressional investigation into the Pearl Harbor attack began on November 15, 1945, Americans believed they would be given full details on breaking the Japanese code prior to the attack. Witnesses introduced intercepts into evidence and read decrypted messages to the senators and representatives of the Joint Committee. It was a total sham. None of the details involving the interception, decoding, or dissemination of the pre-Pearl Harbor Japanese naval messages saw the light of day. Only diplomatic messages were released. Republicans suspected a stranglehold but could not pierce King’s gag order. Senator Owen Brewster (R., Maine) set off political fireworks when he was blocked from obtaining monitor records from the Navy’s intercept stations. But all Brewster achieved was rhetoric; he never got testimony or records of the military intercepts.

In April 1995, at the urging of the Kimmel and Short families, the Senate and House of Representatives opened a miniprobe into the circumstances leading to Japan’s attack.¹¹ Citing the fact that crucial Japanese intercept records had been denied to the Hawaiian commanders in 1941, both families sought to clear their loved ones’ reputation. They asked Congress to posthumously restore Kimmel and Short to their 1941 ranks of Admiral and Lieutenant General. Senator Strom Thurmond, chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committee, and Representative Floyd Spence, head of the House Armed Services Committee, conducted a one-day hearing and directed that the Pentagon conduct a thorough investigation. Thurmond asked John Deutsch, Deputy Secretary of Defense, for a speedy conclusion: “When I say speedy, though, I would not ask you to act until you feel you have completed all the investigation thoroughly and feel that you’re ready to act.” Deutsch replied: “Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Secretary of Defense William Perry, myself, and Secretary of the Navy Dalton, you have my assurance that this matter will be examined without preconception, that the judgments will be made fair on the basis of fact and with justice, and that we will speedily arrive at the best judgment we can on this matter.”

Steve Honigman, US Navy General Counsel, told Thurmond: “What I’d like to do is to state the official position of the

Department today and that position is the following. In our view there are three principal reasons why Admiral Kimmel's rank should not be upgraded. The first, quite simply, is that the historical record does not establish convincingly that President Roosevelt, General Marshall, or others in Washington deliberately withheld information from Admiral Kimmel and General Short as part of a plan or a conspiracy to expose Pearl Harbor to attack in order to thrust America into the war."¹²

Thurmond then admonished the Pentagon to establish the truth and asked for "any information available anywhere that would help them [the families]." A seven-month investigation was then conducted by the Pentagon under the leadership of Undersecretary of Defense Edwin Dorn, who put together a team of civilians and military officers to thoroughly review the events leading to Pearl Harbor. The heart of their investigation centered on whether Hawaii was denied crucial intelligence.

On December 1, 1995, Dorn issued a 50-page report that rejected the petition of the Kimmel and Short families: "I cannot conclude that Admiral Kimmel and General Short were victims of unfair official actions and thus cannot conclude that the official remedy of advancement on the retired list is in order." Dorn said he agreed with conclusions drawn consistently over several investigations, that Admiral Kimmel and General Short committed errors of judgment. "As commanders, they were accountable."¹³

But Dorn's promised thorough review lacked crucial elements. His investigative team did not produce the Japanese naval intercepts, nor did they interview Captains Duane Whitlock and Homer Kisner, the US Navy's radio traffic experts in 1941. Dorn did not produce or reveal McCollum's memorandum listing eight actions that were allowed to proceed by President Roosevelt. Missing from Dorn's investigation was America's foremost expert on the Japanese naval intercepts, John Taylor, senior researcher at Archives II. Taylor said neither Dorn nor his investigative team contacted him for documents.¹⁴

Why has it been so difficult to pry loose the truth of Pearl Harbor, this mystery that haunts American history? This book is certainly not the first time President Roosevelt's pre-Pearl Harbor strategy has been raised. Since September 1945, many authors and historians have expressed the belief that Roosevelt knew of the impending attack by the Japanese. What they didn't know—but is the heart of this book—was that a systematic plan had been in place long before Pearl Harbor that would climax with the attack.

As heinous as it seems to families and veterans of World War II, of which the author is one, the Pearl Harbor attack was, from the White House perspective, something that had to be endured in order to stop a greater evil—the Nazi invaders in Europe who had begun the Holocaust and were poised to invade England. There could be disagreement on whether the plan adopted was the right way to stop Hitler, but Roosevelt faced a terrible dilemma.

Despite his pleadings and persuasions, powerful isolationist forces prevented Roosevelt from getting into the European war. Roosevelt's advisors included American patriots such as General George Marshall, Rear Admiral Walter S. Anderson, and Commander Arthur H. McCollum who understood the need to arouse the United States from its isolationist position.

The wisdom and moral justification for the decision to provoke Japan into a bloody and terrible war that ultimately took millions of lives will be argued over for many years by people of good faith and from all political persuasions.

This book does not purport to resolve such dilemmas. What truths it uncovers from the distant past can only shed more light on a troubling time in our country's history.

The truth that has been told here does not diminish Franklin Delano Roosevelt's magnificent contributions to the American people. His legacy should not be tarnished by the truth. As with all American presidents, Roosevelt must be viewed in the total context of his administration, not just Pearl Harbor.

The real shame is on the stewards of government who have kept the truth under lock for fifty years. Had the facts uncovered in this book been known immediately after the war ended, and had Roosevelt explained his war strategies and tactics to the families who lost their sons at Pearl Harbor, how different American history might be viewed today. But President Roosevelt died in office on April 1945, four months before Japan surrendered. It may have been necessary for wartime security to withhold the truth about Pearl Harbor until the war ended, but to do so for more than half a century grossly distorted the world's view of American history.

Over that time, most of the US military leaders, cryptographers, and intercept operators who were either participants or witnesses to events leading to Pearl Harbor have died or their memories have faded with age. Because they were never called to testify for their country, we have been denied a full account of what happened from their perspectives.

To those heretofore silent survivors who are represented in this book, we owe an immeasurable debt.

McCOLLUM'S ACTION PROPOSAL

LIEUTENANT COMMANDER ARTHUR McCOLLUM'S

MEMORANDUM OF OCTOBER 7, 1940

Includes endorsement by Captain Dudley Knox

Lieutenant Commander Arthur McCollum's proposed eight actions, designed to provoke Japan into an overt act of war, were discovered by the author in Box 6 of a special US Navy collection in RG 38 in the Military Reference Branch of Archives II, January 24, 1995.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By AT...MARS, Date 1-29-65

OP-16-F-2 ONI 7 OCTOBER 1940

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

SUBJECT: ESTIMATE OF THE SITUATION IN THE PACIFIC AND
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION BY THE UNITED STATES.

1. THE UNITED STATES TODAY FINDS HERSELF CONFRONTED BY A HOSTILE GERMANY AND ITALY IN EUROPE AND BY AN EQUALLY HOSTILE JAPAN IN THE ORIENT. RUSSIA, THE GREAT LAND LINK BETWEEN THESE TWO GROUPS OF HOSTILE POWERS, IS AT PRESENT NEUTRAL, BUT IN ALL PROBABILITY FAVORABLY INCLINED TOWARDS THE AXIS POWERS, AND HER FAVORABLE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THESE POWERS MAY BE EXPECTED TO INCREASE IN DIRECT PROPORTION TO INCREASING SUCCESS IN THEIR PROSECUTION OF THE WAR IN EUROPE. GERMANY AND ITALY HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN WAR ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE AND ALL OF EUROPE IS EITHER UNDER THEIR MILITARY CONTROL OR HAS BEEN FORCED INTO SUBSERVIENCE. ONLY THE BRITISH EMPIRE IS ACTIVELY OPPOSING BY WAR THE GROWING WORLD DOMINANCE OF GERMANY AND ITALY AND THEIR SATELLITES.

2. THE UNITED STATES AT FIRST REMAINED COOLLY ALDOOF FROM THE CONFLICT IN EUROPE AND THERE IS CONSIDERABLE EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THE VIEW THAT GERMANY AND ITALY ATTEMPTED BY EVERY METHOD WITHIN THEIR POWER TO FOSTER A CONTINUATION OF AMERICAN INDIFFERENCE TO THE OUTCOME OF THE STRUGGLE IN EUROPE. PARADOXICALLY, EVERY SUCCESS OF GERMAN AND ITALIAN ARMS HAS LED TO FURTHER INCREASES IN UNITED STATES SYMPATHY FOR AND MATERIAL SUPPORT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, UNTIL AT THE PRESENT TIME THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT STANDS COMMITTED TO A POLICY OF RENDERING EVERY SUPPORT SHORT OF WAR WITH THE CHANCES RAPIDLY INCREASING THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL BECOME A FULL FLEDGED ALLY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE. THE FINAL FAILURE OF GERMAN AND ITALIAN DIPLOMACY TO KEEP THE UNITED STATES IN THE ROLE OF A DISINTERESTED SPECTATOR HAS FORCED THEM TO ADOPT THE POLICY OF DEVELOPING THREATS TO U.S. SECURITY IN OTHER SPHERES OF THE WORLD, NOTABLY BY THE THREAT OF REVOLUTIONS IN SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA BY AXIS-DOMINATED GROUPS AND BY THE STIMULATION OF JAPAN TO FURTHER AGGRESSIONS AND THREATS IN THE FAR EAST IN THE HOPE THAT BY THESE MEANS THE UNITED STATES WOULD BECOME SO CONFUSED IN THOUGHT AND FEARFUL OF HER OWN IMMEDIATE SECURITY AS TO CAUSE HER TO BECOME SO PREOCCUPIED IN PURELY DEFENSIVE PREPARATIONS AS TO VIRTUALLY PRECLUDE U.S. AID TO GREAT BRITAIN IN ANY FORM. AS A RESULT OF THIS POLICY, GERMANY AND ITALY HAVE LATELY CONCLUDED A MILITARY ALLIANCE WITH JAPAN DIRECTED AGAINST THE UNITED STATES. IF THE PUBLISHED TERMS OF THIS TREATY AND THE POINTED UTTERANCES OF GERMAN, ITALIAN AND JAPANESE LEADERS CAN BE BELIEVED, AND THERE SEEMS NO GROUND ON WHICH TO DOUBT EITHER, THE THREE TOTALITARIAN POWERS AGREE TO MAKE WAR ON THE UNITED STATES, SHOULD SHE COME TO THE ASSISTANCE OF ENGLAND, OR SHOULD SHE ATTEMPT TO FORCIBLY INTERFERE WITH JAPAN'S AIMS IN THE ORIENT AND,

FURTHERMORE, GERMANY AND ITALY EXPRESSLY RESERVE THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE WHETHER AMERICAN AID TO BRITAIN, SHORT OF WAR, IS A CAUSE FOR WAR OR NOT AFTER THEY HAVE SUCCEEDED IN DEFEATING ENGLAND. IN OTHER WORDS, AFTER ENGLAND HAS BEEN DEPOSED OF HER ENEMIES WILL DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT TO IMMEDIATELY PROCEED WITH AN ATTACK ON THE UNITED STATES. DUE TO GEOGRAPHIC CONDITIONS, NEITHER GERMANY NOR ITALY ARE IN A POSITION TO OFFER ANY MATERIAL AID TO JAPAN. JAPAN, ON THE CONTRARY, CAN BE OF MUCH HELP TO BOTH GERMANY AND ITALY BY THREATENING AND POSSIBLY EVEN ATTACKING BRITISH DOMINIONS AND SUPPLY ROUTES FROM AUSTRALIA, INDIA AND THE DUTCH EAST INDIES, THUS MATERIALLY WEAKENING BRITAIN'S POSITION IN OPPOSITION TO THE AXIS POWERS IN EUROPE. IN EXCHANGE FOR THIS SERVICE, JAPAN RECEIVES A FREE HAND TO SEIZE ALL OF ASIA THAT SHE CAN FIND IT POSSIBLE TO GRAB, WITH THE ADDED PROMISE THAT GERMANY AND ITALY WILL DO ALL IN THEIR POWER TO KEEP U.S. ATTENTION SO ATTRACTED AS TO PREVENT THE UNITED STATES FROM TAKING POSITIVE AGGRESSIVE ACTION AGAINST JAPAN. HERE AGAIN WE HAVE ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THE AXIS-JAPANESE DIPLOMACY WHICH IS AIMED AT KEEPING AMERICAN POWER IMMobilIZED, AND BY THREATS AND ALARMS TO SO CONFUSE AMERICAN THOUGHT AS TO PRECLUDE PROMPT DECISIVE ACTION BY THE UNITED STATES IN EITHER SPHERE OF ACTION. IT CANNOT BE EMPHASIZED TOO STRONGLY THAT THE LAST THING DESIRED BY EITHER THE AXIS POWERS IN EUROPE OR BY JAPAN IN THE FAR EAST IS PROMPT, WARLIKE ACTION BY THE UNITED STATES IN EITHER THEATER OF OPERATIONS.

3. AN EXAMINATION OF THE SITUATION IN EUROPE LEADS TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THERE IS LITTLE THAT WE CAN DO NOW, IMMEDIATELY, TO HELP BRITAIN THAT IS NOT ALREADY BEING DONE. WE HAVE NO TRAINED ARMY TO SEND TO THE ASSISTANCE OF ENGLAND, NOR WILL WE HAVE FOR AT LEAST A YEAR. WE ARE NOW TRYING TO INCREASE THE FLOW OF MATERIALS TO ENGLAND AND TO BOLSTER THE DEFENSE OF ENGLAND IN EVERY PRACTICABLE WAY AND THIS AID WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE INCREASED. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE IS LITTLE THAT GERMANY OR ITALY CAN DO AGAINST US AS LONG AS ENGLAND CONTINUES IN THE WAR AND HER NAVY MAINTAINS CONTROL OF THE ATLANTIC. THE ONE DANGER TO OUR POSITION LIES IN THE POSSIBLE EARLY DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE WITH THE BRITISH FLEET FALLING INTO THE HANDS OF THE AXIS POWERS. THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH AN EVENT OCCURRING WOULD BE MATERIALLY LESSENED WERE WE ACTUALLY ALLIED IN WAR WITH THE BRITISH OR AT THE VERY LEAST WERE TAKING ACTIVE MEASURES TO RELIEVE THE PRESSURE ON BRITAIN IN OTHER SPHERES OF ACTION. TO SUM UP: THE THREAT TO OUR SECURITY IN THE ATLANTIC REMAINS SMALL SO LONG AS THE BRITISH FLEET REMAINS DOMINANT IN THAT OCEAN AND FRIENDLY TO THE UNITED STATES.

4. IN THE PACIFIC, JAPAN BY VIRTUE OF HER ALLIANCE WITH GERMANY AND ITALY IS A DEFINITE THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND ONCE THE BRITISH EMPIRE IS GONE THE POWER OF JAPAN-GERMANY AND ITALY IS TO BE DIRECTED AGAINST THE UNITED STATES. A POWERFUL LAND ATTACK BY GERMANY AND ITALY THROUGH THE BALKANS AND NORTH AFRICA AGAINST THE SUEZ CANAL WITH A JAPANESE THREAT OR ATTACK ON SINGAPORE WOULD HAVE VERY SERIOUS RESULTS FOR THE BRITISH EMPIRE. COULD JAPAN BE DIVERTED OR NEUTRALIZED, THE FRUITS OF A SUCCESSFUL ATTACK ON THE SUEZ CANAL COULD NOT BE AS FAR REACHING AND BENEFICIAL TO THE AXIS POWERS AS IF SUCH SUCCESS WAS ALSO ACCOMPANIED BY THE VIRTUAL ELIMINATION OF BRITISH SEA POWER FROM THE INDIAN OCEAN, THUS

OPENING UP A EUROPEAN SUPPLY ROUTE FOR JAPAN AND A SEA ROUTE FOR EASTERN RAW MATERIALS TO REACH GERMANY AND ITALY. JAPAN MUST BE DIVERTED IF THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN [X] BLOCKADE OF EUROPE AND POSSIBLY JAPAN [?] IS TO REMAIN EVEN PARTIALLY IN EFFECT.

5. WHILE AS POINTED OUT IN PARAGRAPH (3) THERE IS LITTLE THAT THE UNITED STATES CAN DO TO IMMEDIATELY RETRIEVE THE SITUATION IN EUROPE, THE UNITED STATES IS ABLE TO EFFECTIVELY NULLIFY JAPANESE AGGRESSIVE ACTION, AND DO IT WITHOUT LESSENING U.S. MATERIAL ASSISTANCE TO GREAT BRITAIN.

6. AN EXAMINATION OF JAPAN'S PRESENT POSITION AS OPPOSED TO THE UNITED STATES REVEALS A SITUATION AS FOLLOWS:

ADVANTAGES

1. GEOGRAPHICALLY STRONG POSITION OF JAPANESE ISLANDS.
2. A HIGHLY CENTRALIZED STRONG CAPABLE GOVERNMENT.
3. RIGID CONTROL OF ECONOMY ON A WAR BASIS.
4. A PEOPLE INURED TO HANDSHIP AND WAR.
5. A POWERFUL ARMY.
6. A SKILLFUL NAVY ABOUT 2/3 THE STRENGTH OF THE U.S. NAVY.
7. SOME STOCKS OF RAW MATERIALS.
8. WEATHER UNTIL APRIL RENDERING DIRECT SEA OPERATIONS IN THE VICINITY OF JAPAN DIFFICULT.

DISADVANTAGES

1. A MILLION AND A HALF MEN ENGAGED IN AN EXHAUSTING WAR ON THE ASIATIC CONTINENT.
2. DOMESTIC ECONOMY AND FOOD SUPPLY SEVERELY STRAIGHTENED.
3. A SERIOUS LACK OF SOURCES OF RAW MATERIALS FOR WAR, NOTABLY OIL, IRON AND COTTON.
4. TOTALLY CUT OFF FROM SUPPLIES FROM EUROPE.
5. DEPENDENT UPON DISTANT OVERSEAS ROUTES FOR ESSENTIAL SUPPLIES.
6. INCAPABLE OF INCREASING MANUFACTURE AND SUPPLY OF WAR MATERIALS WITHOUT FREE ACCESS TO U.S. OR EUROPEAN MARKETS.
7. MAJOR OILIER AND INDUSTRIAL CENTERS EXTREMELY VULNERABLE TO AIR ATTACK.

7. IN THE PACIFIC THE UNITED STATES POSSESSES A VERY STRONG DEFENSIVE POSITION AND A NAVY AND NAVAL AIR FORCE AT PRESENT IN THAT OCEAN CAPABLE OF LONG DISTANCE OFFENSIVE OPERATION. THERE ARE CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS WHICH AT THE PRESENT TIME ARE STRONGLY IN OUR FAVOR, VIZ:

- A. PHILIPPINE ISLANDS STILL HELD BY THE UNITED STATES.
- B. FRIENDLY AND POSSIBLY ALLIED GOVERNMENT IN CONTROL OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIES.
- C. BRITISH STILL HOLD HONGKONG AND SINGAPORE AND ARE FAVORABLE TO US.
- D. IMPORTANT CHINESE ARMIES ARE STILL IN THE FIELD IN CHINA AGAINST JAPAN.
- E. A SMALL U.S. NAVAL FORCE CAPABLE OF SERIOUSLY THREATENING JAPAN'S SOUTHERN SUPPLY ROUTES.

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ALREADY IN THE THEATER OF OPERATIONS...
F. A CONSIDERABLE DUTCH NAVAL FORCE IS IN THE ORIENT THAT WOULD BE OF VALUE IF ALLIED TO U.S.

8. A CONSIDERATION OF THE FOREGOING LEADS TO THE CONCLUSION THAT PROMPT AGGRESSIVE NAVAL ACTION AGAINST JAPAN BY THE UNITED STATES WOULD RENDER JAPAN INCAPABLE OF AFFORDING ANY HELP TO GERMANY AND ITALY IN THEIR ATTACK ON ENGLAND AND THAT JAPAN ITSELF WOULD BE FACED WITH A SITUATION IN WHICH HER NAVY COULD BE FORCED TO FIGHT ON MOST UNFAVORABLE TERMS OR ACCEPT FAIRLY EARLY COLLAPSE OF THE COUNTRY THROUGH THE FORCE OF BLOCKADE. A PROMPT AND EARLY DECLARATION OF WAR AFTER ENTERING INTO SUITABLE ARRANGEMENTS WITH ENGLAND AND HOLLAND, WOULD BE MOST EFFECTIVE IN BRINGING ABOUT THE EARLY COLLAPSE OF JAPAN AND THUS ELIMINATING OUR ENEMY IN THE PACIFIC BEFORE GERMANY AND ITALY COULD STRIKE AT US EFFECTIVELY. FURTHERMORE, ELIMINATION OF JAPAN MUST SURELY STRENGTHEN BRITAIN'S POSITION AGAINST GERMANY AND ITALY AND, IN ADDITION, SUCH ACTION WOULD INCREASE THE CONFIDENCE AND SUPPORT OF ALL NATIONS WHO TEND TO BE FRIENDLY TOWARDS US.

9. IT IS NOT BELIEVED THAT IN THE PRESENT STATE OF POLITICAL OPINION THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS CAPABLE OF DECLARING WAR AGAINST JAPAN WITHOUT MORE AID; AND IT IS BARELY POSSIBLE THAT VIGOROUS ACTION ON OUR PART MIGHT LEAD THE JAPANESE TO MODIFY THEIR ATTITUDE. THEREFORE, THE FOLLOWING COURSE OF ACTION IS SUGGESTED:

- A. MAKE AN ARRANGEMENT WITH BRITAIN FOR THE USE OF BRITISH BASES IN THE PACIFIC, PARTICULARLY SINGAPORE.
- B. MAKE AN ARRANGEMENT WITH HOLLAND FOR THE USE OF BASE FACILITIES AND ACQUISITION OF SUPPLIES IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES.
- C. GIVE ALL POSSIBLE AID TO THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT OF CUANG-KAI-SHEK.
- D. SEND A DIVISION OF LONG RANGE HEAVY CRUISERS TO THE ORIENT, PHILIPPINES, OR SINGAPORE.
- E. SEND TWO DIVISIONS OF SUBMARINES TO THE ORIENT.
- F. KEEP THE MAIN STRENGTH OF THE U.S. FLEET NOW IN THE PACIFIC IN THE VICINITY OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.
- G. INSIST THAT THE DUTCH REFUSE TO GRANT JAPANESE DEMANDS FOR UNDUE ECONOMIC CONCESSIONS, PARTICULARLY OIL.
- H. COMPLETELY EMBARGO ALL U.S. TRADE WITH JAPAN, IN COLLABORATION WITH A SIMILAR EMBARGO IMPOSED BY THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

10. IF BY THESE MEANS JAPAN COULD BE LED TO COMMIT AN OVERT ACT OF WAR, SO MUCH THE BETTER. AT ALL EVENTS WE MUST BE FULLY PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE THREAT OF WAR.

CC-OP-16
OP-16-F
FILE

A.H. McCOLLUM ✓

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7 OCTOBER 1940

SUMMARY

1. THE UNITED STATES IS FACED BY A HOSTILE COMBINATION OF POWERS IN BOTH THE ATLANTIC AND THE PACIFIC.
2. BRITISH NAVAL CONTROL OF THE ATLANTIC PREVENTS HOSTILE ACTION AGAINST THE UNITED STATES IN THIS AREA.
3. JAPAN'S GROWING HOSTILITY PRESAGES AN ATTEMPT TO OPEN SEA COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE MEDITERRANEAN BY AN ATTACK ON THE BRITISH LINES OF COMMUNICATION IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.
4. JAPAN MUST BE DIVERTED IF BRITISH OPPOSITION IN EUROPE IS TO REMAIN EFFECTIVE.
5. THE UNITED STATES NAVAL FORCES NOW IN THE PACIFIC ARE CAPABLE OF SO CONTAINING AND HARASSING JAPAN AS TO NULLIFY HER ASSISTANCE TO GERMANY AND ITALY.
6. IT IS TO THE INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES TO ELIMINATE JAPAN'S THREAT IN THE PACIFIC AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY BY TAKING PROMPT AND AGGRESSIVE ACTION AGAINST JAPAN.
7. IN THE ABSENCE OF UNITED STATES ABILITY TO TAKE THE POLITICAL OFFENSIVE, ADDITIONAL NAVAL FORCES SHOULD BE SENT TO THE ORIENT AND AGREEMENTS ENTERED INTO WITH HOLLAND AND ENGLAND THAT WOULD SERVE AS AN EFFECTIVE CHECK AGAINST JAPANESE ENCROACHMENTS IN SOUTH-EASTERN ASIA.

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COMMENT BY CAPTAIN KNOX

IT IS UNQUESTIONABLY TO OUR GENERAL INTEREST
THAT BRITAIN BE NOT LICKED - JUST NOW SHE HAS A STALEMATE
AND PROBABLY CANT DO BETTER. WE OUGHT TO MAKE IT CERTAIN
THAT SHE AT LEAST GETS A STALEMATE. FOR THIS SHE WILL PROBABLY
NEED FROM US SUBSTANTIAL FURTHER DESTROYERS AND AIR REINFORCE-
MENTS TO ENGLAND. WE SHOULD NOT PRECIPITATE ANYTHING IN THE
ORIENT THAT WOULD HAMPER OUR ABILITY TO DO THIS - SO LONG AS
PROBABILITY CONTINUES.

IF ENGLAND REMAINS STABLE, JAPAN WILL BE CAUTIOUS
IN THE ORIENT. HENCE OUR ASSISTANCE TO ENGLAND IN THE ATLANTIC
IS ALSO PROTECTION TO HER AND US IN THE ORIENT.

HOWEVER, I CONCUR IN YOUR COURSE OF ACTION
WE MUST BE READY ON BOTH SIDES AND PROBABLY STRONG ENOUGH
TO CARE FOR BOTH.

D.W.K.

RE YOUR #6: - NO REASON FOR BATTLESHIPS NOT
VISITING WEST COAST IN BUNCHES.

RESEARCH FOR *DAY OF DECEIT*

The principal archival sources for this book are in the Pacific War communications intelligence (COMINT) files of the United States Navy maintained by the US Navy Security Group Command, the successor of Station US—the Navy’s communications intelligence headquarters in 1941. The author learned of the existence of the files in 1983, filed a FOIA request with the Navy, and specifically requested immediate declassification of the entire file pertaining in any manner to the Pearl Harbor attack. In 1983 these records were classified TOP SECRET CODEWORD and TOP SECRET CREAM—one of the highest classification categories of the US government. Except for a few documents, the author’s request was denied.

The FOIA constituted a legal “information lien” on the classified COMINT documents. In June 1994, the Navy decided to declassify the records. The files were transferred by truck convoy from the Navy Security Group Command depository in Crane, Indiana, to Archives II, operated by National Archives on the campus of the University of Maryland at College Park, which is inside the Beltway that encircles Washington. Title to the records passed from the Navy to Archives II and the documents were free at last. The author’s FOIA “information lien” on the records was honored by Clarence Lyons, then director of the Textual Reference Branch at Archives II. Lyons made a portion of the COMINT documents available to the author on January 23, 1995. The remaining records were in various stages of cataloguing.

As of 1999, these COMINT files are located in Record Group 38 of the Modern Military Records Branch at Archives II, and are known as the Station US Papers or Crane Files (after the depository). Timothy Nenninger, who replaced Lyons in 1998, estimated that the Station US papers contain over one million documents. As this book goes to press in 1999, declassification and cataloguing of the Station US papers continues under Nenninger’s direction.

The Pacific War COMINT files in Archives II are not the last word on the subject. Three National Archives regional depositories—in Laguna Niguel and San Bruno, California, and Seattle, Washington—contain important Pearl Harbor documents not found in the Archives II records.

At first glance some readers may puzzle over the intricacies of communications intelligence and the way it can reveal an opponent’s strategy and tactics. It is very similar to listening to police and fire department radios in a newsroom. A din of routine transmissions generates a normal buzz—but if a major crime or fire is reported transmissions pick up and excited voices are heard. This jump from the normal gets attention and alerts the editor and reporters that major news is occurring. The same is true in military communications. When communications between units and commands suddenly increase manyfold and the increase is sustained, the alert intelligence command senses trouble. Captain Duane Whitlock, a radio traffic analyst at Station CAST on Corregidor, told the author that he received stacks of Japanese naval broadcasts during the last days of peace of 1941—way above normal: “It was not necessary to decipher the coded messages. I was fully convinced that Japan was gearing up for war based on the huge increase of orders transmitted to the warships and military commands.”

This book’s main archival sources are listed below.

Archivists consulted: R. Michael McReynolds, Clarence Lyons, John Taylor, Timothy Nenner, Richard A. von Doenhoff, Barry L. Zerbe, Dick Mackay, JoAnn Williamson, Vernon R. Smith, Richard L. Boylan, Timothy P. Mulligan, Wilbert B. Mahoney, Richard H. Rayburn, Theresa Hammett. Superintendent of the Research Room: Calvin Jefferson.

National Archives filing policy is focused on Record Groups. The principal military record groups used by the author in researching Pearl Harbor records at Archives II were:

Pearl Harbor Liaison Office Files (PHLO), in Record Group 80

These comprise a declassified collection of documents gathered for the Pearl Harbor Joint Congressional Investigation Committee (JOINT) of 1945–46. President Harry S. Truman and Senator Alben Barkley (D., Kentucky), chairman of the investigating committee, set the national policy pertaining to testimony of witnesses and declassification of documents scheduled to appear before JOINT. In his first policy memorandum to the committee on the matter, dated August 28, 1945, President Truman curtailed presentation of evidence concerning the success of any US governmental cryptanalytic unit. His prohibition was directed to several officials of his Administration: the Secretaries of State, War, and Navy, the Attorney General, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Director of the Budget, and the Director of the Office of War Information: “Appropriate departments of the Government and the Joint Chiefs of Staff are hereby directed to take such steps as are necessary to prevent release to the public, except with the specific approval of the President in each case, of: Information regarding the past or present status, technique or procedures, degree of success attained, or any specific results of any cryptanalytic unit acting under the authority of the US Government or any Department thereof” /ss/ Harry S. Truman.

Senator Barkley asked for a modification of the order on October 5, 1945. President Truman relented with a new memorandum on October 26 in which he eased the release of information concerning cryptanalytic activities: “The State, War and Navy Departments will make available to the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor attack, for such use as the Committee may determine, any information in their possession material to the investigation, and will respectively authorize any employee or member of the armed services whose testimony is desired by the Committee to testify publicly before the Committee concerning any matter pertinent to the investigation” /ss/ Harry S. Truman. [See the Truman-Barkley interchange, on file at the Truman Presidential Library, Independence, Missouri.]

During the course of the Truman-Barkley interchange, Fleet Admiral Ernest King attempted to prevent the intercepted Japanese 5-Num code dispatches and other communications intelligence activities from becoming public. King specifically asked Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal to override Truman’s memorandum and prohibit witnesses [Navy intercept operators] from testifying either directly or indirectly concerning information obtained through cryptanalysis. [King to SECNAV, Oct. 1, 1945, Serial 8313, Station US Papers, MMRB, RG 38, Archives II.]

President Truman apparently became aware of King’s directives attempting to curtail the testimony. Admiral King warned that any naval personnel who disclosed cryptographic information would be subject to naval discipline. Truman countered with a November 7, 1945, memorandum ordering protection for any witness before the Committee: “The testimony of any person in the armed services, and the fact that such person testified before the joint committee herein provided for, shall not be used against him in any court proceeding or held against him in examining his military status for credits in the service to which he belongs.”

The President concluded his memorandum by requesting all Americans to come forward and provide any information of which they might have knowledge bearing on the subject of the Committee’s investigation. Two days later he reiterated his request with another expanded memorandum, which called for all Americans to come forward and disclose information to the Committee. Truman added a caveat: “This does not include any files or written materials.” But Fleet Admiral King prevailed. In the end, King won the battle of the memorandums. None of the Navy’s intercept operators—the 165 members of the On The Roof Gang—testified. Not one of their military intercepts of Japanese naval radio broadcasts was introduced into evidence before the Committee. America’s pre-Pearl Harbor success in obtaining, decrypting, and translating the Japanese naval messages in the 5-Num code was safe.

Most of the documents, evidence, and testimony heard by JOINT were reproduced in the official 39-volume transcript. But the most important records involving communications intelligence were omitted. None of the Station US papers—which contain the crucial Japanese military intercepts—were shown to Congress in either the 1945–46 or the 1995 Pearl Harbor investigations.

My original research into Pearl Harbor files began in Archives I, located at Seventh Street and Pennsylvania Avenue in downtown Washington. In 1994 the United States military history records were moved to a magnificent new depository on the

campus of the University of Maryland at College Park, called Archives II. When Congress closed down the government in late 1994, funds for preserving records in the National Archives were curtailed. During research in the Archives I and II depositories, I noted rapid physical deterioration of the Pacific Fleet's Incoming and Outgoing radio message files (labeled SECRET and CONFIDENTIAL) for the pre-Pearl Harbor period. These records are fading and turning to dust because they were not properly stored in archival safe boxes. Cardboard boxes and some fiber products are unsuitable for archival storage because they contain toxins. Storage containers should have a neutral pH rating, which guarantees toxins are not present to destroy records. The pH safe boxes cost about \$2 each.

The Pacific Fleet's radio message file was not printed in JOINT and constitutes some of the most crucial United States historical records of the pre-December 7, 1941, period. If not properly preserved in accordance with National Archives guidelines, the documents will be lost to future generations. I made an attempt to preserve some of the records by photographing the deteriorating documents with my Nikon 35-mm camera.

Station US Papers, a.k.a. Crane Files, in RG 38

The entire file is estimated to contain at least a million documents, according to Timothy Nenninger, Director of the Modern Military Records Branch. The original release of a portion of these documents—stored in 20 pH-safe boxes and three unsafe corrugated boxes—took place on January 23, 1995.

Other Record Groups consulted in the National Archives were:

Deck logs of US Navy vessels in RG 24.

Chief of Naval Operations files, 1940–41, RG 38.

Office of Naval Intelligence, RG 38.

Still Picture Branch, RG 80, for photographs.

Diplomatic Branch RG 59, State Department Decimal File.

President Jimmy Carter's limited release of the 1941 Japanese naval messages, with the blackouts, can be found in RG 457. The uncensored versions are in the Station US papers. Neither the censored nor the uncensored documents are arranged in chronological order or categorized by intercept stations. John Taylor, supervising archivist of RG 457, said the censored Carter documents were prepared and released to National Archives by the National Security Agency (NSA). Officials at NSA object to the use of the word *censored*; they prefer *redacted*.

Diplomatic Branch, Archives II, 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, Maryland

These are State Department decimal files, 1940–44, in RG 59. They contain details of the removal of Japanese consulate members from Hawaii in spring 1942.

Department of Defense, The Pentagon

See *The Magic Background of Pearl Harbor*, originally printed by the US Government Printing Office. This is an eight-volume set of translations of communications intelligence involving intercepted Japanese diplomatic messages. It was published by Department of Defense (DOD) in 1977; no editor is listed. It lacks intercepts of Japanese naval communications, except incomplete references extracted from Daily Communications Summaries issued by Station HYPO. Volumes I and V combine appendix and narrative; Volumes II, III, and IV are separated into appendix and narrative.

The eight volumes lack crucial details concerning the interception of the diplomatic messages. There is no DOD explanation for the absence of the Japanese naval messages intercepted by US naval monitors in the Pacific. A foreword by the unnamed editor is misleading: “It was decided in the public interest to declassify the intelligence which the United States obtained from the communications of its World War II enemies.” Japanese communications data pertaining to each message—usually included in such documents—are missing. There is no way to authenticate the intercepts.

Fred Close was archivist in charge of Pearl Harbor–era records.

See RG 181 for records of the Eleventh Naval District. Communications intelligence can be found in the A-6 files labeled SECRET and CONFIDENTIAL. They contain copies of communications intelligence records originated by various other naval districts and not found in other depositories.

National Archives, Pacific Sierra Region, 1000 Commodore Drive, San Bruno, California

Archivists: David Drake, Michael Anderson, Waverly B. Lowell, Gary Cramer, Kathleen M.O'Connor

Contains files of the Twelfth (San Francisco), Fourteenth (Hawaii and Central Pacific), and Sixteenth (Philippines) Naval Districts. See RG 181 and its A-6 file category in the SECRET and CONFIDENTIAL storage boxes. See Port Director file, San Francisco, for the mysterious SS *Lurline* controversy.

National Archives, 6125 Sand Point Way NE, Seattle, Washington

Archivists: Donald Piff, Joyce Justice, Janusz Wilczek, and Dwight Grinolds

See RG 181, subsection A-6, for SECRET and CONFIDENTIAL files of the Thirteenth Naval District. Contains files of the West Coast Communications Intelligence Network; Station KING, Dutch Harbor; Station AE, Sitka, Territory of Alaska; Station SAIL, Bainbridge Island, Washington. Every storage box in RG 181 must be checked to locate COMINT files, which were scattered haphazardly throughout the collection by Navy yeomen before their acquisition by the National Archives.

University of Hawaii, Manoa Campus, Honolulu, Hawaii

Pacific War Records Depository in the Hamilton Library. Personal accounts by Hawaiian residents of December 7, 1941. Radio logs of KGMB, KGU radio, Honolulu police, and Honolulu Fire Department files for December 7, 1941.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park, New York

Operated by National Archives

Archivists: William Emerson, Robert Parks, Raymond Teichman, Susan Elter, Mark Renovitch

Original daily appointment schedules of President Franklin Roosevelt and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt: the Usher Books chronicle the daily White House schedules; “Trips of the President,” Diary and Itineraries detail his travel schedules, including names and affiliations of accompanying staff and news media. Both logs run continuously from March 1932 to the President’s death in April 1945.

The Diary of Adolf A. Berle, Jr.

The photographic collection, originated by press services and volunteers. Roosevelt did not have an official White House photographer.

Oral History Program: Vice Admiral Walter S. Anderson.

Oral History Program:

Reminiscences of Real Admiral Arthur H. McCollum

Reminiscences of Real Admiral Charles Adair

Reminiscences of Captain Joseph J. Rochefort

Reminiscences of Captain Thomas Dyer

Federal Bureau of Investigation

There is no all-inclusive file. The author obtained portions of 61 FBI files concerning Japanese espionage by filing FOIA requests with the FBI's Freedom of Information Section in Washington, DC. In reply he received photocopies that were riddled with blackouts and censorship by the Bureau. In an attempt to override the blackouts and censorship, appeals were made to the Department of Justice, Attorney General Janet Reno and her public relations staff headed by Carl Stern, former US Supreme Court news reporter for NBC-TV. Except for minor variances, none of my appeals were granted. The 61 FBI file numbers are:

40-0	State Department visa file pertaining to Japanese diplomats in the United States, 1940–41 era.
61-4	Espionage at Japanese consulate, Honolulu; reports by special agent Frederick Tillman on Tadashi Morimura. Hoover alerts to FBI field offices.
61-5381	Unknown subject. Released to author based on FOIA inquiry concerning Tadashi Morimura and the <i>Nitta Maru</i> . But the so-called “released” pages are heavily censored and blacked out as a B-1 National Defense Secret.
61-7632	Transporation of obscene matter involving <i>Nitta Maru</i> .
61-10556	Japanese espionage, Honolulu; messages of Hoover to Berle. Some documents censored as B-1 National Defense Secrets.
62-33413	Possibly intercepts of Japanese COMINT involving espionage and subversive activities. Some Hoover-Anderson correspondence. Heavily censored.
62-60950	Involves 1941 reports of the Japanese liner <i>Taiyo Maru</i> , Honolulu and internal security of the United States.
62-66721	Complaints by the Japanese government concerning American treatment of consulate members who were moved from Hawaii to Dragoon, Arizona, in 1942.
65-0	Post-attack investigations of Japanese spy Tadashi Morimura.
65-2	Japanese espionage at Honolulu consulate.
65-286	Possible coded messages involving <i>Nitta Maru</i> . Not released.
65-414	Main espionage file on the Japanese consulate in Honolulu; includes wiretap file.

65-492	Not obtained. FOIA request not granted.
65-552	Unable to identify. Heavily censored as a B-1 National Defense Secret.
65-560	Japanese espionage suspects.
65-639	Japanese activities, Honolulu, 1941. Super secret file. No numbers or references assigned. Identification of Tadashi Morimura, but specific dates have been censored.
65-1574	German spy in Hawaii Otto Kuehn and his links to Japanese consulate.
65-1628	Tadashi Morimura espionage in Honolulu.
65-1841	Japanese espionage in Honolulu.
65-1843	Japanese espionage re <i>Nitta Maru</i> .
65-4374	Ordered from FBI by FOIA request. Not released to author.
65-5413	Espionage re <i>Nitta Maru</i> . Not released.
65-7267	Hoover alerts to Berle by special messenger. Involves the <i>Nitta Maru</i> , the liner that transported Morimura to Honolulu in March 1941. Heavily censored.
65-8946	Honolulu espionage file concerning <i>Nitta Maru</i> , April 1941. FOIA request filed but no part released.
65-9180	Honolulu espionage file involves Germany. Hoover alerts to Berle concerning Japan.
65-9748	Japanese espionage and activities in Hawaii, Washington, DC. Involves surveillance of Japanese Diet members while on visits to United States.
65-9873	Espionage file re <i>Nitta Maru</i> . October 1940.
65-10325	Special messages involving espionage reports from Hoover to Berle, 1940-41. Honolulu FBI field office

reports from Robert Shivers.

- 65-10556 Extensive 1940–41 file on reports of Japanese espionage throughout United States. Involves Japanese consulate in Honolulu, Acting Consul-General Otojiro Okuda, and Secretary Kokichi Seki.
- 65-24238 Espionage file involving *Nitta Maru*, New York, San Francisco.
- 65-26112 Internal security re German espionage, with links to *Nitta Maru* and New York.
- 65-26142 Re: *Nitta Maru* and links to Atlanta, Georgia. Heavily censored.
- 65-26143 Re: *Nitta Maru*.
- 65-27565 Protection of Japanese consulate, Honolulu; espionage.
- 65-30500 Re: *Nitta Maru*. SAC Shivers' radiograms to Hoover sent via Navy radio facilities. Extraordinary FBI censorship blacks out dates, file numbers, and the text of documents as B-1 National Defense Secrets. Attorney General Janet Reno refused to declassify this file.
- 65-33780 Unable to identify the file subject due to FBI censorship.
- 65-36120 Cryptographic file involving Japanese espionage; contains intercepts. Some sent to Major General Edwin "Pa" Watson and marked as "Of interest to the President."
- 65-36220 Departure of Japanese consulate members from New York on SS *Gripsholm*, July–August 1942.
- 65-37803 1941–42 file. Japanese activities in Chicago, New Orleans. Wiretaps. Involves link to Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle, Jr. Entire file heavily censored.

65-39168	Japanese espionage. File never received by author.
65-41886	Japanese espionage file contains post-attack reports on Richard Kotoshirodo and Tadashi Morimura.
65-42398	Japanese espionage, Honolulu. 1942 FBI reports sent to Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle, Jr.
65-55473	A 1945 report of espionage with focus on German suspects and Japan, involving <i>Nitta Maru</i> .
66-03	FBI Bulletin file, 1941.
66-656	Intelligence Conferences with Hoover and military intelligence officials.
66-8603	Intelligence Conferences documents withheld as B-1 National Defense Secrets.
94-4	FBI surveillance in 1961 involving Morimura/Yoshikawa, Walter Cronkite, and CBS-TV news.
97-274	Japanese espionage, Honolulu.
100-0	Appears to be a special file on Morimura/Yoshikawa. Not released to author.
100-2	Japanese espionage in Honolulu.
100-97	Post-attack intelligence assessments by FBI dated after 1946. Confirms US Navy broke Japanese military codes prior to December 7, 1941. Contains Japanese diplomatic intercepts.
100-185	Espionage investigations of 1942 involving Kotoshirodo and Morimura.
100-687	Japanese espionage file for Honolulu. No details.
100-832	German espionage suspects en route from New York to San Francisco to board <i>Nitta Maru</i> in August 1940.
100-1387	Japanese espionage in pre-Pearl Harbor Honolulu area, 1943 reports.
100-2643	Japanese espionage pre Pearl Harbor, 1943 reports by US Army.
100-62229	FBI file on Nagao Kita, Japanese consul-general, Honolulu, 1941.
100-65558	Unknown. Not received by author.
100-111258	1942 files on Japanese espionage concerning pre Pearl Harbor.
100-141295	1943 era. Involves FBI agent Fred Tillman attempting to locate consulate clerk Richard Kotoshirodo and taxi driver John Mikami for trial.
190-152	Involves espionage activities at Honolulu Consulate. Not released to author.

Interviews and Personal Correspondence with the Author

I wish to acknowledge the enthusiastic assistance of the many dedicated US Navy intercept operators and cryptographers who, through letters or personal interviews, patiently explained their highly secret methods of tracking the Japanese naval units prior to December 7, 1941.

Station AE, Sitka, Alaska

Fred R. Thomson, Radioman-in-charge (Letters 1986–88).

Station M, Cheltenham, Maryland

Ralph Briggs, Navy intercept operator, interviewed by the author, Reno, Nevada, August 27, 1987.

Station King, Dutch Harbor, Territory of Alaska

Thomas E. Gilmore of Tacoma, Washington, RDF operator; letter of December 3, 1985.
Frank W. Hess of Chula Vista, California, RDF operator; letter of January 6, 1986.
Harry Hood of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. RDF operator; letter of January 15, 1986.

Station CAST, Corregidor Island, Philippines

Duane L. Whitlock, traffic analyst. Taped audio interview with author, September 30, 1993, Danville, California; author-Whitlock telephone conversations and correspondence January–May 1999, Strawberry Point, Iowa.

Robert Dowd of Oakdale, California, Navy yeoman and Purple machine operator in 1941. Oakdale, California. Telephone and written correspondence with the author April–May 1999.

Station H, Heeia, Hawaii

Homer Kisner of Carlsbad, California, radio traffic chief. Author-taped audio interviews April 22, 23, 1988, Carlsbad, California. Videotaped interview Best Western Hotel, Sacramento, California, April 24, 1998. Extensive written correspondence between author and Kisner, 1988–1999.

Jerry Randle, intercept operator. Taped audio interview, Reno, Nevada, August 27, 1987.

Jack Kaye of Santa Ana, California, Navy intercept operator. Written correspondence and e-mail, April–May 1999.

Maynard Albertson of Spring Valley, California, Navy intercept operator. Written correspondence, April 1999.

Henry Garstka, of Edgewater, New Jersey, Navy intercept and RDF operator. Telephone conversation May 7, 1999.

Roy Lehman of Hawthorne, California, Navy intercept operator. Written correspondence with author, March 20, 1986, May 5, 1986. Taped audio interview, Hawthorne, California, December 2, 1987.

Elliott Okins of Chula Vista, California, Navy intercept supervisor. Written correspondence with author, June 7 and 20, 1986.

Donovan Chase, Santa Rosa, California, Navy intercept operator. Taped audio interview, January 15, 1988.

Hugh McGall of Magalia, California, Navy intercept operator. Written correspondence May 8 and September 2, 1986.

Joseph Christie Howard of Kent, Washington. Written correspondence and telephone interviews, May, June 1999.

Station HYPO, Administration Building, Fourteenth Naval District, Pearl Harbor Naval Yard, Hawaii

Rear Admiral Edwin Layton of Carmel, California, intelligence officer for the Pacific Fleet. Not an official part of HYPO, but spent considerable time with Rochefort and staff. Interviewed by the author November 29, 1982; written correspondence 1982–83.

Captain Thomas Dyer of Sykesville, Maryland, second in command and head of the cryptographic section. Written correspondence 1983.

Captain Forrest Biard of Long Beach, California, Japanese language officer, reported to Station HYPO November 1941. Taped audio interview at Long Beach, California, December 1, 1987, and subsequent written correspondence 1988; additional interview during visit to Midway Battle Symposium, Pensacola, Florida, April 1988.

Arnold Conant of Dunnellon, Florida, Chief Yeoman and cryptographer assistant to Dyer. Written correspondence May 4, 1986.

Durwood Rorie of Winter Springs, Florida, Chief Yeoman and head of physical security of the Station HYPO office. Written correspondence March 24, April 20, and May 23, 1986.

Irving Morris of Emeryville, California, yeoman in the ship movement section; interviewed at Emeryville, California, January 1993.

Captain Wilfred J. Holmes of Honolulu, Hawaii, ship movement section. Taped audio interview and correspondence, 1982–83.

I wish to acknowledge the utmost courtesy of Mrs. Janet Rochefort Elerding, daughter of Commander Joseph Rochefort, the commanding officer of Station HYPO, during my visit to Santa Ana, California, November 18, 1982.

Other Sources

I had the good fortune to benefit from the expertise of the following: William Seale, an architect-historian who provided details on the Roosevelt White House; Pulitzer Prize-winning historian John Toland and his wife Toshiko; Commander Sado Seno of the Imperial Japanese Navy; the late Michi Weglen, an author and a victim of the Japanese Internment of 1942; author James Rusbridger; Lee S. Motteler, geographer, Honolulu; Ed Aber-Song, who served with US Navy Public Affairs in 1982; Donald Cleff, Chief Engineer City, and County of Honolulu, for maps of the Territorial Planning Board, 1939–41 era; Bertha Ihnat, Ohio State University at Columbus, and Kendrick D. McNulty of the *Daily News-Record*, Harrisonburg, Virginia, for details on Agnes Meyer Driscoll; and Bernard K. Zobrist, Director of the Harry S. Truman Library. Though I didn't always get what I asked for, personnel at the Naval Security Group Command at Washington, DC, at least tried: Christopher Gentile, Robert Sheer, Peg Feightner, Commander Irv Newman, the late George Henriksen, and Lieutenant Brian L. Blankenship. Grady Lewis, editor of *Cryptolog*, the official publication of the Naval Cryptologic Veterans Association, was gracious with his time and steered me to the Navy intercept operators. Carol Leadenham, Reference Archivist at the Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, California, shared her extensive knowledge of the papers of Lieutenant General Walter Short. Captain Thomas Kimmel, his brother Edward, Husband E. Kimmel II and Thomas Kimmel Jr., grandsons of the admiral, shared their information. Jane Sween of the Montgomery County Historical Society, Rockville, Maryland; Richard Harnett, former United Press Bureau Chief in San Francisco; and Stephen A. Haller, Historian of the National Parks Service at the San Francisco Presidio, provided information on Station TWO. Dr. P. C. van Royen, Director of the Institute for Maritime History in the Netherlands, furnished details on Captain Johan Ranneft. Alma de Bisschop checked Dutch history records in Amsterdam and confirmed Dutch translations, as did the Dutch Consulate General in San Francisco. Paul Dane of the Society of Wireless Pioneers provided invaluable insights into the International Morse Code and its difference from Japanese radiotelegraphy. Marge Stromgren of Kaneohe, Hawaii, spent years tracing the records of Station H in the Kaneohe Library and took aerial photographs of the site.

Lieutenant Commander Cedric Brown of the Royal Navy corresponded with the author in 1985–86 and confirmed that a British cryptographic unit known as the Q Team intercepted Japanese communications on Stonecutter's Island in Hong Kong Harbor in 1941. William vanden Heuvel confirmed his diary report concerning William Donovan. Judges Vernon Moore and Robert Hughes gave me their legal insights on Arthur McCollum's provocative actions. Lynn Suter shared her knowledge of Navy–Congress relations.

Sean and Naemi McPherson served as the main Japanese translators for this book. I received additional translation input from Kimi and George Matsumoto, Kiyoko Yamada, and Gabriel Sylvian. I am indebted to Casey Murrow, son of Edward R. Murrow. In Oregon, Ann Witty of the Columbia River Maritime Museum and Dr. Charles F. Cardinell of the Oregon Maritime Center helped to locate the Bar Pilot records involving the Russian vessel *Uritski*. Daniel J. Lenihan, Chief of the Submerged Cultural Resource Unit of the National Parks Service, and his talented staff of divers and historians, detailed for me the damage to the USS *Arizona*. My thanks go to David Lotz and Bill Stewart of the War in the Pacific National Park on Guam. David Aiken shared many of his Japanese records. Max Bishop and H. Merrill Benninghoff, members of the 1941 American Embassy in Tokyo, shared their pre-Pearl Harbor experiences. Professor John Moore of California Polytechnic College, Pomona, supplied information on CBS radio newsman Cecil Brown.

The never-ending research involving Pearl Harbor began in 1982 and continues in 1999. It has taken a long time, and many people and organizations have helped me. If I have omitted your name it is an oversight and I apologize. I could not have written this book without the help of each and every one of you.

Special Acknowledgments

My wife Peggy, associate editor of the *Oakland Tribune*, who helped with professional guidance and insight along the long journey of getting this book done. She and my children kept my spirits up, Coleen and Dennis Badagliacco, Jim Stinnett, and grandchildren Robert and Laura Badagliacco have never wavered in their support of this project even though they often chorused: “When Will the Book Be Done?”

The Book Be Done people have been miraculous: Michael Larsen and Elizabeth Pomada, my literary agents, who believed in my project from the start; James O. Wade skillfully edited and guided the first manuscript drafts; Bruce Nichols, Senior Editor, Dan Freedberg, Carol de Onís, and Camilla Hewitt of The Free Press edited the final drafts and cleared the way for publication with warmth, humor, and enthusiasm. Their suggestions helped open up the manuscript for readers and guided me in explaining and simplifying the intricacies of code-breaking. For typing the manuscript there are no acknowledgments. I did it myself thanks to the two Steves, Jobs and Wozniak. Their Apple saw me through.

Any complaints concerning the book and my research must fall on me alone.

A SERIES OF WAR WARNINGS ISSUED BY THE US GOVERNMENT

~~TOP SECRET~~

Prediction of a Japanese “surprise aggressive movement in any direction” came from Rear Admiral Royal Ingersoll, assistant chief of naval operations, on November 24, 1941. Upon receiving this message on the super secret US Navy CETYH circuit (see lower right), Admiral Husband E. Kimmel pulled the Pacific Fleet out of a North Pacific reconnaissance mission.

HEADQUARTERS HAWAIIAN DEPARTMENT
FORT SHAFTER, T. H.

MEMORANDUM FOR DEPARTMENT ADJUTANT GENERAL

Request that the following SECRET official radiogram be sent. This message does NOT cover subject matter previously sent in a message, either in the clear or having a different security classification.

This message is *Priority
*URGENT
*SECRET

*Strike out words not applicable.

Sent as Radiogram No.	Message Center No.	Time Filed	Check	Code Clerk
PL WAR PRTY MARSH DC 611 PM NOV 27 1941			Approved for Transmission:	
CG HAWN DEPT FT SHAFTER TH			Adjutant General	

472 27TH NEGOTIATIONS WITH JAPAN APPEAR TO BE TERMINATED TO ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES WITH ONLY THE BARREST POSSIBILITIES THAT THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT MIGHT COME BACK AND OFFER TO CONTINUE STOP JAPANESE FUTURE ACTION UNPREDICTABLE BUT HOSTILE ACTION POSSIBLE AT ANY MOMENT STOP IF HOSTILITIES CANNOT COMMA REPEAT CANNOT COMMA BE AVOIDED THE UNITED STATES DESIRES THAT JAPAN COMMIT THE FIRST OVERT ACT STOP THIS POLICY SHOULD NOT COMMA REPEAT NOT COMMA BE CONSTRUED AS RESTRICTING YOU TO A COURSE OF ACTION THAT MIGHT JEOPARDIZE YOUR DEFENSE STOP PRIOR TO HOSTILE JAPANESE ACTION YOU ARE DIRECTED TO UNDERTAKE SUCH RECONNAISSANCE AND OTHER MEASURES AS YOU DEEM NECESSARY BUT THESE MEASURES SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT SO AS NOT COMMA REPEAT NOT COMMA TO ALARM CIVIL POPULATION OR DISCLOSE INTENT STOP REPORT MEASURES TAKEN STOP SHOULD HOSTILITIES OCCUR YOU WILL CARRY OUT THE TASKS ASSIGNED IN RAINBOW FIVE SO FAR AS THEY PERTAIN TO JAPAN STOP LIMIT DISSEMINATION OF THIS HIGHLY SECRET INFORMATION TO MINIMUM ESSENTIAL OFFICERS

TRUE COPY
O.M. Cutler
O M CUTLER
LT COL INFANTRY

MARSHALL
1162/27

NOTE: This form to be used only for Radiograms and Cables. One copy only to be submitted. The making of an exact copy of Secret or Confidential Radiograms is forbidden. Only such extracts as are absolutely necessary will be made and marked secret or confidential as the case may be. This copy will be safeguarded with the greatest care and when no longer required will be returned to the Records Division, Adjutant General's Office, without delay. (AR 380-2)

Form 8-2, No. 217 (Revised) - 1941 Rev. 10-10-40 186

Source: General Short's papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

Though it is signed "MARSHALL," this November 27, 1941, war warning message was originated by Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, acting on the orders of President Roosevelt. It directs the Hawaiian US Army commander, Lieutenant General Walter Short, to follow an official US government desire: "The United States desires that Japan commit the first overt act."

NAVAL MESSAGE		NAVY DEPARTMENT		MESSAGE PRECEDENCE	
PHONE EXTENSION NUMBER	0912 Ext. 2902	ADDRESSEES			
FROM Chief of Naval Operations		CINCPAC		PRIORITY X	
RELEASED BY <i>[Signature]</i>		CINCPAC		ROUTINE	
DATE November 27, 1941				DEFERRED	
FOR COPIES		INFORMATION			
RECORDED BY		CINCPAC		PRIORITY	
PARAPHRASED BY		SP7AVO		ROUTINE	
				DEFERRED	

INDICATE BY ASTERISK ADDRESSEES FOR WHICH MAIL DELIVERY IS SATISFACTORY

GKVLW BVKLW 272337 09471

UNLESS OTHERWISE DESIGNATED THIS DESPATCH WILL BE TRANSMITTED WITH DEFERRED PRECEDENCE.

ORIGINATOR FILL IN DATE AND TIME FOR DEFERRED MAIL DELIVERY

DATE TIME OCT

NEWS

MM THIS DESPATCH IS TO BE CONSIDERED A WAR WARNING X NEGOTIATIONS WITH JAPAN LOOKING TOWARD STABILIZATION OF CONDITIONS IN THE PACIFIC HAVE CEASED AND AN AGGRESSIVE MOVE BY JAPAN IS EXPECTED WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS X THE NUMBER AND EQUIPMENT OF JAPANESE TROOPS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF NAVAL TASK FORCES INDICATES AN AMBIVIOUS EXPEDITION ~~probably~~ AGAINST EITHER THE PHILIPPINES OR SOA PONTIOLA OR POSSIBLY BORNEO X EXERCISE AN APPROPRIATE DEFENSIVE DEPLOYMENT PREPARATORY TO CARRYING OUT THE TASKS ASSIGNED IN WPLAEX INFORM DISTRICT AND ARMY AUTHORITIES X A SIMILAR WARNING IS BEING SENT BY WAR DEPARTMENT X SPENAVO INFORM BRITISH CONTINENTAL DISTRICTS COM SEASIDE *for* *take appropriate measures against subversive* *and phoned calls*

CGF TO UPD AND DEPT

BY EAB
ELM-35

SEE *[Signature]*

The US Navy's war warning message of November 27, 1941, authored by Rear Admiral Royal Ingersoll (top left), omitted the crucial orders of President Roosevelt that called for US military forces to let Japan commit the first overt act. The omission was corrected the next day.

On Friday, November 28, 1941, Admiral Harold Stark, the chief of naval operations, restored the previous day's omission by twice repeating that the United States desired that Japan commit the first overt act.

~~TOP SECRET~~

EXCLUDED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MESSAGE
By OP 30 NOV 29 1941

NAVAL MESSAGE		NAVY MESSAGE	
FROM	TO	ADDRESS	PRIORITY
FROM: Chief of Naval Operations	TO: CMCN	CMC	PRIORITY
RELEASED BY:	DATE: November 20, 1941	CMC	ROUTINE
FOR CDR/COM:	RECORDED BY:	CINCPAC	DEFERRED
FORWARDED BY:		CMC	PRIORITY
			ROUTINE
			DEFERRED

INDICATE BY ASTERISK ADDRESSEES FOR WHICH MAIL DELIVERY IS SATISFACTORY

790110

UNLESS OTHERWISE DESIGNATED THIS DISPATCH WILL BE TRANSMITTED WITH DEFERRED PRECEDENCE

ORIGINATOR	DATE	TIME	SEC.
TEXT			

CONT'D (Page two)

ACTIVITIES IN UNITED STATES X SHOULD HOSTILITIES OCCUR YOU WILL
CARRY OUT THE TASKS ASSIGNED IN RAINBOW FIVE SO FAR AS THEY PERTAIN
TO JAPAN X LIMIT DISSEMINATION OF THIS HIGHLY SECRET INFORMATION
TO MINIMUM ESSENTIAL OFFICERS X UNQUOTE XX WPLAS IS NOT APPLICABLE
TO PACIFIC AREA AND WILL NOT BE PLACED IN EFFECT IN THAT AREA
EXCEPT AS NOW IN FORCE IN SOUTHEAST PACIFIC SUB AREA AND PANAMA
NAVAL COASTAL FRONTIER X UNDERTAKE NO OFFENSIVE ACTION UNTIL JAPAN
HAS COMMITTED AN OVERT ACT X BE PREPARED TO CARRY OUT TASKS ASSIGNED
IN WPLAS SO FAR AS THEY APPLY TO JAPAN X CASE HOSTILITIES OCCUR XX

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

(page two of two)

MAKE ORIGINAL ONLY DELIVER TO COMMUNICATION WATCH OFFICER IN PERSON

SEE ART 76 (4)
NAV REGS

E1MUG
ECM 25

HEADQUARTERS HAWAIIAN DEPARTMENT
FORT SHAFTER, T. H.

MEMORANDUM FOR DEPARTMENT ADJUTANT GENERAL:

Request that the following ~~SECRET~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~REMARKS~~ official radiogram be sent. This message does NOT cover subject matter previously sent in a message, either in the clear or having a different security classification.

This message is ~~Priority~~ ~~SECRET~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Strike out words not applicable.

Signature and Title

Sent as Radiogram No.	Message Center No.	Time Filed	Check	Code Clerk
114 WAR KR 169 WD PRIT				
WASH DC 842P NOV 28 1941			Approved for Transmission:	
C G			Adjutant General	

HAW DEPT FT SHAFTER T H

462 28TH CRITICAL SITUATION DEMANDS THAT ALL PRECAUTIONS BE TAKEN IMMEDIATELY AGAINST SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES WITHIN FIELD OF INVESTIGATIVE RESPONSIBILITY OF WAR DEPARTMENT PAREN SEE PARAGRAPH THREE MID 30 THIRTY DASH FORTY FIVE END PAREN STOP ALSO DESIRED THAT YOU INITIATE FORTHWITH ALL ADDITIONAL MEASURES NECESSARY TO PROVIDE FOR PROTECTION OF YOUR ESTABLISHMENTS COMMA PROPERTY COMMA AND EQUIPMENT AGAINST SABOTAGE COMMA PROTECTION OF YOUR PERSONNEL AGAINST SUBVERSIVE PROPAGANDA AND PROTECTION OF ALL ACTIVITIES AGAINST ESPIONAGE STOP THIS DOES NOT REPEAT NOT MEAN THAT ANY ILLEGAL MEASURES ARE AUTHORIZED STOP PROTECTIVE MEASURES SHOULD BE CONFINED TO THOSE ESSENTIAL TO SECURITY COMMA AVOIDING UNNECESSARY PUBLICITY AND ALARM STOP TO INSURE SPEED OF TRANSMISSION IDENTICAL TELEGRAMS ARE BEING SENT TO ALL AIR STATIONS BUT THIS DOES NOT REPEAT NOT AFFECT YOUR RESPONSIBILITY UNDER EXISTING INSTRUCTIONS

ADAMS

THIS COPY
O M CUTLER
LT COL INFANTRY

NOTE: This form to be used only for Radiograms and Cablegrams. One copy only to be submitted. The making of an exact copy of Secret or Confidential Radiograms is forbidden. Only such extracts as are absolutely necessary will be made and marked secret or confidential as the case may be. This copy will be safeguarded with the greatest care and when no longer required will be returned to the Records Division, Adjutant General's Office, without delay. (AR 880-6)

Form H.R. No. 1173 (Revised)—1941 Replaces 10-15-40 886.

Source: Papers of Lt. Gen. Walter Short, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, CA.

A second warning to prepare for subversive activities and sabotage in Hawaii was issued to Lieutenant General Walter Short by the US Army Adjutant General, Emory Adams, on Friday, November 28, 1941. Adams warned Short not to precipitate publicity or alarm.

HEADQUARTERS HAWAIIAN DEPARTMENT
FORT SHAFTER, T. H.

MEMORANDUM FOR DEPARTMENT ADJUTANT GENERAL:

Request that the following ~~SECRET~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~REMARKS~~ official radiogram be sent. This message does NOT cover subject matter previously sent in a message, either in the clear or having a different security classification.

This message is ~~Priority~~ ~~SECRET~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Strike out words not applicable.

Signature and Title

Sent as Radiogram No.	Message Center No.	Time Filed	Check	Code Clerk
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL WAR DEPARTMENT WASHINGTON D C				
			Approved for Transmission:	
			Adjutant General	

RE YOUR SECRET RADIO FOUR EIGHT TWO TWENTY EIGHT COMMA FULL PRECAUTIONS ARE BEING TAKEN AGAINST SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE FIELD OF INVESTIGATIVE RESPONSIBILITY OF WAR DEPARTMENT PAREN PARAGRAPH THREE MID 30 THIRTY DASH FORTY FIVE END PAREN AND MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS INCLUDING PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT STOP AS REGARDS PROTECTION OF VITAL INSTALLATIONS OUTSIDE OF MILITARY RESERVATIONS SUCH AS POWER PLANTS COMMA TELEPHONE EXCHANGES AND HIGHWAY BRIDGES COMMA THIS HEADQUARTERS BY CONFIDENTIAL LETTER DATED JUNE NINETEEN NINETEEN FORTY ONE REQUESTED THE GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY TO USE THE BROAD POWERS VESTED IN HIM BY SECTION SIXTY SEVEN OF THE ORGANIC ACT WHICH PROVIDES COMMA IN EFFECT COMMA THAT THE GOVERNOR MAY CALL UPON THE COMMANDERS OF MILITARY AND NAVAL FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII TO PREVENT OR SUPPRESS LAWLESS VIOLENCE COMMA INVASION COMMA INSURRECTION ETC STOP PURSUANT TO THE AUTHORITY STATED THE GOVERNOR ON JUNE TWENTYNINTH CONFIDENTIALLY MADE A FORMAL WRITTEN DEMAND ON THIS HEADQUARTERS TO FURNISH AND CONTINUE TO FURNISH SUCH ADEQUATE PROTECTION AS MAY BE NECESSARY TO PREVENT SABOTAGE COMMA AND LAWLESS VIOLENCE IN CONNECTION THEREWITH COMMA BEING COMMITTED AGAINST VITAL INSTALLATIONS AND STRUCTURES IN THE TERRITORY STOP PURSUANT TO THE FOREGOING REQUEST APPROPRIATE

NOTE: This form to be used only for Radiograms and Cablegrams. One copy only to be submitted. The making of an exact copy of Secret or Confidential Radiograms is forbidden. Only such extracts as are absolutely necessary will be made and marked secret or confidential as the case may be. This copy will be safeguarded with the greatest care and when no longer required will be returned to the Records Division, Adjutant General's Office, without delay. (AR 880-6)

Form H.R. No. 1173 (Revised)—1941 Replaces 10-15-40 886.

Source: Walter Short papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, CA.

General Short issued this reply to the three US Army war warnings sent him from Washing ton. Since two of the directives warned him to anticipate subversive and sabotage activities,Short followed orders.

HEADQUARTERS HAWAIIAN DEPARTMENT
FORT SHAFTER, T. H.

MEMORANDUM FOR DEPARTMENT ADJUTANT GENERAL (Info)

Request that the following

*Secret
*Confidential
*Restricted

official radiogram be sent. This message does NOT cover sub-
ject matter previously sent in a message, unless in the clear or
having a different security classification.

This message is
*Priority
*Routine
*Deferred

*Strike out words not applicable

Signature and Title

Sent as Radiogram No.	Message Center No.	Time Filed	Check	Code Clerk
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PAGE TWO

Approved for Transmission:

Adjutant General

MILITARY PROTECTION IS NOW BEING AFFORDED VITAL CIVILIAN INSTALLATIONS STOP IN THIS
CONNECTION CUMMA AT THE INSTIGATION OF THIS HEADQUARTERS THE CITY AND COUNTY OF
HONOLULU ON JUNE THIRTIETH NINETEEN FORTY ONE ENACTED AN ORDINANCE WHICH PERMITS
THE COMMANDING GENERAL HAWAIIAN DEPARTMENT CUMMA TO CLOSE CUMMA OR RESTRICT THE USE
OF AND TRAVE, UPON CUMMA ANY HIGHWAY WITHIN THE CITY AND COUNTY OF HONOLULU CUMMA
WHEREBY THE COMMANDING GENERAL STANDS DOWN ACTION NECESSARY IN THE INTEREST OF
NATIONAL DEFENSE STOP THE AUTHORITY THUS GIVEN HAS NOT YET BEEN EXERCISED STOP
RELATIONS WITH F W I AND ALL OTHER FEDERAL AND TERRITORIAL OFFICIALS ARE BEING MAINTAINED
ON A BASIS OF MUTUAL COOPERATION HAS BEEN GIVEN ON ALL PERTINENT MATTERS

END
END
BY
LT COL BRUNSWICK BG
2:45 P M NOV 41

THIS COPY
BY
O W DUTLER
LT COL INFAN 2MT

NOTE: This form to be used only for radiograms and cablegrams. One copy only to be submitted. The sending or en-
casing of Secret or Confidential radiograms is necessary. Every such message so encased is necessary with care
and marked secret or confidential as the case may be. This copy will be safeguarded with the greatest care and
the original required will be returned to the Records Division, Adjutant General's Office, without delay. (Ah see
instructions for filing and handling of messages)

NO. 71008
By: MAF MAJ Gen 520

p 9 J RADIOGRAM 0-4-c

605P
Received at the War Department Message Center
Room 344 Munitions Bldg., Washington, D. C.

P R I O R I T Y NOVEMBER 28, 1941 557A M.

From: FORT SHAFTER TH

To: CHIEF OF STAFF

Copies furnished as noted:

NO. 959 NOVEMBER 27TH
REPORT DEPARTMENT ALERTED TO PREVENT SABOTAGE PARICD
LIAISON WITH NAVY BUREAU FOUR SEVEN TWO TWENTY SEVENTH
SHORT

Notes: HNS
S. (in en)
NOTED - CHIEF OF STAFF
W. W. D. R. 19

46 A 60
DEC 8 1941
Received

NOV 28 1941

Action Copy

R. 12 14 1941

P. 12 14 1941

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NND 710058
By MAF MAFR Date 5-22-88

PO 14
325P

CABLEGRAM

Received at the War Department Message Center
Room 3441 Munitions Bldg., Washington, D. C.

NOVEMBER 28, 1941

453A AF

From MANILA PI
To GENERAL GEORGE C MARSHALL

SECRET

Copies furnished as noted:

NO. 1004, NOVEMBER TWENTY EIGHTH
PURSUANT TO INSTRUCTIONS CONTAINED IN YOUR RADIO SIX
TWO FOUR AIR RECONNAISSANCE HAS BEEN EXTENDED AND
INTENSIFIED IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE NAVY STOP GROUND
SECURITY MEASURES HAVE BEEN TAKEN STOP WITHIN THE
LIMITATIONS IMPOSED BY PRESENT STATE OF DEVELOPMENT
OF THIS THEATRE OF OPERATIONS EVERYTHING IS IN READINESS
FOR THE CONDUCT OF A SUCCESSFUL DEFENSE STOP INTIMATE
LIAISON AND COOPERATION AND CORDIAL RELATIONS EXIST
BETWEEN ARMY AND NAVY

MACARTHUR
48 A 50
DEC 3 '41
Received

*Noting Hqs
(15 Dec 1941)*

NOTED - CHIEF OF STAFF
NOTED, WFO RLB

SECRET

Action Copy

.../1813/18
P. 4. 470/11

(14-88-11) 60 381 (11-28-41)

Source: RG80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II.

General Douglas MacArthur assured Washington that he was not about to conduct offensive operations against Japan from his US Army command post in Manila. His reply to let Japan commit the first overt act was just what was desired by the White House: "Everything is in readiness for the conduct of a successful defense."

SECRET

12/11/41. 12-7-41

December 7, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ADJUTANT GENERAL (Through Secretary, General Staff)
Subject: Far East Situation.

The Secretary of War directs that the following first priority secret radiograms be sent to the Commanding General, U.S. Army Forces in the Far East; Commanding General, Caribbean Defense Command; Commanding General, Hawaiian Department; Commanding General, Fourth Army:

Japanese are presenting at one p.m. Eastern Standard time to what amounts to an ultimatum also they are under orders to destroy their Code machine immediately stop Just what significance the hour set may have we do not know but be on alert accordingly stop Inform naval authorities of this communication.

MARSHALL

Noted O.C.S.
12/7/41

L. T. GERRICK
Brigadier General,
Acting Assistant Chief of Staff.

Code message sent 12/7/41
Radios as follows dispatched 11:52 AM, 12-7-41,
by Code Room, WDC:
1206' #733 to CG, USAFFE, Manila, P.I.;
1217' #529 to CG, Haw. Dept., Ft. Shafter, HI.
1200' #529 to CG, Crbn. Def. Cmd., Quarry Heights, CA.
1211' #16 to CG, Fourth Army, Pres. of San Fro., Cal.
ahb - 1705.

SECRET

JAN - 3 1942

Source: RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II.

Hawaii was last on the US Army list to receive this warning that Japan had set a Washington, DC, deadline of 1 P.M., Sunday, December 7, 1941. The time corresponded to 7:30 A.M. Sunday December 7, 1941, in Hawaii—less than 30 minutes to the first Japanese bomb drop. This message did not reach Lieutenant General Walter Short until mid-afternoon, Sunday December 7, 1941, about 6 hours after the first bombs fell on Pearl Harbor.

SELECTED INTELLIGENCE DOCUMENTS, 1940-41

25 November 1941

From: CinC Combined Fleet
To: First Air Fleet
(Pearl Harbor Attack Force)

The task force, keeping its movement strictly secret and maintaining close guard against submarines and aircraft, shall advance into Hawaiian waters, and upon the very opening of hostilities shall attack the main force of the United States Fleet in Hawaii and deal it a mortal blow. The first air raid is planned for the dawn of X-day (exact date to be given by later order). Upon completion of the air raid, the task force, keeping close coordination and guarding against the enemy's counterattack, shall speedily leave the enemy waters and then return to Japan.

Should the negotiations with the United States prove successful, the task force shall hold itself in readiness forthwith to return and reassemble.

Source: See Vice Admiral Homer N. Wallin, *Pearl Harbor* (Naval History Division, US Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 86. For a similar dispatch see United States Strategic Bombing Survey (Pacific) Naval Analysis Division, *The Campaigns of the Pacific War*, US Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 50.

This message, stripped of all communications data but following the form of the US Navy's intercept messages, was published in 1968 in a book written by Vice Admiral Homer N. Wallin. The message is from Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, commander-in-chief of the Imperial Japanese Navy, to Admiral Chuichi Nagumo, commander of the First Air Fleet, Japan's carrier force. It indicates that Yamamoto broke radio silence and directed Nagumo to advance into Hawaiian waters and deal the United States Fleet in Hawaii a mortal blow. Wallin writes that the date is Tokyo Time, which would correspond to November 24, 1941, in the United States. On November 24, 1941, Admiral Kimmel called off an air and seasearch for a Japanese carrier force and pulled the Pacific Fleet from the North Pacific when he was directed by Washington not to precipitate Japanese action. US Naval intercept records concerning November 24, 1941, Japanese naval dispatches have not been released.

THE CAMPAIGNS of the PACIFIC WAR

Japanese Naval Despatches Ordering Commencement of Hostilities

5 November 1941.

From: The Chief of Naval General Staff
To: CinC Combined Fleet

1. In view of the fact that it is feared war has become unavoidable with the United States, Great Britain, and the Netherlands, and for the self preservation and future existence of the Empire, the various preparations for war operations will be completed by the first part of December.
2. The CinC of the Combined Fleet will effect the required preparations for war operations.
3. Execution of details will be as directed by Chief of the Naval General Staff.

5 November 1941.

From: The Chief of Naval General Staff
To: CinC China Area Fleet

1. In view of the fact that it is feared war has become unavoidable with the United States, Great Britain, and the Netherlands, and for the self preservation and future existence of the Empire, the various preparations for war operations will be completed by the first part of December.
2. The CinC Combined Fleet will effect the required preparations for war operations in accordance with Imperial Headquarters Order, No. 1.
3. The CinC of the China Area Fleet will continue operations against China and at the same time effect required preparations for war operations.
4. Execution of details will be directed by Chief of the Naval General Staff.

Source: United States Strategic Bombing Survey, *The Campaigns of the Pacific War*, (USGPO, 1946), p. 49.

These two radio dispatches originated by Admiral Osami Nagano, Chief of the Japanese Navy's General Staff, appear to be the possible source of statements delivered by General George C. Marshall during a secret press briefing on November 15, 1941. In his briefing, Marshall disclosed that the United States had broken Japanese codes, predicted that America was on the brink of war with the Japanese, and expected the danger period would include the first ten days of December 1941. See Nagano's period for the war's start in paragraph 1; see further details in chapter 10 herein.

NAVY DEPARTMENT
Office of Naval Intelligence
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to No. **Op-16-F-2**

16 September 1940.

Memorandum for the Chief of Naval Operations

SUBJECT: Gasoline and Oil Exports to Japan.

1. Highly reliable information has been received that on 20 August 1940 the Japanese Consul General at San Francisco informed his government that in spite of the restrictions on exports of petroleum products from the United States, no difficulty had been experienced in arranging for shipments of ordinary gasoline and of crude petroleum.
2. The Consul General at San Francisco informed his government in detail as follows:
 - (a) All the details connected with applications for export permits for petroleum products are being left in the hands of American agents by the Mitsui and Mitsubishi companies of San Francisco. These American agencies from whom the oil is bought go ahead and make suitable arrangements with the government authorities at Washington.
 - (b) The Mitsubishi agency at San Francisco has been notified by the local office of the Associated Oil Company that of the applications for export permits already filed in Washington by the Associated Oil Company export licenses have been granted for about 22,000 tons of Kettleman Hill crude oil and for a similar amount of other California crude oil. This material was applied for as "special blend" crude oil.
 - (c) Considering results so far, there would appear to be no chance of securing export licenses for aviation gasoline contracted for prior to 1 August nor that export permits will be issued for this material on the basis that exports should be permitted because the companies were under contract prior to the application of the export license system.
 - (d) Recently ordinary gasoline was loaded on board vessels of the Mitsui and Mitsubishi companies in the amount of some 85,000 barrels. Permits for the export of this gasoline were granted on application for the export of ordinary freight.

-3-

Source: Station US papers, RG 38, MMRB, Archives II.

On September 16, 1940, President Roosevelt learned that Japan had found ways to evade his embargo on petroleum. Japan's consul-general in San Francisco claimed that there was no difficulty in arranging for purchase of ordinary gasoline or crude petroleum. A ton of oil equals 7.3 barrels. Though signed by Captain Walter S. Anderson, Director of the Office of Naval Intelligence, this report was originated by F-2, Commander Arthur McCollum.

-3-

(e) American oil dealers in the San Francisco area selling to Mitsui and Mitsubishi, of which the principal one is the Associated Oil Company, feel that there will be no difficulty about continuing the shipment of ordinary gasoline to Japan.

W.S. Anderson.

Original to Aide to the President.
CC - C.N.O.
M.I.B.
State
File (2) ✓
Treasury

-3-

NAVY DEPARTMENT	
Office of Naval Operations	
WASHINGTON	
Exempt from No.	
Op-16-F-2	
23 February 1940.	
<u>Memorandum for the Chief of Naval Operations</u>	
SUBJECT:	Japanese Army advisors to Bolivia.
1. Highly reliable information indicates that confidential conversations are in progress between Bolivia and Japan, having for their object the sending of a Japanese Military Mission to Bolivia to serve as instructors for the Bolivian Army. It is also proposed that a number of Bolivian Army officers be sent to Japan to study in Japanese Army schools. The Japanese Army is strongly in favor of concluding an agreement with Bolivia along the above lines.	
W.S. Anderson.	
Original to Aide to President.	
CC - C.N.O.	
M.I.D.	
State	
File	
16 F Has seen	

Source: RG 38, Station US Papers, MMRB, Archives II.

The first Japanese communications intelligence documents that can be verified as routed to President Roosevelt were originated in Arthur McCollum's F-2 office and signed by Captain Walter S. Anderson, Director of Naval Intelligence, on February 23, 1940. The notation "16-F Has seen" refers to Captain W. B. Heard, who was in over all charge of ONI foreign intelligence. The term "highly reliable information" is a synonym for communications intelligence, which in this case probably refers to Japan's Tsu series of codes—or possibly to their Red machine, which predated the Purple machine. The Purple Code was solved by United States cryptographers in September 1940.

NAVY DEPARTMENT
Office of the Chief of Naval Operations
Office of NAVAL INTELLIGENCE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to No.
Op-16-F-2

2) February 1940.

Memorandum for the Chief of Naval Operations

SUBJECT: Japanese diplomatic pressure for oil rights in Portuguese Timor.

1. Highly reliable information has been received that the Japanese have been engaged during the last year in diplomatic negotiations with Portugal to obtain for S.A.P.T., a company in Timor, the rights to drill for and produce oil on the island of Timor. The Japanese have some connection with S.A.P.T., probably through the Japanese "South Seas Development Co.," which has a branch in Timor.
2. Indications are that Portugal, under pressure from Great Britain, has granted or is about to grant monopoly rights for oil exploration in that part of the island lying east of 125° E. longitude to the Timor Petroleum Company (believed to be Australian). Previous tests by Belgian interests proved the presence of oil in this area.
3. In December the Japanese Foreign Office informed its Lisbon representative that it was important that they contest the granting of monopoly rights to the Timor Petroleum Company and get some compromise offer from Portugal.
4. The Japanese Minister at Lisbon, in January, advised the Japanese Foreign Office, "It is not only worthwhile but necessary for us, from the standpoint of national policy, to force ourselves into the scene in order to acquire rights even at the expense of straining Japanese-Portuguese relations. For this purpose, I think there is no way of solving the difficulty except by application of pressure backed by force."

S.S. Anderson.

Original to Aide to President
CC - C.N.O.
M.I.D.
State
File

16 F Has been

NAVY DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF NAVAL INTELLIGENCE
WASHINGTON


In reply refer to No.
Op-16-F-2
776:777 (OZ-8)

8 February, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS

Subject: Reorganization and intensification of the Japanese intelligence activities in the United States.

1. A decision by the Japanese government to appreciably strengthen its espionage activities in the United States in cooperation with the Germans and Italians, is indicated by the attached memorandum which, based on highly reliable information, gives the substance of two directives dated January 30, 1941, from Foreign Minister Matsuoka to the Japanese Embassy in Washington.


 JULES JAMES,
 Captain, U.S. Navy,
 Acting Director of Naval Intelligence.

Distribution:

Naval Aide to the President	:Original.
C.N.O.	:(1)
Secretary of State	:(1)
M.I.D.	:(1)
File	:(2)

Source: Station US Papers, RG 38, Modern Military Branch, Archives II.

On February 8, 1941, Lieutenant Commander Arthur McCollum sent to President Roosevelt an intelligence report outlining Japanese plans to change from propaganda activities to espionage activities in the United States. Japan's Foreign Minister, Yosuke Matsuoka, sent the strategy to Japanese missions in the United States, writing that the policy was instituted to prepare for the worst.

From Foreign Minister Matsuo
to Japanese Ambassador, Washington.
Dated January 30, 1941

Heretofore, we have placed emphasis on publicity and propaganda work in the United States. In view of the critical situation in the recent relations between the two countries, and for the purpose of being prepared for the worst, we have decided to alter this policy. Taking into consideration the small amount of funds we have at our disposal, we have decided to deemphasize propaganda for the time being, and instead, to strengthen our intelligence work.

Please, therefore, reorganize your intelligence set-up and put this new program into effect as soon as possible.

Cable copies of this message, as "Minister's orders" to Canada, Mexico, (a copy to be relayed from Mexico to Mexicali), San Francisco, (copies from San Francisco to Honolulu, Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, and Vancouver,) New York, New Orleans, and Chicago.

1.945T

HAVE RECEIVED FROM BRITISH FOLLOWING IN A
 APPROXIMATE NUMBERS REFERRING TO FIVE HUNDRED SYSTEM
 OF EFFECTIVE DECEMBER TO FEBRUARY X FIVE HUNDRED SIX
 OR VALUE X FOUR THOUSAND SUBTRACTOR GROUPS X NINE
 THOUSAND WIRELESS INDICATOR WITH CIPHER REMOVED X AND TWO
 HUNDRED NINETY INDICATOR SUBTRACTORS FOR THE SAME PERI
 ODS X HAVE ARRANGED SECURE METHOD OF EXCHANGING FURTHER
 RECOVERIES BY CABLE X BRITISH EMPLOY THREE OFFICERS
 TWENTY CLERKS ON THIS SYSTEM ALONE X THEY ARE
 DELAYING ACTION ON CURRENT CIPHER TABLE UNTIL
 MIDNIGHT TO ACCUMULATE TRAFFIC AND OBTAIN FURTHER
 BOOK VALUES FROM PROCEEDING PERIOD X DUE COLLABORATION
 INFORMATION AVAILABLE HERE AND CAPABILITY RAPID EX
 CHANGE WITH ENGLISH CIPHER WILL ASSUME THIS SYSTEM
 AS ONLY HAVE ARRANGED X REQUEST DEPT FORWARDED RE
 SULTS TO DATE AND TECHNIQUE ADVANCE IF CONSIDERED N
 ECESSARY WPL

Sipholga var. *Minle* app. to *man.*
 on - 1000 to 200 (1000 radius)
 distribution - island June - 6 - 29

to transfer to
to the other about July

A major controversy concerning whether America and her Allies had solved the Japanese Navy's 5-Numeral code system

prior to Pearl Harbor has been under examination by journalists and historians since the end of World War II. If the system was solved prior to the attack, then the governments of the United States, Great Britain, and the Netherlands knew the precise plans for Japan's "surprise attack." Most Radio Tokyo transmissions directing Japanese warships to attack Hawaii were sent over radio waves in the 5-Number system and intercepted by US, British, and Dutch monitoring facilities in the Pacific.

On March 5, 1941, Admiral Thomas Hart, commander-in-chief of the US Asiatic Fleet, informed Admiral Harold R. Stark, FDR's Chief of Naval Operations, that the British monitoring unit at Singapore had produced and exchanged solutions of the 5-Number code with the Asiatic Fleet. Hart said Station CAST on Cavite (he meant Corregidor) was in on the exchange and solution. A handwritten note at the middle-right asserts that OP20-A (Captain Leigh Noyes, Director of Naval Communications) on March 5, 1941, authorized the removal of this dispatch from the Navy files and the substitution of a dummy message. This dispatch was not presented to Congress during the investigations of 1945-46 or 1995. Nor was it sent to Admiral Kimmel in Hawaii.

At the bottom, a handwritten note indicates the USS Sepulga will bring United States solutions of the 5-Num code to Manila about March 26, 1941. Ensign Laurence Mac Kallor, who transported the Purple machine to CAST on the Sepulga, carried solutions to the 5-Num code as well. Apparently the reference is to the 5-Num code, additive version 6, in effect January 15, 1941, to July 1, 1941.

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

DETERMINED TO BE UNCLASSIFIED
ADMINISTRATIVE MAIL
E.O. 12065, Section 5-102
By 1828 WARS, Date 11/3/91

Op-30-4
Br. 948

SECRET MESSAGE
(NAVY DEPARTMENT)

From OPNAV	To COM 16
Released (Signature)	CINCPAC
Date: 23 March 1941	Chief of Staff 12/2/41
NOTE to ALL AMEMBASSIES	
ROUTINE to	
PRIORITY to	

(do not write in this space)

MEACH 211500 CR
HERE TODAY (1941)

FOLLOWING PLAN FOR COORDINATION BETWEEN ASIATIC COMMUNICATION
INTELLIGENCE UNITS OF ARMY AND NAVY PROPOSED: ARMY INTERCEPT UNIT
WILL HAVE DECRYPTING UNIT COPIES OF ALL INTERCEPTS IN ORANGE
DIPLOMATIC SYSTEMS FORWARDING SAME BY LANDLINE OR OTHER RAPID
AND SECURE MEANS TO COM 16 (FURNISH) AND THE ARMY PHILIPPINE
DEPARTMENT TRANSLATIONS OF ABOVE MESSAGES TO BE FORWARDED TO ARMY
UNIT TO BE WORKED OUT LOCALLY TO FORWARDING IN ADDITIONAL TO
FORWARDING OF INTERCEPTS TO WASHINGTON BY BOTH SERVICES TO DELIVER
COM GENERAL PLAIN TRANSLATION THIS MESSAGE TO AND SWE (MORPAC)

TOP SECRET

983

GATOF
GT-10

Source: Station US papers, RG 38, MMBR, Archives II.

Station CAST was ordered to furnish rapid translations of Japanese diplomatic messages to General Douglas MacArthur in this March 25, 1941, order from Rear Admiral Royal Ingersoll, Assistant Chief of Naval Operations. General George Marshall, Army Chief of Staff, received a copy (upper right). The initials at lower left indicate that Laurance Safford, 20-G, commander of Station US, and 20-A, Captain Leigh Noyes, Director of Naval Communications, saw this dispatch. Initials EJK probably are those of Admiral Ernest J. King. A glaring omission is to be noted: nothing indicates this message was seen by Admiral Kimmel, the Pacific Fleet commander.

FT SHAFTER 5/6/41 AEM -36-
 FRTOKYO MATUOKA
 TO KOSHI BERLIN
 5/5/41
 -PURPLE-
 NO. CA370

GJQMF BKVPV IREMS
 73-13 XX 15397
 CA EUVVPBBGLAACGOLLEEUGA
 AIXAZKIAOCNTJCCOBCCOAJPAI
 TUKUFIFUUXWIPKWFBTNOEUAH
 EUJYIMUATAZBDFUSLWOKIWOOA
 GOETASCSNTAZPJMYOJKHBREGR
 OUMISVAMJOEUPPIHAXRAZRBOV
 LXUYISHEJEAZPILFFRPFVHG

(M) (H) (H)

Source: Station US papers. RG 38, MMBR, Archives II.

His fellow soldiers at Fort Shafter never informed Lieutenant General Walter Short that the Purple Code messages of the Japanese Foreign Ministry were being intercepted at Station FIVE, a US Army intercept facility just steps away from the Fort Shafter command post in Hawaii. This intercept of May 6, 1941, indicates that interception, decoding, and translation of Purple messages obtained by Station FIVE were speedy—they took only one day. The translation indicates that Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka was concerned by a German report that the United States was reading his code messages and asked his ambassador to Germany, Baron Hiroshi Oshima, to check with the Berlin authorities.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By 2211 NARS, Date 1-24-98

From: Tokyo (Matsuoka)
To : Berlin (Oshima)
5 May 1941
(Purple-CA)


#370

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Please express our appreciation to STANJAA for the information in question and ask him if it is not possible to give us the authority for the statement that it has been fairly reliably established that the U.S. government is reading our code messages, so that we might take appropriate action.

Reply requested.

All copies destroyed except
(1) This original
(4) copy to Gen. Markovne


15-5-41


CAVITY TEST

151511 Bearings 12 hours 4th: YK68 TANAS
 NoNo1 at 2, KAN61 at 248, YUK63 at 92,
 SUK44 at 258, HCFU4 at 80, MET66 at 110,
 N1RA9 at 358, 8TUNA at 30

151522 Bearings 12 hours 8th: F004 and SUK47 310.
 EVENTS FOLLOW: COMBINED FLEET H0:2 FUM17 FUM64
 KONE8 MAN08 RH01 SET17 TENE9 TUW14 W12
 WAK43 YOW18. FIRST FLEET MR08.

151533 SECOND FLEET HE13 IR10 MEN07 NN04
 NY02 YU04, THIRD FLEET JRO1 SIA3 SOY08.
FOURTH FLEET HEM12 MORU2, FIFTH FLEET EN19 UFU1.
SUBFORCE WANI8. AIRRENS COMB FLEET H0H07 RAT

151544 RAT³ YON7 YUNE8. COMPAIR FORCE
 HIM06 MON01 REHE8 SHAI YO NO 1X
CHINA SENG FLEET TAK66 YUK08.
NORTH CHINA FLEET KOKUB BAN7.
SOUTH CHINA FLEET EK04 KAN61 NN09.



Source: This TESTM dispatch can be found in the Station US papers, RG 38, MMRB, Archives II.

Cryptographers at CAST intercepted radio broadcasts involving the First Air Fleet five days before the attack. These broadcasts provide convincing evidence that carrier units violated radio silence; they were intercepted by American cryptographers and radio operators on Corregidor. The First Air Fleet's radio-call signs (Yobidashi Fugo) reserved for the Hawaii attack were obtained by Station CAST in advance of the raid, according to this report received at Station HYPO on December 5, 1941. The evidence is startling: HE HO 7, YO N 7, and YU NE 8, identified by CAST as the air (carrier) squadrons of Japan's Combined Fleet, were the exclusive radio-call signs assigned for the Hawaii force. This information could only be generated from radio broadcasts in the 5-Num code, additive version 7; it confirms the reports of the Twelfth Naval District and the SS Lurline of hearing Japanese transmissions from the North Pacific.

CAST's dispatch identified the twelve secret radio-call signs for Admiral Yamamoto: HO RI 2, FU MA 7, FU NE 4, KO

NE 8, MA NO 8, RI HE1, SE TU 7, TE KE 9, TU WI 4, UI 2, WA KA 3, and YO WI Ø. Japan's submarine fleet commander took to the airwaves, broke radio silence, and was uncovered as WA HI 8.

This information was transmitted to Station HYPO over the Navy's secret TESTM radio circuit. Rodney Whitten, of the HYPO staff, signed his initials to the dispatch and confirmed that it was received in Hawaii. Admiral Kimmel was never given this information.

JAPANESE CODES

SECRET 4-22-71

MR. TOLSON:

RE: JAPANESE AND UNITED STATES
CODES DURING WORLD WAR II

Japanese Attack on Pearl Harbor

I have checked with L. Woodrow Newpher, Chief of the Cryptanalysis-Translation Section of the Laboratory, and William A. Branigan, Chief of the Espionage Section of the Domestic Intelligence Division, both of whom were in the Bureau prior to World War II and have knowledge of such matters. They advised that to their knowledge the Japanese were never able to break United States codes prior to Pearl Harbor or during the War. Mr. Newpher also advised that a very reliable book, entitled "The Code Breakers" by David Kahn on pages 582-585 also states that Japan was not successful in breaking United States codes.

On the other hand, according to the above agents, the U. S. Navy did break the Japanese military code prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor and this directly attributed to the United States victory in the battle at Midway Island and in Japanese Admiral Yamamoto's being shot down in the Pacific. The Bureau also broke an open code in one Japanese case which was handled by our New York Office. During the War, Japan changed its codes several times but the military services were able to break some of them and they, as well as the Bureau, were able to read some messages.

It is suggested that any details which could be made available be obtained through the National Security Agency, which assumed the cryptanalytic duties formerly handled by the military services during the War.

ST 104

R. R. BEAVER

MAY 25 1971

The logical person to contact at the office of the National Security Agency is Dr. Louis W. Tordella, Deputy Director, at Fort George G. Meade, Maryland - telephone number 281-2200.

RRB:crt

FBI

53 JUN 8 1971

SECRET

TOP SECRET

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

REC-40 100-97-1-507

ST 104

R. R. BEAVER

MAY 25 1971

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RRB:crt

FBI

53 JUN 8 1971

SECRET

TOP SECRET

Source: FBI report #100-97-1-507, FBI headquarters, FOIA Section, Washington, DC.

The FBI confirmed that the US Navy did break the Japanese military code prior to the attack. The information was passed on to Clyde Tolson, assistant to J. Edgar Hoover, by R. R. Beaver on April 22, 1971.

**THIRTY-SIX AMERICANS
CLEARED TO READ THE JAPANESE
DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY
INTERCEPTS IN 1941**

Thirty-six Americans were cleared for unrestricted access to decoded and translated Japanese diplomatic and military intercepts obtained by American cryptographic personnel in 1941. The following list of their names, compiled by the author from routing slips found in the Station US papers at Archives II, includes more officials than previously revealed:

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, DC
Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Washington, DC
Secretary of War Henry Stimson, Washington, DC
Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, Washington, DC
General George Marshall, Chief of Staff, US Army, Washington, DC
Admiral Harold R. Stark, Chief of Naval Operations, Washington, DC
Rear Admiral Royal Ingersoll, Assistant Chief of Naval Operations, Washington, DC
Captain Theodore Wilkinson, fourth Director of Naval Intelligence in 1941 (October 1, 1941–December 7, 1941), Washington, DC
Captain William S. Anderson, Director of Naval Intelligence, Washington, DC
Captain Jules James, second Director of Naval Intelligence (January 15, 1941–March 1941), Washington, DC
Captain Alan G. Kirk, third Director of Naval Intelligence (March–October 1941), Washington, DC
Captain Laurance Safford, Commanding Officer, Station US, Washington, DC
Captain Leigh Noyes, Director of Naval Communications, Washington, DC
Captain Roland M. Brainard, Ship Movement Officer, US Navy, Washington, DC
General Douglas MacArthur, Commander US Army forces (Philippines), Manila
Brigadier General Sherman Miles, Army Intelligence, Washington, DC
Admiral Thomas Hart, Commander of the Asiatic Fleet, Manila
Colonel Rufus Bratton, US Army courier, Washington, DC
Lieutenant Commander Alwin Kramer, US Navy courier, Washington, DC
Captain John Beardall, naval aide to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, DC (May–December 1941)
Lieutenant Commander Joseph J. Rochefort, Commander, Station HYPO, Pearl Harbor Naval Yard (July–December 1941)
Lieutenant Rudolph Fabian, Co-commander, Station CAST, Corregidor, Philippines
Lieutenant John Lietwiler, Co-commander, Station CAST, Corregidor, Philippines
Captain William A. Heard, Far East Division, Office of Naval Intelligence, Washington, DC
Captain Howard Bode, Office of Naval Intelligence, Washington, DC
Rear Admiral Richmond K. Turner, Navy War Plans Officer, Washington, DC
Commander Arthur McCollum, head of Far East Section, Office of Naval Intelligence, Washington, DC
Lieutenant Commander Ethelbert Watts, assistant to McCollum, Office of Naval Intelligence, Washington, DC
Major Rodney Boone, USMC, assistant to Arthur McCollum, Office of Naval Intelligence, Washington, DC
Lieutenant Commander Edwin Layton, Pacific Fleet intelligence officer, Pearl Harbor
Lieutenant Robert Weeks, communications intelligence aide to Admiral Ernest J. King, commander-in-chief, Atlantic Fleet, Newport, Rhode Island
Agnes Meyer Driscoll, chief civilian cryptanalyst for the US Navy, Washington, DC
Ensign Prescott Currier, assistant to Driscoll, Washington, DC
Colonel William Friedman, US Army cryptanalyst, Washington, DC
Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, commander-in-chief, Pacific Fleet, Pearl Harbor (access restricted)
Lieutenant General Walter Short, commanding general Hawaiian Department, US Army, Fort Shafter, Oahu (access restricted)

Source: White House Route logs and Station US files, RG 38, MMRB, Archives II.

A guide for quotations, sources, and events:

The principal end notes refer to:

PHPT (Pearl Harbor Part) A thirty-nine-volume transcript of eight official United States investigations of the Pearl Harbor attack that were held between December 22, 1941 and May 31, 1946. The volumes were numbered by the US Government Printing Office as parts 1 through 39 in the original publication at Washington, DC in 1946. Most major libraries in the United States carry the entire set. The eight investigations were:

1. Roberts Commission, December 22, 1941 to January 23, 1942 (Parts 22 through 25, PHPT 22–25).
2. Inquiry by Admiral Thomas Hart, February 12, 1944 to June 15, 1944 (PHPT 26).
3. Army Pearl Harbor Board Proceedings, August 7, 1944 to October 6, 1944 (PHPT 27–31).
4. Navy Court of Inquiry, July 24, 1944 to September 27, 1944 (PHPT 32–33).
5. Clarke Proceedings, September 20, 1944 to August 4, 1945 (PHPT 34).
6. Clausen Proceedings, December 1, 1944 to September 14, 1945 (PHPT 35).
7. Hewitt Proceedings, May 14, 1945 to July 11, 1945 (PHPT 36–38).
8. Hearings of the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, Congress of the United States, November 15, 1945 to May 31, 1946. Parts 1–11 are transcripts of testimony. Parts 12–21 are exhibits of JOINT.

During the course of research for this book between 1982 and 1999, the National Archives made major changes in its archival policy. A new facility called Archives II was constructed on the campus of the University of Maryland at College Park, Maryland, a community within the Beltway. In 1994 military records were split between Archives I (7th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington DC) and Archives II (College Park). Timothy Nenninger, head of military records at Archives II, provided details concerning the storage policy of United States military records for readers of this book: “The several hundred thousand cubic feet of permanently valuable military records accessioned by the National Archives, which date from the period of the American Revolution to the 1960s and 1970s, have been split between the National Archives Building in downtown Washington and the new archival facility Archives II at College Park, Maryland. Military records pre-dating World War II are housed in the National Archives Building in Washington; military records from World War II and after are stored in Archives II at College Park.” Nenninger’s office and his staff of archivists are located in Room 2400, A-II at College Park, 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park, Maryland 20740-6001. Telephone (301) 713-7250. The major Record Groups that Mr. Nenninger and his predecessor, Clarence Lyons, made available to the author through Freedom of Information Act requests (FOIA) are:

PHLO is a collection of documents obtained for the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, Congress of the United States, abbreviated in this book as JOINT. The investigation was conducted by a special committee appointed by the US Senate and US House of Representatives in 1945–46. To facilitate acquisition of documents and witnesses for JOINT the US Navy established the Pearl Harbor Liaison Office headed by Lieutenant Commander John Baecher. The PHLO records are currently housed in Record Group 80, Modern Military Records Branch (MMRB), Archives II, College Park, Maryland.

Station US papers is a collection of approximately one million documents—some in original paper form, some in micro fiche—involving communications intelligence originally assembled by Station US and its successor the Naval Security Group Command. This collection can be found in RG 38, Modern Military Records Branch, Archives II. The author was given FOIA access to Boxes 1–20 on Monday, January 23, 1995 by Clarence Lyons, then head of what was called Textual Reference Branch, now known as Modern Military Records Branch. The January 1995 FOIA release contained about 6000 documents.

President Jimmy Carter’s release of 1979 refers to over 300,000 decrypted and translated Japanese naval intercepts from the Pacific War dating from July 1941 to late fall 1945 and released as Record Group 457, SRN series (Special Research Navy). A major drawback for researchers: the collection is arranged by SRN numbers (starting at 1), not chronologically.

The author will deposit *Day of Deceit*'s entire research collection of cited documents, recorded audio and video tapes, photographs and graphics, including negatives, in his permanent collection housed at the Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, California. This collection will be open for public use.

Japanese persons' names are reported in this book in US style, with the given name first, then the family name. In traditional Japanese usage, the family name comes first.

1. Janet Murrow discussed the post-Pearl Harbor dilemma with Ann Sperber, author of *Murrow: His Life and Times* (Freundlich Publications Inc., 1986), p. 207; see also personal correspondence between author and Sperber in author's file.
2. For Murrow's Gunther quote, see Sperber, *Murrow*, p. 208. The White House Sunday night suppers were described by William Seale, White House historian, in personal communication to the author, August 31 and September 1, 1993 and August 28, 1995 in author's file.
3. For the Polo Grounds quote see Troy, *Donovan and The CIA* (University Publications of America, Inc., 1981), p. 115. James Roosevelt had joined Donovan's staff in August 1941 and worked from the Coordinator of Information office in the South Building, 25th and E Street NW in Washington. FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, using special messengers, dispatched secret reports concerning Japanese espionage to Captain James Roosevelt at the COI building. See FBI file 61-10556251; 380X, 448.
4. Donovan's account was confirmed by William J. vanden Heuvel of New York in telephone conversations with the author, January 22 and February 13, 1998. Mr. vanden Heuvel said he still has the diary.
5. Whitehead note, see Anthony Cave Brown, *Wild Bill Donovan: The Last Hero* (Times Books, 1982) pp. 6, 7. Brown's version of the meeting echoes some aspects of the October 7, 1940 memorandum of Lieutenant Commander Arthur McCollum. (See chapter 2 herein). Note Brown's reference to an "overt act" and FDR's concern for unification of America. For further details on T. North Whitehead see Joseph Lash, *Roosevelt and Churchill 1939-1941* (W. W. Norton, 1976), p. 291.
6. Ann Sperber to author, Dec. 1, 1992, in author's file. Sperber died in February 1994. John Chamberlain's article was in LIFE, September 24, 1945.
7. See Ann Sperber, *Murrow*, p. 207.
8. For Knox's report, see United Press story in *Honolulu Advertiser*, December 16, 1941.
9. For comments on the President's surprise, see Brown, *Wild Bill Donovan*, p. 6. Mr. vanden Heuvel confirmed to the author that he had allowed Brown access to the diary, see note 4 above.

1. Memorandum from Lieut. Cdr. Arthur H. McCollum (promoted to Commander, Captain and retired as Rear Admiral) to ONI Director Captain Walter Stratton Anderson (promoted to Rear Admiral, Retired as Vice Admiral), dated October 7, 1940 in Arthur H. McCollum's classified personal file, RG 38, Station US papers, Box 6, folder 5750-15, Archives II, College Park, Maryland. Reproduced in full in Appendix A. In this book, McCollum's memorandum of October 7, 1940 will be referred to as the eight-action memo.
2. McCollum's oral history is the source for his early history, his adolescent years in Japan, his initial US Navy experience and his assignment to Prince Regent Hirohito. This information is found in volume 1 of *The Reminiscences of Rear Admiral Arthur H. McCollum, USN Ret.* (US Naval Institute, 1973), published in two volumes, softbound manuscript form, hereafter referred to as MACOH. The oral history interview starts December 8, 1970, and was conducted by John T. Mason, Jr., of the US Naval Institute. For McCollum's instructing Prince Hirohito see pp. 56, 58. Author's copy of the McCollum Oral History manuscript was prepared April 4, 1995 from original McCollum-Mason masters by Ann Hassinger, of the History Section of the USNI. In author's file.
3. Code names such as F-2 for intelligence officers are quite common.
4. The eight actions are found on page 4, section 9 of McCollum's memorandum. On page 4, the handwritten word "act" appears to have been added by pen to section 10 in the original typewritten copy, found by the author in RG 38, Archives II, College Park, Maryland. See copy in Appendix A. The phrase "overt act" involving Japan can be found in newspaper language. See an article in the *New York Times*, October 9, 1940 in which the *Times's* Far East reporter Hallett Abend reports a Japanese "overt act" against China.
5. Captain Dudley Knox's comments will be found attached to McCollum's eight-action memo. See Appendix A.
6. "Not precipitate," Knox, loc. cit.
7. Capt. Walter S. Anderson's classified correspondence file, which would contain McCollum's original memorandum, has not been found in Archives II. McCollum and Anderson had a very close personal relationship: "I was Admiral Anderson's fair-haired boy," MACOH, p. 269. Two US government officials—Arthur H. McCollum, who authored the eight-action memo and Captain Dudley Knox, the endorser—saw the eight-action memorandum. President Roosevelt can be directly linked (see citations in Note 8 below) to six of McCollum's proposed actions: namely **Actions B and G, curtailing Japanese access to natural resources of Southeast Asia**—for he met with Dutch officials and received Japanese intercepts concerning Japan-Dutch negotiations in 1940–41; **Action C, aid to China**: FDR directed the Administration's China strategy which antagonized Japan's leaders who were engaged in war with China. On September 25, 1940 the Administration approved a \$25 million loan to China's US-recognized government, headed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek: see Breckenridge Long, *The War Diary of Breckenridge Long* (University of Nebraska Press, 1966), p. 132. On April 15, 1941, FDR issued an executive order authorizing US Army, Navy, and Marine Corps officers to voluntarily serve with the Flying Tigers Air Force, led by former US Army Air Corps Colonel Claire Chennault. The Flying Tigers openly trained in Burma for air battle with the Japanese. See John Toland, *The Rising Sun* (Random House, 1970), p. 127; Action C continued into the fall of 1941, when President Roosevelt sent his personal advisor, Henry F. Grady, to join a special US commission formed to provide additional support for China. The group was headed by Major General John Magruder, former US Army intelligence chief. See *The Magic Background of Pearl Harbor* (Department of Defense), Vol. III, narrative, p. 266, item 566. FDR's direct links to Actions D, F, and H are detailed in Note 8 below.
8. The conclusive evidence that links FDR or high-level administration officials to the eight action proposals is as follows. **Action A: Arrange for US use of British Pacific Bases.** Arrangements were made for US use of Rabaul's Simpson Harbor, a British possession in New Britain in the South Pacific, as USN Advance Pacific Base F. Orders came from Admiral Harold Stark, FDR's Chief of Naval Operations. See special secret file NB/AB "F" (4), Special Advance Base—Pacific "F" in RG 181, Twelfth Naval District, National Archives, San Bruno, California. Base "F" leasing arrangements were in progress at time of Pearl Harbor. Japanese forces captured Rabaul in spring 1942 and ended US plans for Base "F." **Actions B and G: Urged the Dutch to cutoff Japanese access to natural resources in Southeast Asia.** See summary of intercepted Japanese diplomatic dispatches routed to FDR, October 16, 1940. Lt. Cdr. Arthur Mc Collum entitled the summary: "Japanese Plans to Seize the Dutch East Indies," and routed it "Original to Aide to the President." See copy in Appendix D. FDR met with Dutch Foreign Minister Eelco Nicolaas van Kleffens and US Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles during a 70-minute conference in the Oval Office,

March 19, 1941. See White House Usher Diary, 3/19/41, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY, hereafter FDRL. See photo of van Kleffens and Dutch Ambassador to the US Alexander Loudon—after concluding the presidential conference—outside the Oval Office and van Kleffens’ comments to news reporters published in *Knickerbocker Weekly*, March 31, 1941, p. 13. For Dutch-Japanese negotiations see the account by Dutch negotiator H. J. van Mook: *The Netherlands Indies and Japan* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1944). See **Action D: “Send cruisers”** in this chapter. **Action E: “Send US submarines to Orient.”** See letter re dispatch of US subs to Manila, from Admiral Harold Stark to Admiral James O. Richardson, November 12, 1940, PHPT 14, p. 971, and US Assistant Secretary of State Breckenridge Long, *War Diary*, p. 155. Long writes that twelve submarines were sent from Honolulu to Manila. **Action F: Retain the US Fleet in Hawaiian waters.** See discussion in this and following chapters. See transcript of Oval Office audio tape of October 4, 1940, 48–61:1 (1) and (2) FDRL, in which President Roosevelt can be heard discussing “fool things that Japan might do.”

THE PRESIDENT: “This country is, aah, ready to pull the trigger if the Japs do anything. I mean we won’t stand any nonsense, public opinion won’t in the country from the Japs, if they do some fool thing.” (Position 322 on tape.)

THE PRESIDENT: “And the time may be coming when the Germans and the Japs will do some fool thing that would put us in. That’s the only real danger of our getting in, is that their foot will slip.” (Position 337 on tape.) Transcript by author from the October 4, 1940 tape using Sony cassette recorder, December 2, 1995. In author’s file. The FDRL does not have an official transcript of FDR’s Oval Office audio tapes, according to archivist Robert Parks. **Action H: A complete embargo of Japan.** A total embargo was issued by the President on July 26, 1941. See Executive Order 8832, Federal Register this date in National Archives I, 7th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington. For Japanese reaction to Action H, see (no editor) *The Magic Background of Pearl Harbor* (US Department of Defense, 1977), Vol. II, Appendix, p. A-226, item 447. See also discussion concerning Japanese embargoes by FDR, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles, and Assistant Secretary of State Breckenridge Long in *War Diary*, October 10, 1940, p. 140.

9. See Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson’s diary entry of Nov. 25, 1941, where the FDR war cabinet discussed “letting Japan fire the first shot.” The cabinet believed this would unite the American people in the war effort; see PHPT 11, p. 5421.
10. The following (and probably more) knew of McCollum’s eight-action policy that was adopted by FDR, according to direct and indirect evidence outlined herein: President Roosevelt; Lieutenant Commander Arthur H. McCollum; Captains Walter S. Anderson and Dudley Knox; Admirals Harold Stark, James O. Richardson, and William Leahy; General George Marshall; Commander Vincent Murphy. (Ranks listed as of the fall of 1940.) Parallels of “firing first shot” and “overt act of war” can be found in the United States war warnings of November 27 and 28, 1941, which directed America’s Pacific commanders: “The United States desires that Japan commit the first overt act.” See Appendix C.
11. Documentation that directly links FDR with McCollum’s **Action D—sending US Navy cruisers in provocative moves against Japan** includes the following: first discussion in the White House Feb. 10, 1941. Present were President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, General George Marshall, Army Chief of Staff, and Admiral Harold R. Stark, Chief of Naval Operations. Stark warned FDR that the cruises “will precipitate hostilities,” PHPT 16-2150 and PHPT 33, p. 1203. FDR advocated the cruises; see Stark in PHPT 33, p. 1203.
12. FDR called them “pop-up cruises” according to Admiral Stark. See B. Mitchell Simpson, III, *Admiral Harold R. Stark* (University of South Carolina Press, 1989), pp. 101, 102.
13. Admiral Husband E. Kimmel wrote to Stark on February 18, 1941 and said the proposed cruises were “most ill advised,” PHPT 33-1199; “I fought but the decision may go against me,” Stark to Kimmel, Feb. 10, 1941, PHPT 33-1197.
14. For Prime Minister Winston Churchill’s advocating dispatch of US cruisers to Singapore see his message to FDR, October 4, 1940 in Warren E. Kimball, ed., *Churchill and Roosevelt: The Complete Correspondence*, (Princeton University Press, 1984) Vol. I, p. 74. In this dispatch, Churchill wrote that sending American warships to Singapore might prevent spreading of the war. McCollum held a different view and used the Singapore proposal as one of eight provocations he thought would entice Japan into an overt act of war. Ultimately, no US warships were sent to Singapore.
15. Three pop-up cruises can be documented. (1) The first sailed during March 15-21, 1941. See testimony of Vice Admiral John H. Newton who led a task group of four USN cruisers: USS *Brooklyn*, USS *Savannah*, USS *Chicago*, and USS *Portland*. Together with a squadron of twelve destroyers sailed into the Central and South Pacific adjacent to Japanese territory. Newton told the Hart Investigation of Pearl Harbor that his orders were highly secret and directed to him verbally, PHPT 26-340. But the cruise was not too secret. The presence of the US warships in the South Pacific was leaked to Australian newspapers which announced the ships’ arrival in news dispatches. The

- news reports were seen by the Japanese consulate in Honolulu and forwarded to Japan's Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka in Tokyo. See the consulate's intercepted message to Matsuoka at PHPT 35, p. 431, and PHPT, 37, p. 1026. (2) A second cruise took US warships to Central and South Pacific regions adjacent to the eastern Japanese Mandates; see RG 24, deck logs of USS *Salt Lake City* and USS *Northampton*, July and Aug. 1941, Archives II. (3) For a pop-up cruise in Bungo Strait see US Naval attaché Tokyo Confidential Serial 220230 of Aug. 23, 1941, RG 38, Station US papers release of Jan. 1995, Archives II. A copy of Japan's protest was forwarded to FDR.
16. For Bungo Strait report, Serial 220230, loc. cit.
 17. Ibid.
 18. See *New York Times*, October 9, 1940, p. 1.
 19. Reconstruction of the Oval Office meeting is based in three accounts: (1) Richardson's memoirs, *On The Treadmill To Pearl Harbor*; (2) Richardson's testimony to Congress starting at PHPT, 1, p. 253; and (3) secret Oval Office audio recordings of October 8, 1940, FDR Library in Hyde Park, NY. Roosevelt's voice is easily recognized on the Oval Office audio tapes which were originally recorded on an RCA recording device, then rerecorded on cassette tape for public use by FDRL. There are no minutes of the nearly three-hour luncheon meeting existing in the FDR Library files at Hyde Park, according to archivist Robert Parks. In addition to FDR and Richardson, Admiral William Leahy USN (Retired), then governor of Puerto Rico, participated. Leahy makes no reference to the meeting in his memoirs *I Was There* (New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950).
 20. See James O. Richardson, *On The Treadmill to Pearl Harbor* (Washington, DC, Naval History Division, Department of the Navy, 1973), p. 435. Hereafter, cited as Richardson, *Treadmill*.
 21. "Sacrifice of ship," "sooner or later," and "overt act." Richardson, *Treadmill*, ibid, p. 427.
 22. See *Complete Presidential Press Conferences of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (DaCapo Press, 1972), Vol. 16, pp. 259–260.
 23. *Kiplinger Newsletter* cited in Richardson, *Treadmill*, p. 402.
 24. Nimitz "begged off," see E. B. Potter, *Nimitz* (US Naval Institute Press, 1976), p. 9.
 25. See Richardson, *Treadmill*, for "did not give a damn," p. 442; Stark derelict, ibid, pp. 450-451.
 26. See Husband E. Kimmel, *Admiral Kimmel's Story* (Henry Regnery Company, 1955); Roosevelt maneuvering, ibid. p. 2; "supply me promptly," ibid. p. 79
 27. For Richardson quotes of "Stark negligent," "kept advised," "fire it along," and "compounded," see Richardson, *Treadmill*, p. 450. Richardson never explained his failure to inform Kimmel of the Oval Office meeting of October 8, 1940. Stark clarified his nickname "Betty" to JOINT: "When I went to the Naval Academy the history that we studied there had the statement of old General John Stark, who was one of my forebears, that 'We win today or Betty Stark will be a widow tonight.' The histories that I had always studied at home were, 'We win today or Molly Stark will be a widow tonight.' Every time an upper classman came in my room when I was a plebe I had to get up and say, 'We win today or Betty Stark will be a widow tonight.'" See PHPT 5-2172.
 28. Richardson, *Treadmill*, p. 450.
 29. The military assistance portion of the Tripartite Pact is in Article 3: "Germany, Italy and Japan agree to cooperate in their efforts on the aforesaid basis. They further undertake to assist one another with all political, economic and military means, if one of the three Contracting Parties is attacked by a Power at present not involved in the European war or in the Chinese-Japanese conflict." PHPT 6-2852. See McCollum's correspondence with attorney Paul Freeman of Philadelphia, concerning whether President Roosevelt used Japan as a back-door approach to war, MACOH, Vol. 1, Appendix. During the Joint Congressional Investigation, Senator Scott Lucas (D., Illinois) asked McCollum if the Pacific Fleet had been used as a deliberate trick to decoy Japan into war. McCollum, apparently forgetting his Action F, replied, "No." MACOH, p. 799.
 30. Strategic danger outlines, see Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of McCollum's eight-action memo of October 8, 1940 in Appendix A.
 31. "Ado," see Section 9, p. 4, ibid.
 32. Long, *The War Diary*, p. 136.
 33. See Richardson, *Treadmill*, p. 307 ff., where he provides background for basing the fleet at Pearl Harbor.
 34. Called the American Committee for Nonparticipation in Japanese Aggression, this citizens' group advocated withholding war materials from Japan. It was headed by Roger Green and included such prominent Americans as Henry L. Stimson, later to be FDR's Secretary of War, Admiral Harry E. Yarnell, and Henry L. Harriman, former president of the US Chamber of Commerce; see report on activities of the Committee in Donald J. Friedman, *The Road from Isolation* (Harvard University Press. 1968). Prominent news executives William Allen White of the *Emporia, Kansas Gazette* and Jonathan Daniels of the *Raleigh, North Carolina News-Observer* were associated with the group. Green had notable connections in Washington, according to Friedman.
 35. McCollum taught a Japanese language course in Tokyo; Edwin Layton, *And I Was There* (William Morrow and

Company, 1985), p. 39.

36. On McCollum's delivery to FDR, see MACOH p. 708, and p. 4 of McCollum's letter of July 13, 1954 to Paul Freeman, a Philadelphia attorney who had questioned McCollum's review of a book in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, July 3, 1954: "The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy when they were in Washington, as they usually were, were advised just as promptly as the President of the information contained in the Japanese telegrams." MACOH, Volume 1, Appendix.
37. Fourteen presidential routing indicators were found in Station US files: (1) "The President: Original," typed; (2) "P," rubber stamp; (3) "P" with a circle, rubber stamp; (4) "PR" with one star, rubber stamp; (5) "PR" with two stars, rubber stamp; (6) Routing block stamp for naval aide's initials; (7) "Special delivery to President" by Adm. Stark, typed; (8) "Special delivery to President," by Rear Admiral McIntyre (his physician), typed; (9) "Aide to President (Show)," typed; (10) "Aide to Pres. (Show)," typed; (11) "Aide to Pres.," typed; (12) "NAVAIDE," typed and handwritten; (13) Original to Aide to the President," typed, and (14) "Original to the Aide to the President," typed. See RG 38, Station US papers, Mod. Mil. Ref. Br., Archives II. Station US papers refer to the release, on January 23, 1995, of 20 boxes containing pre-Pearl Harbor communications intelligence records gathered by the US military pertaining to Japan; these released pursuant to a FOIA request filed by the author. The released files are kept in a separate research area at Archives II, according to Timothy Nenninger, head of the Modern Military Records Branch (MMRB), sometimes called Military Reference Branch. Arthur McCollum's eight-action memo is in Box 6. The National Security Agency refused to reveal the Japanese diplomatic code used in the intercepts delivered to the *Tuscaloosa*. Most likely it is the J series, probably J-15. All details of the routing system were shrouded in secrecy. Even as this book was being completed in 1999, thousands of these documents remained classified or unavailable for public examination. See "Trip of the President," White House Diary and Itineraries, February 14–March 2, 1940. FDRL. See RG 24, Deck Log of USS *Tuscaloosa*, February 25, 1940, in Archives II. The intercepts are in RG 38, Station US papers released January 23, 1995, Archives II, OP16-F-2, no serial number, dated February 23, 1940. Two destroyers, USS *Lang* and USS *Jouett*, escorted the President and carried fifteen members of the news media. Commander Daniel J. Callaghan, then forty-eight years old, was assigned as FDR's naval aide in June 1938 and remained in that post until May 1941. He became a presidential favorite, one of the boys. Roosevelt bragged of teaching "neophyte" Callaghan the techniques of deep sea fishing during a cruise to the Galapagos Islands in the summer of 1938, see Geoffrey C. Ward, ed., *Closest Companion* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1995), p. 117. Later Callaghan was promoted to captain, then to rear admiral. He commanded Navy warships and task groups in the Pacific War following his White House assignment. Callaghan was held in high esteem by the officers and men of his command, according to naval historian Samuel Eliot Morison in his *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II* (Little, Brown and Company, 1949), Vol. V, p. 236. Daniel J. Callaghan was killed in action during a night battle with Japanese warships near Guadalcanal on Friday, November 13, 1942.
38. FDR's "no foreign war" assurance was given at Philadelphia, October 23, 1940 and paraphrased in Boston, October 30, 1940. See Richardson, *Treadmill*, p. 435.
39. For "fight if attacked," see Robert Sherwood: *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (Harper & Brothers 1948), p. 191.
40. See PHPT 1, p. 467 and PHPT 2, p. 549. The United States Fleet was the major command of the United States Navy afloat prior to February 1, 1941. There was no Pacific Fleet or Atlantic Fleet. The commander-in-chief was known as CINCUS—an unfortunate acronym. CINCUS warships moved between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans but under the single CINCUS command. A small group of warships separately stationed on the East Coast was known as the Atlantic Squadron. In the Pacific the warships at Pearl Harbor were called the Hawaiian Detachment. A small Navy command stationed in the Philippines was called the Asiatic Fleet.
41. Welles quote "diplomatic disaster" is in PHPT 2, p. 467.
42. Italy quote comes from Richardson, *Treadmill*, p. 307.
43. "Europe first," see *ibid.* pp. 332, 333.
44. For the objections to Hawaii, see *ibid.* pp. 324, 326, 327.
45. "It looks probable," *ibid.* p. 308.
46. "Nitwit," *ibid.* p. 309.
47. FDR's promise "not to send the fleet," see *ibid.* p. 384. Richardson sought transportation orders to Washington so he could protest the Hawaii policy direct to the Administration. During the period of July 5–17, 1940, Richardson and his war plans officer, Commander Vincent R. Murphy, flew to Washington traveling under assumed names: Richardson as Mr. Mandley, Murphy as Mr. McCleary. The admiral met with FDR for lunch on July 8, 1940. Later in the week meetings were held with Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles, Army Chief of Staff George Marshall, Senator James Byrnes, and Stanley Hornbeck, State Department Far East expert. It was the first of two meetings the admiral had with the President in 1940. The second was three months later, on October 8.

48. US naval strength was projected at 145,000 total according to 1940 figures, per Richardson *Treadmill*, p. 434; belligerent activity, *ibid*, p. 319.
49. Japan led by military men, *Treadmill*, *ibid*. p. 333.
50. San Francisco Japanese consulate report, September 16, 1940: see Appendix D, herein.
51. “No difficulty” intercept, see Appendix D, herein. Crude oil purchased in metric tons equals 7.33 barrels per metric ton according to a report in the 1997 edition of the *British Petroleum Statistical Review*; courtesy American Petroleum Institute, Washington, DC.
52. For discussion concerning the US giving the green light to Japanese acquisition of petroleum products, see *Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States: The Far East, 1940* (USGPO, 1955), Vol. IV, pp. 805, 806. Quoted in Jonathan Marshall, *To Have and Have Not* (University of California Press, 1995), p. 177.
53. See Tracking Chart 1 in insert herein. Original in RG 181, USN Secret A-6 files, National Archives, Seattle, WA.
54. For commercial facilities see Commandant, Eleventh Naval District, secret serial C-76 of April 4, 1940, RG 181, Box 196741, National Archives, Laguna Niguel, CA.
55. Tankers and their trans-Pacific routes are identified on Tracking Chart 1.
56. See Tracking Chart 1 in insert herein. For US Navy tracking of the tankers, see Tracking Chart 1, and for more details see Twelfth Naval District’s (COM12) 1941 weekly tracking reports of foreign merchant vessels. The reports start with a January 14, 1941 letter from Admiral James O. Richardson, commander-in-chief of the US Fleet, who asked COM 12 to keep him informed of the tracking of the foreign merchant vessels “in the event of actual hostilities.” The file, declassified for the author by Michael Anderson of San Bruno National Archives on November 1, 1984, covers January-December 1941 and is entitled “Foreign Merchant Ship-Movement Reports” found in RG 181-58-3223, QS1/EF(8), storage location 4006, Genl. Correspondence, Secret and Confidential, National Archives, San Bruno, CA.

For COM 12 named as coordinator see OPNAV Confidential Serial 016916 of February 17, 1940 in RG 181 classified records, National Archives, San Bruno, CA.

Kyokuto Maru was requisitioned by Japan’s navy from a private shipping firm, hence, *Maru*. HIMJS *Shiriyu* was a Japanese naval tanker and should be identified as His Imperial Majesty’s Japanese Ship (HIMJS). Japanese *Marus* (merchant vessels) were assigned a permanent four letter commercial international radio call sign (RCS) by the Berne (Switzerland) International Radio Convention, known as the Berne List. All Japanese *Maru* commercial radio identification began with the letter J. The Berne List assigned JWTI to the *Kyokuto Maru*. The tanker used the call sign to contact American and worldwide radio sources. But in the secret Japanese naval communication scheme, the RCS for the *Kyokuto Maru* was I WI 2 during November 1941; see Special Research Navy (SRN) 115787 RG 457, Archives II. For the Berne List see Secret folder 077/01, RG 38, Station US papers, Archives II. The significance of the word *Maru* is similar to “red sails in the sunset” in Western culture. In Japanese, the word *maru* means “circle”; the Japanese believe that ships complete a circle and return loved ones home safely. Warships of the Imperial Japanese Navy are not called *Maru*, since they risk not completing a circle. (This explanation courtesy of Kimi and George Matsumoto of Oakland, CA.)
57. See chapter 5 of this book for a discussion on the Purple Code system.
58. A purple cover-binder, made by the ACCO Corp. of Chicago, enclosed the Navy’s solution, hence the name. The Purple Code is not fully understood by some journalists and authors, who confuse it with the 5-Num code of the Japanese navy. See *Naval History*, December 1997, p. 37. Historian William Manchester made a similar mistake in referring to “Admiral Yamamoto’s Purple Code” in *The Glory and the Dream* (Bantam Books, 1975), p. 269.
59. For confirmation of the 5-Num code designation assigned to the *Akagi*, see intercept SRN 115474 in Station US Papers, RG 38, MMRB, Archives II. Beware of the censored version of SRN 115474 in RG 457, Archives II, which blacks out the 5-Num code. For the 29 systems of the *Kaigun Ango*, see Kanya Miyauchi, *Niitaka Yama Nobore*. (Tokyo: Rikkyou Shuppan, 1976), p. 135. (Climb Mount Niitaka.)
60. For a copy of the original text of Admiral Ingersoll’s secret letter, see RG 38, CNO Secret serial 081420 of October 4, 1940, SRH 355, Vol. 1, pp. 395–397, Archives II. Beware of the censored copy in Special Research History (SRH) 149, RG 38. Copies of both documents are available in author’s file. Admiral Ingersoll’s letter was prepared by Station US personnel, signed by Ingersoll, and forwarded to Admiral James Richardson, CINCUS; Admiral Thomas Hart, CinC Asiatic Fleet; Rear Admiral J. M. Smeallie, COM16; and Admiral Claude Bloch, COM 14. In 1940–41 America’s major war plan was code-named Rainbow and each potential enemy was designated by color. Orange was Japan. For a discussion of Rainbow war plans see Edward S. Miller, *War Plan Orange: The U. S. Strategy to Defeat Japan, 1897–1945* (US Naval Institute Press, 1991).
61. Ingersoll’s secret letter, *loc. cit*.
62. *Ibid*. Decoding and translation of the Japanese Navy’s 5-Num dispatches remain controversial as this book goes to press. Duane Whitlock, traffic analyst at Station CAST in 1941, wrote that “It was absolutely impossible for anyone

in the United States to decode any of the JN-25 (*sic*) messages Station H intercepted in November 1941.” See e-mail from Whitlock to author, May 22, 1999, author’s file. For another viewpoint on American decoding of Japanese naval messages, see chapter 10, herein, where General George C. Marshall, head of the US Army in 1941, called a secret meeting in Washington, DC on November 15, 1941, and told select reporters that the United States had broken Japanese codes. Marshall informed the reporters that he expected a Japanese attack on the United States during the first ten days of December 1941, based on intercepted and decrypted Japanese messages.

1. Roosevelt's 1940 presidential race with Wendell Willkie, the Republican nominee, was almost neck and neck on September 4, 1940, according to a Gallup Poll. See *New York Times* (NYT) p. 20. Roosevelt held a slim lead of 50 percent over Willkie's 49 percent, according to Gallup.
2. See Stefan Terzibaschitsch, *Aircraft Carriers of the U.S. Navy* (Annapolis: US Naval Institute Press. 1989), p. 304, which lists totals of CV (large carriers), CVL (light carriers) and CVE (escort carriers) built in the US for WWII.
3. For a description of the fistfight on the House floor the night of September 4, 1940 see NYT, September 5, 1940.
4. For Willkie's remarks on the destroyer deal, see NYT, September 7, 1940.
5. Nye quote is from NYT, September 2, 1940; Bridges was quoted in AP dispatch, NYT, September 2, 1940; editorial in St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* was excerpted in NYT, September 3, 1940; Ackerman was quoted in NYT, September 1, 1940.
6. Roosevelt spoke at Newfound Gap, Tennessee, September 2, 1940, during the dedication of Great Smoky Mountains National Park. See NYT, September 3, 1940, for full text.
7. Ibid.
8. For "Garden hose" press conference of December 17, 1940, see *Complete Presidential Press Conferences of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (DaCapo Press. 1972), Vol. 16, p. 354.
9. Bridges, prepared statement excerpt quoted by AP in NYT, September 2, 1940.
10. For discussion on the Oval Office recordings done in 1940 by President Roosevelt, see article by Professor Robert J. C. Butow in *American Heritage* (Feb./Mar., and Oct./Nov. 1982). Schlesinger discusses the President's reason for the recordings in *ibid.* p. 9.
11. On September 6, 1940, FDR discussed the Grant-Howard dispatch in audio tape 48-61:1 (3), transcribed by the author from cassettes furnished by FDRL. The sound quality is good, though some conversation is unintelligible. "Down and out physically and mentally" can be heard at tape location 19; "Wouldn't say anything more" is heard at tape location 59.
12. FDR scorns NYT editorial during Oval Office meeting with Speaker Sam Rayburn (D., Texas) and House Floor Leader John McCormack (D., Mass.). Meeting recorded on October 4, 1940, audio tape 48-61-1 (1) and (2) FDRL.
13. FDR's voice comes through loud and clear on his statement that the Axis Powers "want me licked on November fifth." Audio tape of October 4, 1940, 48-61-1 (1) and (2) starting at tape location 187.
14. Matthews article is in NYT, Oct. 4, 1940; editorial is in *ibid.*
15. Evidence of Axis directions, see Arthur McCollum's eight-action memo of Oct. 7, 1940, p. 1, item 2, first sentence, where he writes, "There is considerable evidence to support the view that Germany and Italy." See Appendix A herein.
16. FDR discussing "more worry" is heard on October 4, 1940 audio tape 48-61:1 (1) and (2) tape location 333.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid. Apparently the President is discussing a United Press story distributed on Oct. 2, 1940. Roosevelt can be heard describing the story, which was published in all the Scripps Howard newspapers. The "God" quote is heard at tape location 333. The tape started with Roosevelt's saying "Hello"; FDR audio tape 48-61: 1 (2), Oct. 4, 1940.
19. FDR retreats to his study, see Helen Morris, ed., *At Random* (Random House, Winter 1993), p. 26. For 1940 election returns, see NYT, Nov. 5, 1940, p. 1.
20. FDR quote is from NYT, *ibid.* same date.
21. On British expectation of Japan-US war, see letter dated Nov. 12, 1940 from Admiral Harold Stark to Admiral Thomas Hart, Commander of the Asiatic Fleet: "British expect USA to be in the war a few days after reelection of Roosevelt," PHPT 16-2448.
22. Matsuoka "worst" quote is from intercept of January 30, 1941. See Appendix D, this book.
23. Matsuoka, *ibid.* The "worst" strategy change involved the ABCD powers (America, British, Chinese, Dutch). It was first revealed by Japanese diplomatic radio messages intercepted by US Army and Navy listening posts. See Matsuoka's message of January 30, 1941 in Appendix D where he used the "worst" word and writes that Japan is "being prepared for the worst."

English translations of 1941 Japanese Foreign Office intercepts containing the word or phrase "worse," "worse comes to worse," and similar uses can be found in Department of Defense, *The Magic Background of Pearl Harbor* (USGPO, 1977).

January 30, 1941 is Matsuoka's dispatch Vol. 1, p. A-76 item 118. Other examples follow.

February 8, 1941: "Accompanying the worsening of Japanese-American relations" Vol. 1, p. A-105, item 190.

March 11, 1941: "If the worst comes to worst the US will back up England." Vol. I, p. A-204, item 390.

June 2, 1941: "If worse comes to worst, we consider Mexico City" Vol. II, p. A-192, item 384.

July 7, 1941: "If worse comes to worse." Vol. II, p. A-185, item 369.

July 12, 1941: Re Japanese merchant ship recall, "when the worse comes to the worst," Vol. II, p. A-171, item 340.

July 23, 1941: "Whenever the situation should become worse," Vol. II, p. A-186, item 370.

November 28, 1941: "When we are about to face the worst of situations," Vol. IV, p. A-250, item 526.

American reaction to the "worse" policy (which meant war) can be found in the printed record of the Joint Congressional Committee:

September 21, 1941: Washington dispatched an order to Admiral Kimmel listing ships to remain in Pearl Harbor "in case of worse conditions" and "would deal with the worse situation." See testimony of Admiral Richmond K. Turner, US Navy War Plans officer in 1941, to JOINT, PHPT 4, p. 2027.

December 4, 1941 (Java Time): See Japan's "worse" policy revealed in radio intercept of the Winds Code sent by American Consul General Walter Foote in Batavia to the Secretary of State, December 4, 1941 (Java Time). Foote quotes the Japanese introduction to the Winds code: "When crisis leading to the worse," see PHPT 8, p. 3589.

Bibliographical note: Volumes II, III, and IV of *Magic* have separate narrative and appendix volumes (The A distinguishes the appendix). Vols. I and V combine both narrative and appendix. "Worse" (sometimes translated as "worst") policy began as early as 1933. See Tokyo newspaper *Asahi*, February 27, 1933, in which the newspaper reported that Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations had caused an increase in the spirit of war and "it is necessary for Japan to prepare for the worst." Reported in *Proceedings* (US Naval Institute, May 1933), p. 761.

24. See Hiroyuki Agawa, *The Reluctant Admiral* (Naval Institute Press. 1979), pp. 203 and 220 for Oikawa and Yamamoto.
25. For letter of Frank Knox to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, see PHPT 4-1939. Warnings to Pearl Harbor started flowing immediately from Washington following the abrasive Oval Office luncheon with FDR and Admiral James Richardson. Three directives were dispatched by Admiral Harold Stark, the Chief of Naval Operations, to Rear Admiral Claude Bloch, Commandant of the Fourteenth Naval District (COM14) in Hawaii. Stark ordered improved air defenses to ward off a carrier air attack on Pearl Harbor. See Stark-Bloch dispatches of Oct. 9, 1940 (Serial 092135); Oct. 18, 1940 (Serial 182138), in RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II; and Stark to Bloch, Oct. 24, 1940, in PHPT 4-1939. On Dec. 30, 1940 Rear Admiral Bloch replied and agreed that aircraft attacking the base at Pearl Harbor would undoubtedly be brought by carriers. Bloch said the Japanese carriers would be repelled by (1) locating and destroying the ships, and (2) driving off the attacking planes with anti-aircraft fire; PHPT 33-1194.
26. All quotations here are from Max W. Bishop's letter to the author, Sept. 19, 1988, in author's file. A career State Department officer, Bishop arrived in Japan in 1935 and for a short time served as vice consul in Osaka. His five-year tour at an end, Bishop was under transfer to Washington, and was scheduled to depart via ocean liner at the end of January 1941—hence his money exchange efforts.

Bishop's written description of the meeting with Schreiber in the bank is contained in his letter to the author dated Sept. 19, 1988, in author's file. Japan prohibited two-way radio-wireless facilities in the American embassy. The most sensitive American government messages were encrypted in an "unbreakable code," then taken to the Japanese Telegraph Agency, which transmitted the messages to the radio facilities of the Fourth Marine Regiment in Shanghai, China, who then used Navy facilities to retransmit them to Washington. Japan's diplomatic missions in the United States used commercial firms such as RCA. Neither nation allowed the other radio transmitters. Each had the opportunity to read each other's mail, and did. On embassy radio facilities, see RG 38, Station US papers, SRH 355, Vol. 1, p. 347, MMRB, Archives II. On the "unbreakable" State Department code, see Joseph Grew's testimony PHPT 2, p. 582.

27. See the original copy of Grew's cablegram 125, as received by State Department at 6:38 A.M. on Monday, Jan. 27, 1941 (EST) in PHPT 14, p. 1042.
28. See Arthur McCollum dispatch, approved by Captain Jules James, interim ONI director, dictated Jan. 31, 1941 and transmitted to Admiral Kimmel on Feb. 1, 1941; confidential file, serial 09716, OP16-F-2 in RG 38, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II.
29. The exact time when message 301455 reached the White House is not clear. The six-digit number is the Navy's radio dispatch time recorded in Greenwich Mean Time, January 30, 1941 at 2:55 P.M. or 9:55 A.M. January 30 in Washington. Duane Whitlock, one of the traffic analysts at cast in January 1941, told the author he wrote the dispatch and that it was based entirely on analyzing the Japanese naval communication procedures culled from the message. "We were not reading the actual text at CAST," Whitlock said in a telephone interview with the author in May 1999,

notes in author's file. The time frame suggests an afternoon delivery to the White House. See CAST report serial 301455, RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II.

The CAST report was initialed by Captain Daniel J. Callaghan in Washington sometime after 9:55 A.M. EST. The White House Usher Book does not list Callaghan as a visitor on Jan. 30, 1941. The President remained in the second floor Oval Study until 11:22 A.M., then went to the Oval Office until 1:15 P.M., then to the Blue Parlor and State Dining Room for the movie-star luncheon. He returned to the Oval Office at 3:00 P.M., see the White House Usher Book, Jan. 30, 1941, FDRL.

30. For the Gallup Poll of Jan. 30, 1941, see *NYT*, Jan. 31, 1941.
31. See James O. Richardson, *On The Treadmill to Pearl Harbor* (Naval History Division, Department of the Navy, 1973), pp. 402, 403, 420. A sea bag is the naval equivalent of a suitcase.
32. Richardson's quote is from Richardson, *Treadmill*, p.7.
33. For Stark's quotes, "not commit one inch" and "looking for new job," see his January 13, 1941 letter to Kimmel in PHPT 16-2144.
34. For Anderson's promotion to the Pacific Fleet as the number three commander, see his Oral History in microfiche form, p. 235, Oral History Research Office, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York; for "stars to Ernie King" see *ibid*.
35. For Knox-Anderson discussion re reporters, see Anderson's OH, *ibid*.
36. For Thomason quote see Ladislav Farago, *The Broken Seal* (Random House, 1967), p. 102.
37. On Anderson meetings with FDR see his OH, p. 230.
38. See Adolf Berle's diary entry of Oct. 4, 1940, at FDRL, copy in author's file.
39. Anderson lends McCollum to Hoover as consultant, see FBI report 62-33413-766, FBI headquarters, FOIA section, Washington, DC.
40. Anderson knew nothing about the Roosevelt-Richardson meeting of October 8, 1940 according to his OH, pp. 246-247. His lack of knowledge concerning the Oval Office meeting might be explained by his credo, given in his OH, on p. 231: "An intelligence officer should not write books or discuss in any detailed way their professional activity."
41. See photograph of the change of command ceremony aboard USS *Pennsylvania*, in the photo insert herein.
42. For Richardson's "lips sealed," see Richardson, *Treadmill*, p. 436.
43. Richardson told Kimmel of a "disagreement" in PHPT 6-2619. On June 9, 1941 Kimmel met with FDR and told him the fleet was vulnerable in Hawaii, but did not protest its basing at Pearl; White House Usher Book, FDRL. Richardson had close personal ties to both Kimmel and Lieut. Gen. Walter Short but there is no record that he told them of the Oval Office confrontation of October 8, 1940. Richardson had ample opportunity to confide in Short. While the general awaited his furniture from the mainland, he and his wife were house guests of Richardson and his wife.

By naval tradition, command changes take place with incoming and outgoing officers reading their transfer orders to the assembled crew and invited guests. Battleship ceremonies were usually held on the fantail (rear deck of ship).

44. Anderson assumed title of Commander Battleships of the Pacific Fleet on January 31, 1941; see RG 24, Deck Log of USS *West Virginia*, Jan. 31, 1941, MMRB, Archives II. Anderson had changed his flagship to the USS *Maryland* by the time of the Pearl Harbor attack.
45. For Stark's, "The White House decides," see PHPT 16, pp. 2144-2146.
46. Stark "Our hand was forced," *loc. cit*.
47. For Richardson "little respect" quote, see Richardson, *Treadmill*, p. 7. See also *ibid*. p. 1, where Richardson objected to an FDR naval promotion slate of 1939 containing Anderson's name.
48. Anderson's address was 3671-A Diamond Head Road. He listed his telephone number as Honolulu 78450. See the Oahu telephone directory, fall 1941, p. 4. In 1996, his former residence still stood on the down slope toward the ocean.
49. Anderson commanded nine Pacific Fleet battleships. The USS *Colorado* was at Puget Sound Naval Yard, Seattle for overhaul and escaped the attack. The USS *Utah*, an ex-battleship, had been converted to an aerial target ship for training purposes.
50. On Anderson being home for the weekend and his return to his flagship *Maryland* at 0905 December 7, 1941, see Vice Admiral Homer N. Wallin, *Pearl Harbor: Why, How, Fleet Salvage and Final Appraisal* (Naval History Division, USGPO 1968), p. 153.
51. For Kimmel's "I may never understand," see Husband E. Kimmel, *Admiral Kimmel's Story* (Henry Regnery Company, 1955), p. 108. Shortly after Kimmel took command of the Pacific Fleet he questioned whether he was in the intelligence loop; see *Kimmel*, *ibid*. pp. 79 and 80.
52. For example of Purple Code messages intercepted at Fort Shafter, see Appendix F herein. See further discussion of

the Purple Code in chapter 5.

53. For Kimmel to Stark, “no misunderstanding concerning intelligence,” see PHPT 4, p. 1792.

54. For Stark’s reply to Kimmel, see *ibid.*

55. For Kimmel’s “cardinal principle,” see *loc. cit.*

56. For US Navy ceasing to send decoded and translated Japanese intercepts acquired in Washington DC to Hawaii in July 1941, see testimony of Brigadier General Sherman Miles in PHPT 2, pp. 811, 812, 813. Station H on Oahu continued to intercept the Japanese navy’s 5-Num dispatches up to the attack, but apparently did not have the means to decrypt the message text during the period of July 15 to December 7, 1941. Officials at Station US controlled the decrypting information and saw to it that none leaked out until after December 7, 1941. In 1999, the argument cannot be settled on whether American cryptographers could intercept, decode, and translate the 5-Num code in a timely manner in 1941. There is no way to prove or disprove the argument for the original coded intercepts obtained by Station H, and the decoding procedures necessary to unmask the Japanese text have not been publicly released. The author believes such an argument is moot for the answers to the argument are entirely clear. Officials in Washington did not want the Hawaiian commanders, Admiral Kimmel and General Short, to independently learn of Japan’s plans to attack Hawaii and derail a clear-cut overt act of war by the Japanese.

1. For McCollum's memo on actions B and G, see Appendix A of this book.
2. See Dr. H. J. van Mook, *The Netherlands East Indies and Japan* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1944), p. 43 ff.
3. For Dr. van Mook's "preposterous" and Netherlands role as "supervisory" comments, see van Mook, *ibid.* p. 46.
4. For the October 16, 1940 Purple intercept routed to FDR, see RG 38, Station US papers in MMRB, Archives II. Reproduced in Appendix F of this book.
5. See Admiral James O. Richardson's account concerning the question of war that he posed to FDR in PHPT 1, p. 266; see also James O. Richardson, *On the Treadmill to Pearl Harbor* (Naval History Division USGPO. 1973), p. 427.
6. For a copy of the October 30, 1940 intercept delivered by Arthur McCollum to Ranneft see RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. Notation on the report: "By D.N.I. (Director Naval Intelligence, Capt. Walter S. Anderson) order, above handed to Capt. Ranneft 2100, 30 Oct. by McC." "Johan Ranneft was an experienced naval communications officer and would have understood the American techniques of acquiring the Japanese intercept." He was Director of Dutch Naval Communications 1934–38. He served in the United States as naval attaché from 1938–1947. Ranneft was born in Semarang, Java, Jan. 25, 1886, and died in Houston, Texas, January 20, 1982. USN intelligence reports based on Japanese naval intercepts were funneled to McCollum. He had two assistants, Major Rodney A. Boone, a US Marine Corps intelligence officer, and Lieutenant Commander Ethelbert Watts, a Japanese-language expert and a close friend of Joseph Rochefort, commander of Station HYPO. Starting in mid-November 1941, McCollum's F-2 operation alternated on eight-hour shifts around the clock forwarding the latest intelligence information to President Roosevelt and other American government leaders.
7. The American government has never publicly admitted to the exchange of pre-Pearl Harbor Japanese intercepted messages in the military and diplomatic codes with the Dutch and British governments. For confirmation of US exchange of Japanese intercepts with British and Dutch, see a letter dated November 8, 1941 from Knox to Hull, Secret serial 038513 in RG 38, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II. In 1941 the Dutch Navy assigned Commander H. D. Linder as COMINT liaison to Admiral Hart's staff in Manila, according to Hart's biographer, James Leutze, in *A Different Kind of Victory* (Naval Institute Press. 1981), pp. 199, 251, 252, 253. Batavia (Jakarta), the capital of the Dutch East Indies, was a major pre-Pearl Harbor source of US intelligence concerning Japan. Direct liaison between Batavia and Washington, DC was effected through the US Army's military attaché and the USN's naval attaché. Both officers were given access to Japanese diplomatic and military messages obtained by Dutch cryptographers who maintained an intercept facility at a Netherlands army post at Bandoeng, Java, under the cover name *Kamer 14*. A Purple Code machine was used in Batavia by the Japanese consul-general for communication with Tokyo and other diplomatic posts. Documents in the Station US papers indicate that Dutch officials in Batavia solved the Japanese naval operations code (the 5-Num code) and shared the information with Washington. Reciprocal intelligence exchanges were accorded Captain Johan Ranneft, the Dutch naval attaché in Washington. Most Pearl Harbor historians assert that communications intelligence (COMINT) was a closely guarded secret disseminated only to a select list of high American government officials. The Station US papers in Archives II include documents labeled "1941 Netherlands raw traffic in the MH and NH Code," stored in Box 792. The documents have not been declassified as of the writing of this book in 1999.
8. On the FDR meeting with van Kleffens, see White House Usher Book for March 19, 1941, FDRL. Quote from van Kleffens is in *Knickerbocker Weekly*, March 31, 1941, pp. 12–13. Another agenda was on the Dutch minister's mind: He pressured Assistant Secretary of State Breckenridge Long, requesting that an LL.D degree be conferred on Netherlands Crown Princess Juliana by Princeton University; Long was an influential board member of the University. See Breckenridge Long, *War Diary of Breckenridge Long* (University of Nebraska Press 1966), p. 191.
9. For Abend's account, see Hallett Abend, *Japan Unmasked* (Ives Washburn, Inc. 1941), p. 142.
10. For Ranneft's diary accounts of December 2 and 6, 1941 see Johan E. M. Ranneft. *Dagboek* (Diary) 1938–1947. (The Hague Institute for Maritime History, Ministry of Defense, 1952), p. 39. For Ranneft's visit to ONI on December 2 and 6, 1941, see John Toland, *Infamy* (Doubleday & Company, Inc.), pp. 282, 298. A copy of Ranneft's diary was supplied to the author by Dr. P. C. van Royen, Director, Institute for Maritime History, on July 7, 1995; copy is in author's file.
11. For tracking Japanese Carrier Divisions Three and Four from Sasebo to the Southeast Asia/Palau (sometimes spelled as Palao by the navy cryptographers) region, and their continued association with the Third Fleet—not

commander carriers—see Station H’s daily Chronology for November 1–30, 1941 in Station US papers, RG 38, MMRB, Archives II, copies in author’s file. The aircraft carrier HIMJS *Taiyo* was identified as the *Kasuga Maru* in the prewar Station H intercepts. The *Kasuga Maru*, a luxury passenger liner of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (Known as the NYK Line or Japanese Steamship Company) was converted to an aircraft carrier during 1941 and that fall was commissioned as a 17,000-ton flattop. Since the conversion included the former liner’s radio transmitters, USN cryptographers recognized her radio transmissions as that of the former luxury liner.

Note: For Japanese accounts on composition of Carrier Divisions Three and Four conflict, see Ikuhiko Hata, *Japanese Naval Aces* (Naval Institute Press, 1989). *Taiyo* was torpedoed and sunk by USS *Rasher* on August 18, 1944.

12. In Dutch: “2-12-41. *Bespreking op Navy Dept. men wijst mij op de kaart de plaats van 2 Japanese carriers uit Japan vertrokken met Oostelijke koers.*” The Netherlands Government provided two conflicting English translations for the author. Both agree that the two carriers were proceeding in an easterly direction from Japan. The conflict centers on the specific location of the departure of the Japanese carriers. A translation by the Netherlands consulate in San Francisco reads: “I was being shown the place on the map where the two Japanese carriers departed on an eastern course.” A slightly different nuance—but with same meaning—appeared in a translation that the Ministry of Defense at The Hague prepared for the author. Translators at The Hague dropped “the place” and came up with: “Meeting at Navy Department, the location of two Japanese carriers leaving Japan with eastern course are pointed out to me on the map.” The words “the place,” “eastern,” and “easterly” are critical here. A look at the map indicates that of the two, Sasebo or Hitokappu Bay, the latter is “the place” that offers a direct eastern (or easterly) departure. Asked by the author to clarify his Japanese carrier research concerning Ranneft, Toland wrote that Ranneft was referring to Japanese carriers, not Carrier Divisions. See Toland to author, July 19, 1995.
13. For Yamamoto’s first dispatch see two sources: (1) Wallin, *Pearl Harbor*, p. 87; (2) Captain F. M. Trapnell, USN, Captain J. S. Russell, USN, and Lieutenant Commander J. A. Field, Jr., USNR, eds., *The Campaigns of the Pacific War* (United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Naval Analysis Division, USGPO Washington, 1946), p. 50.
14. For Yamamoto’s second dispatch, see Wallin, *Pearl Harbor*, p. 86, *Campaigns*, supra. The Wallin version is reproduced in Appendix D of this book.
15. Vice Admiral Homer N. Wallin headed the US Navy’s Pearl Harbor salvage operations, refloating battleships and other vessels sunk on December 7, 1941. The US Strategic Bombing Survey was established by President Roosevelt on November 3, 1944. Its original mission was to survey effects of aerial bombing on Germany. On August 15, 1945, President Harry Truman requested that the Survey conduct a similar study of the aerial bombing of Japan. Truman named eleven directors headed by Franklin D’Olier, chairman. The other members were Paul H. Nitze, Walter Wilds, Harry L. Bowman, J. K. Galbraith, Rensis Likert, Frank A. McNamee, Fred Searls, Jr., Monroe Spaght, Dr. Louis R. Thompson, and Theodore P. Wright.
16. Yamamoto’s thirteen missing radio messages can easily be documented by retrieving his SMS message numbers from the intercept file of Station H in RG 45, MMRB, of Archives II. Every Japanese naval commander, warship, and unit assigned a separate consecutive Secret Message Series (SMS) number to each radio dispatch they originated. It began at 001, advanced to 999, then repeated the sequence. Depending upon the number of dispatches, several series of 1000 messages could be issued per year for each command, etc. The author analyzed Yamamoto’s message time frame in the Station H records. On November 24, 1941 at 1:00 P.M. Tokyo Time, he dispatched a fleet radio message using his call sign, RO SE 22. He numbered the message as 606 in the SMS Series. The next thirteen Yamamoto messages have disappeared from records released by the United States government. He reappears in SMS 620 which the admiral dispatched at 3:54 P.M., November 26, Tokyo Time, according to the Station H records. Again Yamamoto used his radio call sign of RO SE 22. (Prior to Pearl Harbor, a double-digit number always designated a commanding officer in Japanese naval dispatches.)

Obviously there are thirteen messages missing from the Yamamoto radio dispatch records of Station H—the principal US Navy monitoring unit for the Pacific Fleet. The missing dispatches include his explosive messages directing the carrier force to advance through the Northern Pacific and bomb Pearl Harbor. So where are the missing thirteen messages? Captain Homer Kisner, radio traffic chief for the Pacific Fleet in 1941, also wonders. He was in charge of the US Navy’s intercept operations at Station H. In interviews with the author in 1988 and 1998, Kisner said his intercept operators rarely missed Japanese naval radio messages. “Even if some messages were missed during the first transmission, Japan’s navy always repeated messages and we could obtain them on the second or third dispatch,” Kisner told the author. Kisner said he and his men carefully monitored the SMS numbers: “We didn’t want to miss a one.”

Intercepted Japanese naval dispatches of the pre-Pearl Harbor era (July 15–December 7, 1941) are housed in MMRB at Archives II, College Park, Maryland as Record Group (RG) 457. They were released to National Archives by President Jimmy Carter’s Executive Order 12065 of June 1, 1979 and labeled Special Research Navy

(SRN).

Yamamoto's SMS 606 is filed as SRN 116780; 620 is SRN 117266 (SRN number is listed here as a finding aid, it has nothing to do with sequence of the messages). According to John Taylor, supervising archivist of RG 457 at Archives II, the thirteen missing Yamamoto radio dispatches, SMS 607 to SMS 619, were not released to the National Archives. The National Security Agency, at Fort George G. Meade, Maryland carried out President Carter's order. Before releasing the Japanese radio documents to the National Archives, NSA blacked out all reference to the 5-Num code. Some First Amendment scholars call the blackouts censorship; NSA refers to them as redactions. There are approximately 2,600 pre-Pearl Harbor Japanese naval intercepts mixed haphazardly together with about 300,000 intercepts of the Pacific War. The 2600 figure represents about 2 percent of the Japanese naval intercepts obtained by Station H operators between July 15 and December 7, 1941. Station H intercept operators intercepted about 1,000 Japanese naval messages per day in the pre-Pearl Harbor period, which, according to Kisner, totaled about 140,000 intercepts. The 2,600 intercepts released to the American public are not arranged chronologically, but mixed together, requiring a researcher to separate the pre-Pearl Harbor records from the lot. See the pre-Pearl Harbor intercepts—arranged in chronological order, in the author's file. All Japanese naval intercepts and radio logs monitored by American facilities were recorded in Tokyo Time. Japan's naval units used Tokyo Time no matter where they were located in the world.

17. As of 1999, the Kurile Islands are controlled by the Russian government. Etorofu is called Ostrov Iturup. For coded movement reports of Japanese warships en route to Hitokappu Bay in November 1941, see the SRN documents in RG 457, MMRB, Archives II. The SRN documents in RG 457 indicate they were "trans" in 1945 and 1946.
18. During 1941 apparently 90 percent of the Japanese navy's coded movement reports were decoded and translated in Washington at Station US, according to an article written by US Navy cryptologist Captain Al Pelletier in *Cryptolog*, Summer 1992 issue, p. 5. But Duane Whitlock, a 1941 radio traffic analyst at Station CAST (the US Navy's cryptographic center for the US Asiatic Fleet on Corregidor island) said in a telephone interview with the author that his unit was not provided the means to decode Japan's ship movement code. "If Washington was reading Japan's ship movement code in 1941, that's news to me," Whitlock said in the interview. "We did not have the solution to the ship movement code at CAST" (Whitlock telephone interview, June 1999, notes in author's file). For Japanese radio orders directing warships to standby locations, see the Special Research Navy (SRN) file in RG 457, and the Daily Chronology of Station H, dated Nov. 15–30, 1941 in RG 38, MMRB, at Archives II. The reader is reminded that the English text in the SRN translations contained in RG 457 was "trans" in 1945 and 1946; the original intercepts were obtained in 1941. There is no reliable evidence, found by the author, that establishes how much of the 5-Num text could be deciphered, translated, and read by naval cryptographers in 1941.
19. For Layton's testimony that Japanese "carriers were never heard," see PHPT 10, pp. 4839 ff.
20. "The British "heard," see discussion throughout James Rusbridger, *Betrayal at Pearl Harbor* (Summit Books, 1991) ff.
21. Dutch heard and located Japanese warships "near Kuriles," see letter of Lieut. Gen. Hein ter Poorten, Commander of Netherlands East Indies Forces, dated July 23, 1960, Royal Netherlands Army Archives, The Hague; copy in author's file.
22. For Rochefort's report of a "large-scale screening maneuver," see his Communication Summary of Oct. 22, 1941, p. 2, in RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II. He said the maneuver would be eastward from the Kuriles. The Hawaiian Islands, Canada, and the United States lie eastward from the Kuriles. Rochefort's term "screening maneuver" is a military phrase that means to eliminate your enemy. It is a tactic similar to one used in football games, where the linemen protect the quarterback from charging opponents and screen them out by tackling them. "High-north" radio circuits meant north of Hokkaido to Horomushiru, a.k.a. Paramushiru.
23. For Admiral Harold Stark's testimony on Hitokappu Bay, see PHPT 5, p. 2253.
24. After analyzing a copy of the HITOKAPPU BAY intercept sent to him by the author in June 1999, Duane Whitlock, the radio traffic analyst at Station CAST, told the author in a telephone interview that he did not believe that Japan's naval radio transmitted the words HITOKAPPU BAY in plain Japanese as is noted on the United States version of the translated dispatch printed herein. "If the dispatch contained the words HITOKAPPU WAN (in actual transmission the Japanese word "wan"—for bay or harbor—would have been used) I would have spotted the security breach, realized the significance, and sounded the alarm bell" (Whitlock to author, telephone interview June 1999, notes in author's file).
25. For opposite view, see note 24 above.
26. The suffix 58 used in RI TA 358 was Japan's naval radio code for "chief of staff" it never changed prior to December 7, 1941. See Station H Code Movement reports for November 1941 and decryptions of Japanese naval call signs (*Yobidashi Fugo*). For the censored version, see RG 457, SRN files, MMRB, Archives II; uncensored version is in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. The SMS number that appears on most Japanese

intercepts obtained by Station H refers to Secret Message Series. The SMS number, or Secret Message Series, was included within each 5-Num code message transmitted by Japan's navy in 1941. The SMS number was in the clear—meaning not encrypted. According to Homer Kisner, the traffic chief at Station H, the SMS number enabled the cryptographers to track the major Japanese commanders such as Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, the commander-in-chief of the Imperial Japanese Navy, and Vice Admiral Chuichi Nagumo, the commander of Japan's carrier force, the First Air Fleet. Yamamoto had his own SMS series, so did Nagumo, according to Kisner. (Author interview with Kisner April 1988, Carlsbad, California and April 1999, Sacramento, California; 1988 audio tape, transcript, photographs, follow-up written correspondence, notes; 1999 video tape interview, transcript, photographs, notes, in author's file.)

With Kisner's help in 1988, the author prepared an SMS analysis of Admiral Nagumo's daily radio messages in the SMS series for September through November 1941. The analysis is based on the 5-Num intercepts found by the author in RG 457, MMRB, Archives II. Nagumo's use of radio as he prepared his carriers for the journey toward Hawaii is dramatic evidence. In September 1941 he originated 2.8 radio messages per day. By November it was 14.8 messages per day, an increase of over 400 percent. See SMS analysis in author's file, also available from analysis of RG 457 at Archives II.

27. See the TESTM records for November and December 1941, in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. RDF "fixes" must be recorded and evaluated on a Great Circle chart for accuracy. A TESTM report is reproduced in Appendix D of this book.
28. On November 1, 1941 the Japanese navy issued radio call list 9 (*Yobidashi Fugo*), which completely changed all warship radio identities. For IJN radio call sign list 9, see SRN 117402 of September 3, 1941 in RG 457, Archives II; for Hawaii super radio call sign list see PHLO files, RG 80, MMRB, Archives II. Aware that USN cryptographers might solve list 9 and discover the warships headed for Pearl Harbor, the IJN prepared a second super secret list for vessels assigned to the Hawaii operation. The TESTM records disclose that the USN cryptographers at Station CAST solved portions of the Hawaii call list code prior to December 7, 1941. The super list was recovered from a downed Japanese aircraft on December 7, 1941 and proved CAST's solutions were correct. The shore-based Japanese high naval commands used a three-*kana* radio call sign that did not change at least through December 7, 1941. Example: the Chief of the Naval General Staff, Admiral Osami Nagano's call sign was KO ME HA, according to Station H records in RG 38, Station US files, MMRB, Archives II.
29. For further details on American cryptographers obtaining Japan's secret Hawaii radio call signs, see the TESTM reports in chapters 8, 9, 11, 12, and 13, herein.
30. For identifying spurious sounds emitted by Japanese naval radio transmitters, see interview between Robert Ogg and Commander Irwin G. Newman, SRH 255, pp.31 to 34, RG 457, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file; for "very easy to identify Japanese naval radio transmitters," see letter from Fred Thomson, radioman-in-charge at Station AE, Sitka, Territory of Alaska in 1941, to author dated January 29, 1986, p. 4, item h; p.11, item i; in author's file; see telephone discussion of June 30, 1999, between author and Robert Ogg concerning spurious sounds emitted by Japanese naval radio transmitters, notes in author's file. See also comments by Robert Fox, radioman-in-charge, Station KING, Dutch Harbor, Territory of Alaska, where he could distinguish Russian radio transmitters by their "hollow sound"; Station KING, monthly report, November 1941, RG 181, National Archives, Seattle, WA, copy in author's file.
31. Homer Kisner interviews, April 1988 and April 1998, author's files.
32. Ibid.
33. The Underwood code typewriter was officially known as Radio Intelligence Publication 5, or "RIP 5" by the US Navy because of the published instructions for its operation. It converted signals of the International Morse Code (IMC) to the Japanese naval *kata kana* telegraphic code. Laurance Safford and Joseph Rochefort, cofounders of Navy communications intelligence, persuaded John Underwood, president of the typewriter firm, to manufacture the special code typewriter in the mid-1920s. Later, Underwood developed code typewriters for Russian, German, and Italian intercepts. The typewriters cost the Navy \$85 each. The RIPs were secret documents issued by Station US and contained decryption information on Japanese radio and cryptographic procedures. As an example when Station US broke the 1918 Japanese naval code it was published as RIP 2. A later revision became RIP 3. The IJN operations code (5-Num) was first published in 1941 as RIP 73 and RIP 80. See SRH 355, Vols. I and II, in RG 457, and RIP 32 in Station US files, MMRB, at Archives II.
34. See Joseph Rochefort's Oral History (ROH) p. 99, *supra*; also Laurance Safford: "The best we had as far as experience and all-around skill was up at Pearl Harbor," PHPT 8-3560.
35. During interviews with the author in 1988 and 1998, Kisner said some historians—who never interviewed him—had misinterpreted his Daily Chronology, in which he said there was no change in carrier operations during the three week period the Pearl Harbor force assembled and headed for Hawaii. These historians interpreted Kisner's words

“no change” to mean that the Navy had lost the carrier force destined for Hawaii. Kisner explained that “no change” meant that there was no Japanese communication intelligence which changed the operations of the “Carrier Divisions” with the cruiser *Tone* and the twelve ships of the destroyer squadron. “These warships remained together as a force throughout the period and never separated. That’s what ‘no change’ means,” Kisner said. See: Homer Kisner interview, author’s file. For the Thanksgiving report of Carrier Commands and Divisions, see the Station H Chronology, November 20, 1941 in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II.

Kisner had two radio direction finders at his disposal. One was on the H property near the beach front on Kaneohe Bay, the other at the Lualualei Naval Radio Station on the northwest coast of Oahu. Additional bearings were obtained from RDF stations at Corregidor, Guam, Dutch Harbor, Samoa, Midway, and the West Coast Communications Intelligence Network. Station H property was acquired by the Navy from the Federal Telegraph Company, a firm originally engaged in trans-Pacific radio/telegraph operations.

36. English translations of the four Japanese naval broadcasts are found in RG 457 (for blacked out version), MMRB, Archives II, and RG 38, Station US papers, *ibid*, for uncensored version. (1) Plain language Hitokappu Bay SRN 116643; (2) For IJN submarine RO TU ØØ (Ø designates the number zero in radio telegraphy, O, letter) see SRN 117666, (3) for *I-19*, see SRN 11632, and (4) TAYU 88 see SRN 117675. Uncensored in RG 38, *ibid*. USN radio intercept operators placed their sine—a two initial identification—on each document. See Station H operator sine list, July 1941, RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. Sines SN and LF are unidentified as this book is being written.
37. Kisner would have warned Kimmel, Homer Kisner interview, Sacramento, CA, April 24, 1998, transcript, notes in author’s files.
38. Britain’s Japanese code-breaking unit the Far East Combined Bureau at Singapore also intercepted and reported the radio transmissions to Winston Churchill, according to Captain Eric Nave, RN in his (with co-author James Rusbridger) *Betrayal at Pearl Harbor* (Summit Books, 1991), pp.137 ff. For letter of Secretary of Navy Frank Knox to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, see note 7, this chapter, *supra*.
39. Though Netherlands military forces in the Dutch East Indies destroyed the 1941 Japanese navy and diplomatic intercept files, copies may still exist. It appears that the Dutch intercepts shared with the American government by Ranneft and *Kamer* 14 have been preserved in the Station US papers in Archives II. An index or finders aid is part of the Station US papers and describes the contents of Box 792: “Netherlands Raw Intercepts of 1941,” but includes no details. Censorship has prevented the author’s access as of this writing; see copy of index in author’s file.
40. For Ranneft’s 100 percent quote, see Note 10 herein.

1. On the “splendid arrangement,” see testimony of Admiral Harold Stark, FDR’s Chief of Naval Operations, in discussion with Senator Walter George (D., GA) re intercepted Japanese messages in PHPT 5, p. 2213.
2. For monitor stations and cryptographic control center locations, see map in this book at the start.
3. For the early history of American communications intelligence, see SRH 355, in RG 457, MMRB, Archives II; also Herbert O. Yardley, *The American Black Chamber* (Bobbs-Merrill, 1931).
4. On Rochefort, see Joseph Rochefort’s Oral History (ROH), pp. 4 ff. In 1970, a bound volume of *The Reminiscences of Captain Joseph J. Rochefort* was published by the United States Naval Institute, Annapolis, Maryland as part of their Oral History interview program. The interview was conducted by US Navy Commander Etta Belle Kitchen in 1969 and immediately classified as TOP SECRET CODEWORD by Naval Intelligence. When the author learned of its existence in 1983 he filed a FOIA request but the Navy refused to declassify. Naval censorship was bypassed when Rochefort’s daughter Janet Rochefort Elerding made the manuscript available. Joseph Rochefort died in 1979.
5. Station US, the small cryptographic unit cofounded by Safford and Rochefort, has been known by several designations. In 1935 it was called the Communications Security Group. During World War II, as space requirements for the cryptographic operations expanded, the Navy purchased the Mount Vernon Seminary at 3801 Nebraska Avenue, N.W. in Washington, DC and renamed the former school campus and buildings as Station NEGAT (for Nebraska). The unit has gone through a series of name changes since World War II, and has moved to Fort George G. Meade, Maryland, where it is known as the Naval Security Group Command. For more details, see *A History of Communications Intelligence in the United States with Emphasis on The United States Navy* (Eugene, OR: Naval Cryptologic Veterans Association, 1982).
6. For history of Station CAST, see booklet, “*Intercept Station C*” (Naval Cryptologic Veterans Association, 1983). Lietwiler was scheduled to relieve Fabian in the fall of 1941, but due to the crisis both remained at CAST. Three other facilities contributed to the “splendid arrangement” at CAST: Station BAKER, an RDF station at Libugon, Guam; the FECB at Singapore; and *Kamer* 14 at Bandoeng, Java. See SRH 045 dated August 4, 1945, in RG 457, MMRB, Archives II, for limited information on Station SIX written by Lt. Col. Howard Brown, the noncommissioned officer-in-charge in 1941. Brown wrote that he personally delivered Japanese intercepts to MacArthur, and received a “Thank you, Son”; but Brown provides no details on the contents of the intercepts seen by the general. For US Navy decryption results at CAST, see John Lietwiler’s memo in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II.
7. For US sharing Japanese communications with the British and the Dutch governments, see Note 6 above.
8. See ROH, pp. 25, 106, for Joseph Rochefort’s intelligence credo.
9. See *ibid.*, p. 100.
10. See Fourteenth Naval District Secret A-6-3 file, RG 181, NA, San Bruno. The reference to Lt. Gen. Walter Short’s letter of Thursday, November 27, 1941, is in the naval routing slip received of COM 14, November 28; it bears Rochefort’s initials, JJR. COM 14 was a cover name for Station HYPO in 1941. The second letter is in the same file dated January 1, 1942. Presumably the originals are in the Station US files at Archives II.
11. For Barkley’s exchange with Gen. Short, see PHPT 7-3013. Emily Short, the general’s daughter-in-law, said his treatment by the Army broke his heart and he was unable to present a spirited defense due to ill health. Telephone conversation with author, February 25, 1997, notes, transcript in author’s file.
12. Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle, Jr., a principal advisor to FDR, arranged for the exchange of communications intelligence between Canadian WT (wireless/telegraph) stations and SAIL. See Berle to Knox, confidential memorandum July 21, 1941 in COM 13 file EF 13-39, RG 181, NA, Seattle.
13. For Oshima disclosing Hitler’s Russian invasion plans, see Oshima message number 691 to Tokyo, Saturday, June 14, 1941, in *The Magic Background of Pearl Harbor*, Vol. II, p. A-335, item 659. See also *ibid.* item 660 of June 18, 1941. Presumably Oshima’s message was delivered to the White House by FDR’s naval aide Captain John Beardall, who saw Roosevelt at 11:18 A.M., on June 14, per White House Usher Book, FDRL. Beardall delivered intercepts to the President from mid-May 1941 to the time of Pearl Harbor.
14. David Kahn, *The Codebreakers* (Macmillan, 1967) and Cipher A. Deavours, *Machine Cryptography* (Artech House, 1985) are worth reading on cryptography theory. A formula offered by Deavours for partially solving Purple: cS2 bS1 = dS2 cS1 = aS2 dS1 = bS2. For an example of an original Purple intercept see RG 38, Station US files, folder 5830/75, MMRB, Archives II. It was intercepted at Station FIVE, Fort Shafter, Hawaii on May 6, 1941, and

- forwarded by teleprinter to Washington, where it was initialed AHM by Arthur H. McCollum.
15. For the quote from Rear Admiral Leigh Noyes, see PHPT 10, p. 4714. On Colonel William Friedman's first purple decryption, see Ronald Clark, *The Man Who Broke Purple* (Little, Brown and Co., 1977), p. 144. The Japanese called the Purple machine *Obun Injiki* or electric typewriter. In the Pacific area, Japan issued Purple machines to its consulates in Manila, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Batavia, but not Honolulu. Pearl Harbor investigators were told that the Purple code was unknown to Hawaii's military officials in 1941, but the Station US papers prove otherwise. Lt. Cdr. Thomas Dyer, chief Navy cryptanalyst at Pearl Harbor's Station HYPO, wrote that he had received a descriptive write-up of the Purple system but was not provided with the necessary equipment for processing the messages between November 27 and December 7, 1941; Dyer is quoted by Rear Admiral Earl E. Stone in Top Secret Ultra Serial 0003048P20 of April 6, 1946, in RG 38, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II. Station US published secret instructions for operation of the Purple machine and its decoding techniques and sent them to the Pacific intercept stations, including Station HYPO, as Radio Intelligence Publication 77 (instructions). RIP 72—the prototype Purple machine—was not sent to Hawaii. Mysteriously, RIP 72 is missing from two RIP indices found by the author in the Station US papers, RG 38, MMRB, Archives II. At the request of the author, Cary Conn of the Archives FOIA staff began an investigation concerning the missing RIP 72 in September 1998.
 16. See David Kahn, *Codebreakers*, supra, ff.
 17. See Ensign Laurance MacKallor's handwritten note: "Facts concerning the 'Purple' machine as nearly as I can recall them," initialed LLM, in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II.
 18. For Safford's dispatches listing the Purple sequence settings see OPNAV to COM SIXTEEN (CAST), Secret serial 060720, December 6, 1941; RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. At the end of the European War, British cryptographers seized a Purple machine found at the Japanese embassy in Berlin. According to MacKallor's note, CAST personnel destroyed the Purple machine in April 1942; but he gave no details. Robert Dowd and Duane Whitlock, who worked in the cryptographic tunnel at Station CAST in 1941 and 1942, told the author that the Purple machine was transported to Australia by a US Navy submarine in April 1942, when Japanese troops were about to seize Corregidor. Telephone interviews May 1999. In his telephone interview with the author, Dowd said he operated the Purple machine for the US Navy at CAST. At the time he was a yeoman second class assigned to the machine area of the cryptographic tunnel (see drawing of CAST in photo insert). Dowd said he received the encrypted Purple message from an intercept operator and then began the decryption process. First he set the rotor wheels for the correct sequence, then ran the message through the machine, which stripped off the encryption and produced plain Japanese text in Roman letters. Next he took the deciphered message to a Japanese-language officer, Lieutenant Commander S. A. Carlson, for translating to English. "I was never told of the contents of the Purple messages," Dowd said. "I didn't qualify under the need to know doctrine. So I never saw an English translation." Telephone conversations with author, May 1999. Dowd retired from the US Navy as a lieutenant commander.
 19. For "within a day's time," see Safford testimony in PHPT 36, p. 67; also Lt. John Lietwiler's memo in Station US papers, RG 38, MMRB, Archives II. Lietwiler was co-commander of CAST from September 1941 until his evacuation from Corregidor in 1942.
 20. On courier Fukuda, see PHPT 35-442; *Magic*, Vol. I, p. A-92, item 161. Twenty-one ports of call are listed including Los Angeles, New York, Washington, DC, plus cities in Central and South America.
 21. See report of the *Yawata* \$40,000 transaction written by Lt. Ellsworth Hosmer, DIO, COM 12, author's file, courtesy of his daughter, Patty Hosmer Rathbone, Loomis, CA.
 22. A striking example of a US naval officer concealing British and American success in obtaining and solving Japanese code systems in 1941 can be found in the Station US records at Archives II. The concealment concerns elements of the Japanese navy's operations code, known as the 5-Num or 5-Digit code. On March 5, 1941, Captain Joseph Redman, assistant director of naval communications, ordered that a radio dispatch sent by Admiral Thomas Hart, commander-in-chief of the Asiatic Fleet, be withdrawn from US Navy files and a dummy substituted in its place. In the secret message that Redman wanted withdrawn, Admiral Hart disclosed he was exchanging solutions of the 5-Num code with the British naval cryptology agency, the Far East Combined Bureau (FECB) at Singapore. "Combined" referred to Australian, New Zealand, and British officers working together. See Hart's message, secret serial 050535, March 5, 1941 in enclosure 2, FOIA release by Naval Security Group Command to author, August 31, 1993, in author's file. The Chinese government of Chiang Kai-shek may have been a part of the "splendid arrangement." Documents found by the author in Archives II, indicate that Chinese cryptographers solved Japan's 1941 military and diplomatic codes. American censorship in 1999 hides full details. Documents in Archives II provide a look at Chinese code-breaking success. On August 29, 1941, the British cryptology center in Singapore asked its air attaché in Chungking to obtain Japanese naval codes from Chinese cryptographers. According to the British, Chinese code-breakers had broken into the Imperial Japanese Navy's coded message texts (5-Num), radio frequencies, and coded call signs (*Yobidashi Fugo*) of the Japanese Naval Air Forces. See RG 38, Station US

papers, SRH 406, Box 13, Folder 5830/115 MMRB, Archives II. But beware—avoid the sanitized version of SRH 406 in the so-called “open” file of RG 457 in Archives II. The true message is in the Station US papers. The reference to China breaking the Japanese codes is whited out in the “open” file. However, by holding the Aug. 29, 1941, whited out message to a light source a researcher can read the censored version. See also messages from the US Naval Attaché in Chungking (Chiang’s wartime capital) for Sept. 11, Oct. 26 and 30, and Dec. 10, 1941. These four reports confirm that China had broken Japanese military codes. The September 11 message identifies Japanese Naval Air Groups 12, 13, and 15 and ties in with the earlier Singapore report. See folder containing Chungking USN attaché reports in RG 38, Station US papers, Archives II.

23. For a description of the Japanese naval code systems used in the Pacific War, see Kanya Miyauchi. *Niitaka Yama Nobore* (Climb Mount Niitaka) (Tokyo. Rikkyu Shuppan. 1976) pp. 135ff. Author’s translation provided through courtesy of Commander Sadao Seno (Retired) of the Imperial Japanese Navy. For the US Navy’s description of the Japanese navy code systems prior to November 1941, see RG 38, RIP 32, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. For Canada’s WT (wireless/telegraph) Plan, see SECRET letter dated August 2, 1941 from HMC Dockyard Esquimalt, B.C., Canada to COM 13, in Folder EF13-39, Box 8155, RG 181, NA, Seattle, WA. See Note 6, *supra*.
24. In April 1943, American cryptographers learned of a Yamamoto inspection trip to bases in the South Pacific. The “unbreakable code” revealed his itinerary. American fighters were dispatched to the route and shot down the admiral’s aircraft. The plane crashed, killing Yamamoto.
25. Re Duane Whitlock: Whitlock’s e-mail to author, May 22, 1999, in author’s file. Re Admiral Thomas Hart, “Most of those dispatches that came in were kept very closely locked up, and I believe that Admiral Hart was about the only one who saw them, other than those that were doing the decrypting,” Adair said in an oral history that was conducted in 1977 (hereafter referred to as Adair Oral History, AOH: *See Reminiscences of Rear Admiral Charles Adair*, US Naval Institute, 1977).

Q. But it was known that we were breaking the code.

ADAIR: They were, yes. As far as Washington knew, they knew everything that was going on at the time, that is, what the Japs were saying. (AOH p. 73).

Adair expanded on USN decoding procedures available to Admiral Hart from Station CAST and said that President Roosevelt was reading the Japanese intercepts: “I believe that the war was inevitable. It had to be because I think President Roosevelt was bound and determined we were going to get into the war somehow. He had been unable to get our ships in the Atlantic attacked by the Germans. He was reading all the Japanese coded dispatches (AOH p. 76). Adair said Hart never confided in him but still conveyed the inevitable that we were going to get into this war, because of the dispatches he saw. “He (Hart) was getting dispatches and reading a lot of material that I don’t think Washington knew he was getting at the time, because he did have some of those decoding machines which, I found out later, the Commander-in-Chief Pacific Fleet (Admiral Kimmel) did not have.” (AOH p. 77). One of the decoding machines included JEEP IV used for solving the additive versions of Japan’s naval code known to Americans as the 5-Num system. The JEEP IV decoding machine was brought to CAST by Lieutenant (j.g.) John W. Hess in early October 1941, according to a secret memo prepared by Lieutenant John Lietwiler, co-commander of CAST. See SRH 355, p. 433, in RG 457, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author’s file.

For other confirmation on Washington’s ability to read the intercepted Japanese military and diplomatic messages, see General George Marshall’s statement to selected Washington, DC newsmen on November 15, 1941. In his meeting with the reporters, Marshall disclosed that the United States had broken Japanese codes and that he expected war with Japan would begin during the first ten days of December 1941; for full discussion see chapter 10 herein.

26. The author located 210 SM reports in the Station US files of RG 457, MMRB, Archives II. These, however, are apparently only a small portion of the SM reports obtained by Station H in 1941.
27. See Rudolph Fabian’s original report of November 29, 1941, transmitted to Station US and Admiral Kimmel in Hawaii; converted to Presidential Monograph 70, RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II. The monograph is signed by Major R. A. Boone, a McCollum assistant. None of the original intercepted Japanese radio messages of Admiral Kondo, cited by Fabian, have been declassified and released to the public by Archives II. During a telephone interview with the author in May 1999, Captain Duane Whitlock (a radioman first class assigned to CAST in 1941) said that he wrote most of the intelligence dispatches sent to Hawaii and Washington in 1941. Whitlock denied that cryptographers at CAST had deciphered the SM code as suggested in Pelletier’s article. “I was one of three radio traffic analysts assigned to CAST. None of the naval officers at CAST were trained in radio traffic analysis so the job fell on me or two other analysts, Charlie Johns or Tom Hoover (both chief radiomen). After writing the dispatches, I passed them to Fabian who had authority to release them for radio transmission.”

Kondo’s Second Fleet supplied battleships, cruisers, and destroyers for the protection of Japan’s Southeast Asia invasion forces in December 1941. Two of his battleships *Hiei* and *Kirishima* were assigned to the First Air Fleet

for the Hawaii attack.

28. During 1940 and 1941 Albert J. Pelletier, Jr., then a yeoman first class, served on the Navy's cryptographic team at Station US, headed by Agnes Driscoll. In his *Cryptolog* article (Summer 1992 issue), Pelletier wrote that he worked on the Japanese navy's 5-Num code in 1941; but he erroneously referred to the system as JN-25. Pelletier's work on the SM code can be traced to 1939 in Navy records. See RG 457, SRH 355, Vol. 1, p. 328, MMRB, Archives II. Pelletier retired from naval cryptology as a captain. In military use, according to Whitlock, *cryptology* refers to enemy codes; *cryptography* refers to friendly codes such as US Navy codes. Admiral James O. Richardson wrote that Station H obtained information on Japanese warship movements operating in the Central Pacific during May 10, 1940. He did not provide communication data, but indicated the information came from RDF bearings and "plain-language call signs of radio traffic." See James O. Richardson, *On The Treadmill to Pearl Harbor* (Naval History Division, Department of the Navy, USGPO, 1973), p. 331.
29. Agnes Driscoll is not listed on the US Navy's Cryptology Honor Roll. The roll, prepared by Admiral Chester Nimitz in June 1942, cited 65 men for their cryptographic efforts in using intercepted radio dispatches to penetrate the secret operations orders of the Japanese Fleet from July 1941 to June 1942. In their most famous feat the 65 honorees located the 177-warship Japanese Midway invasion force in May 1942. The northernmost islands in the Hawaiian chain, Midway was the initial target. Relying on information gained from naval intercepts, Admiral Nimitz's 49 warships ambushed the numerically superior Japanese force north of Midway, sank four of Japan's irreplaceable aircraft carriers, and in air battles caused the loss of her most experienced pilots. The three-day battle lasted from June 4 to 6, 1942. The ambush was the turning point of the Pacific War. Japan never regained the offensive. Agnes Meyer Driscoll's collection of 5-Num decrypting activities amassed after June 1939 has not been released. The 5-Num code was Japan's most important naval communications system. It was used to organize the attacks on Pearl Harbor and Midway, and throughout the four years of the Pacific War.

Driscoll's omission from the Cryptology Honor Roll is apparently intended to keep the spotlight off her discovery of the operations code on June 1, 1939. Driscoll was born Agnes May Meyer on July 24, 1889 in Westerville, Ohio, graduated from Ohio State University, Columbus in June 1911 with a Bachelor of Arts degree conferred by the College of Arts, Philosophy and Science; she was severely injured in an auto accident in October 1937 while en route to visit Thomas Jefferson's estate, Monticello in Virginia. Retired, age seventy, from Armed Forces Security Agency, July 31, 1959.

30. For Shakespeare commune, see William F. Friedman and Elizebeth S. Friedman, *The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined* (Cambridge University Press, 1958) ff. See also James R. Chiles, "Breaking codes was this couple's lifetime career," (Smithsonian, June 1987), p. 128 ff.
31. Captain Duane Whitlock of Station CAST said he first recognized the change in Japan's naval operation code in June 1939 while he was serving as an intercept operator at Station H in Hawaii. "I copied the messages off the Japanese naval airwaves. We called the system the 5-Digit code," said Whitlock during a telephone conversation with the author in May 1999. Using the 5-Digit intercepts that had been obtained and forwarded to Washington, DC in 1939 by Whitlock and other naval intercept operators, Agnes Driscoll began solving the basic elements of the code. Her first breakthrough came in January 1940. According to Laurance Safford, commander of Station US, "Madam X crashed through with one of her strokes of inspiration last January (1940)." See Safford's letter to Joseph Wenger, September 10, 1940, in RG 38, Station US Papers, Box 6, folder 5750-81, MMRB, Archives II.
32. For Layton's quotes concerning Ms. Driscoll, see Edwin Layton, *And I Was There* (William Morrow & Co. 1985), p. 58.
33. For the 5-Num code similar to Spanish-American war codes, see Greg Mellen, editor, *Rhapsody in Purple: A New History of Pearl Harbor*. (Cryptologia, July 1982), p. 220. In 1941, the US Navy called the system the 5-Num code, not JN-25, according to Robert Hanyok, Center for Cryptologic History, Fort George G. Meade, Maryland.
34. For FBI confirmation, see FBI report 100-97-1-98.
35. As this book went to press in 1999, RIPs 73 and 80 have been reportedly declassified and are available at Archives II for researchers. Though the author filed FOIA requests with the US Navy and National Archives to see all RIP documents in 1987, RIPs 73 and 80 were never released.
36. For the Hawaiian journey of the elusive Navy transport carrying the latest solutions to the 5-Num code from Washington, DC, see SRH 355, Vol. 1, p. 399, RG 457, MMRB, Archives II. According to Japanese naval records, the 5-Num code in effect from July 1, 1941 to December 4, 1941 was known as *Ango Sho D* (Navy Code Book D), additive version 7. At midnight December 4, 1941 additive version 8 was placed in effect. For the effective dates that version 7 was in use, see SRN 116741 dated December 2, 1941, in RG 457, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file. For additive version 8, see loc. cit.; and discovery of additive version 8 by Station CAST, see the priority dispatch time-clocked at 1502 hours (3:02 P.M.) GMT, which corresponds to 10:02 A.M. in Washington, DC, and 4:30 A.M. on December 4, 1941 in Hawaii. Confirmed by enclosure 2 of US Naval Security Group Command

FOIA release of August 31, 1993, copy in author's file. For Naval Regulations prescribing transport and stowage, see preamble to all RIP publications of the World War II era (in RG 38, Station US Papers, MMRB, Archives II): "This publication is SECRET and shall be handled and accounted for as prescribed in the Navy Regulations and the Registered Publication Manual. It shall be transported by officer messenger only and given Class A stowage." Except for the "slow boat," the policy was inviolate. When the 5-Num recoveries were transported to London and exchanged with the British in January 1941, four US military officers took turns guarding the package, two each from the Army and Navy.

37. Admiral Nagumo originated the three-page comprehensive report of December 16 as his SMS 845 and used the call sign NO SE 44. The report—decoded and translated—can be found in a collection of sixteen Station H intercepts dated between December 9 and 29, 1941, but vital communication data pertaining to the interception details has been omitted from No. 845. Apparently the omission is deliberate, intended to conceal the fact that the 5-Num dispatch was intercepted, decoded, and translated in Hawaii. Rochefort's Communication Summary (COMSUM) of December 16 confirms the interception of NO SE 44. The COMSUM indicates that Nagumo's flagship unloaded several dispatches including that of NOSE 4. At first Rochefort identified the radio call sign as a submarine unit, then later in the paragraph placed a question mark after NOSE 4. See pp. 2, 3, of COMSUM, December 16, 1941 under carriers, in RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
38. For Rochefort's apparent decrypt of message 845, see page 257 of his COMSUM for December 19, 1941, in RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file. The Japanese naval dispatch detailing American losses at Pearl Harbor appears to be an abbreviated decryption and translation of Admiral Nagumo's message SMS 845. All communication data have been stripped from the message translation/decryption.

In the COMSUM's English translation on p. 257 the Japanese originator is listed as "Tokyo Navy Department" and addressed to "Three unidentified addresses. (One of which is in the Saigon area)." The abbreviated translation of the text follows the identical syntax form of Nagumo's message SMS 845.

Two other examples of translated Japanese naval "decrypted traffic"—with some communication data—can be found on pages 250 and 251 of the COMSUM. On page 250 a message marked "from decrypted (*sic*) traffic" details the sailing schedule for the *Tairyu Maru* in the Marshall Islands for November and December 1941. In the second example on page 251 the COMSUM cites the source as "from encrypted [*sic*] traffic"; the English translation indicates Commander Carrier Division 5 (carriers *Shokaku* and *Zuikaku* were Carrier Division 5) will shortly be in Eastern Marshalls area."

In addition to these three decrypted/translated messages there are two extracts from US Coast Guard intercepts on page 254 dated December 17, 1941, Hawaii Time. See the COMSUMS in December 1941 file folder, PHLO, RG 80, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file. 27. At 8:05 A.M. on December 7, Admiral Nagumo transmitted a brief report to Tokyo that was intercepted at Station H by J. J. Perkins, radioman first class. Nagumo quickly reported the results of the attack to Japan. He said two American battleships were destroyed and four badly damaged and a great number of aircraft destroyed. The First Air Fleet lost thirty planes, according to Nagumo's report. Perkins' log notes that Nagumo originated the broadcast as SA FU 1, one of his alternate radio call signs. Three hours later, at 11:09 A.M. Nagumo was addressed in a radio dispatch as YO N 77 (a radio call sign identified four days earlier by CAST), according to Perkins' log entry. See Station H operator log for December 8, 1941, p. 147, Station US papers, RG 38, MMRB, Archives II. Logs are in Tokyo Time. The original Nagumo dispatches of December 7 have not been released by the US Navy.

39. On Thomas Dewey's knowledge of Japanese code interception prior to Pearl Harbor, see Gordon Prange, *At Dawn We Slept*, (McGraw Hill Book Company. 1981), p. 646.
40. On MacKallor's trip, see RG 457, SRH 355, Vol. I, p. 416; RG 24 for deck log of USS *Sepulga*, January to March 1941; his account of Purple is in RG 38, Station US papers, release of January 24, 1995, all in Archives II, copies in author's file.
41. On FDR's journey to Annapolis, see White House Usher Books, January 24, 1941, FDRL.
42. On the transfer of codes to Britain see David Kahn, *Seizing the Enigma* (Houghton Mifflin, 1991).
43. On Ens. Prescott Currier's assignment see SRH 355, Vol. 1, p. 376, in RG 457, MMRB, Archives II.
44. On Weeks aboard *Augusta*, see Deck Log of *Augusta*, RG 24, MMRB, Archives II.
45. For Admiral Hart's dispatch, the notation pertaining to Redman, and disclosure that MacKallor brought 5-Num solutions from Station US, see Appendix D of this book.
46. On Rear Admiral Royal Ingersoll, see OPNAV Secret 281500, March 25, 1941, RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. Three sets of initials are affixed to Ingersoll's dispatch; those of Redman and Safford are clearly read. However one set of initials that appear to be either AJK, AGK (Alan G. Kirk) or EJK (Ernest J. King) are smudged.
47. See Prescott Currier's letter dated September 7, 1988, in author's file. Currier retired as a Navy captain and lived in Damariscotta, ME. His death was reported in *Cryptolog*, Winter 1995 issue.

48. A cryptology (decodes of the enemy) blackout was aimed at the two Hawaiian commanders—Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and Lieutenant General Walter Short—in February 1941, soon after they assumed command. The cryptology blackout has been a contentious issue since the spring of 1941. For fifty-eight years either Admiral Kimmel or his surviving family members pressed for access to the Japanese intercepts. Finally on May 25, 1999 the US Senate by a narrow vote found that Kimmel and Short “were denied vital intelligence that was available in Washington.” The Senate vote came nearly 58 years to the day after Admiral Kimmel asked that the US government establish a “cardinal principle” that would assure him of immediate access to information of a secret nature, the Japanese military and diplomatic intercepts. (See article on p. A-26 of *New York Times*, May 26, 1999: “Scapegoats of Pearl Harbor Are Cleared by a Split Senate.”)

Kimmel was commander-in-chief of the Pacific Fleet, Short the commander of the Hawaiian Department of the US Army. Theoretically both were included members of the “splendid arrangement.” Each had direct access to Army and Navy intercept stations that monitored Japanese diplomatic and military radio broadcasts: Kimmel had Station H (Navy), Short had Station FIVE (Army). Intercepts are worthless unless they can be decoded and translated at a processing center staffed by cryptographers and translators and delivered to the proper commander in a timely manner. Kimmel possessed the only Hawaiian military processing center, Station HYPO; Short had none. The record shows that of the two commanders, only Kimmel sensed he was a victim of the cryptology cutoff. Soon after assuming command of the Pacific Fleet on February 1, 1941, Kimmel sent two personal letters to Admiral Harold Stark, the Chief of Naval Operations, and requested guaranteed access to Japanese intercepts. (1) Paraphrase of Kimmel to Stark, February 18, 1941: “Let there be no misunderstanding, send me information of a secret nature” (PHPT 4, p. 1792). (2) Paraphrase of Kimmel to Stark, May 26, 1941: “Because of lack of information I am in a difficult position.” Kimmel asked Stark to establish a cardinal principle and keep him informed (PHPT 4-1793). Stark replied that he was fully aware of the responsibility of “keeping you adequately informed.” (See PHPT 4, p. 1792.) But Stark did not keep his promise because Station HYPO—the decoding and translation center for the Pacific fleet—was not provided with adequate instructions for decoding Japan’s naval operations code—the 5-Num system—until a few days after the attack. Yet Japan’s most strategic war secrets were intercepted in Hawaii throughout 1941. Japan’s naval war strategy was disclosed in the 5-Num code messages intercepted by the thousands at the US Navy’s Station H on Kaneohe Bay; her diplomatic strategy was revealed in the J Series of codes and the Purple Code which were intercepted by the hundreds at the US Army’s Station FIVE at Fort Shafter.

The three Japanese systems in effect in the fall of 1941, 5-Num, J, and Purple had been solved by US Navy and US Army cryptographers in Washington, DC. There is no record that any of the Army and Navy officers or enlisted men involved in the interception of Japanese dispatches in Hawaii made any attempt to decode these vital messages and deliver the information to either Kimmel or Short. There was no call of alarm by the intercept personnel in Hawaii or by Army and Navy intelligence centers in Washington, DC. No timely attempt was made to deliver the solutions of the Japanese codes to Hawaii—except for the slow boat carrying the secrets of the 5-Num system. Still military information was obtained from the 5-Num dispatches in Hawaii. According to Joseph Rochefort, the commander of HYPO, he and his staff culled military information from the 5-Num messages by a technique he called radio traffic analysis. Rochefort never explained his failure to obtain Washington’s solution of the 5-Num code in an expeditious manner.

49. For the Winds Code controversy, see voluminous citation on testimony given to various Pearl Harbor investigations in 1944–46 in Stanley H. Smith, compiler, *Investigations of the Attack on Pearl Harbor. Index to Government Hearings* (Greenwood Press, 1990), pp. 41, 42.
50. The British intelligence unit at Singapore, known as the Far East Combined Bureau (FECB), was the source of the Winds Code intercept. See Admiral Thomas Hart’s secret dispatch Serial 281430 of November 28, 1941, RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II.
51. For the 1979 declassification of a portion of the pre-Pearl Harbor English translations of the 5-Num intercepts, see President Carter’s Executive Order 12065, Federal Register of June 1, 1979. Carter also released Japanese naval intercepts that include the years 1942–45. There are two versions in Archives II, College Park, MD. One is in RG 457 and contains blackouts that paint out the pre-Pearl Harbor 5-Num code, mistakenly identified in the Carter documents as JN-25. An uncensored version (no words painted out in black) can be found in the Station US papers of RG 38, but with the JN-25 mistake.

On a CNN telecast during December 1991 commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Pearl Harbor attack, Pentagon correspondent Wolf Blitzer interviewed General Colin Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Blitzer showed Powell some of the Japanese messages from the Carter release. Both apparently were unaware that they were looking at rigged documents.

52. Quotations from David W. Gaddy’s letter of January 28, 1993 to British author James Rusbridger, in author’s file.

1. The description of Ted Emanuel's Boat Day comes from author's interview with Professors Yale Maxon and Denzel Carr, El Cerrito, California, May 9, 1983, in author's file. Emanuel's harbor surveillance had its beginnings in 1936 when Roosevelt authorized the Office of Naval Intelligence to conduct clandestine surveillance of Japanese merchant ships and tankers arriving at Hawaii ports. FDR acted on the advice of a special intelligence task force that included Lieutenant Colonel George S. Patton, Jr., a future Army commander in World War II in Europe. Patton's group detected Japanese "espionage" in Hawaii and warned the White House of spy voyages to Wake and Midway Islands and Honolulu by Japanese *marus*. On August 10, 1936, Roosevelt accepted the advice and ordered a continual ONI watch of all Japanese vessels calling at Hawaii ports; see RG 80, ONI secret serial A85EF37/EG12, dated June 30, 1936, Archives II. See also Roosevelt's Secret memorandum to CNO dated August 10, 1936, in FDRL.
2. The Navy's wiretap file on Morimura reveals that he took a Foreign Ministry examination for a consular position on March 8, 1941; see Japanese Foreign Office (JFO) Bulletin 463 in FBI file 65-414-7-1, Serial 394. On March 20, JFO Bulletin 464 said he would be ordered to serve in the Foreign Office telegraphic affairs section; see FBI file, 65-414-1A, serial 394. FBI Pearl Harbor files are available at the FBI's Washington, DC headquarters. Navy wiretaps on the consulate's telephone lines were first reported to Hoover by Shivers in a letter dated September 26, 1940. The letter said the Navy presently furnished the FBI with a day-by-day record of the wiretaps. Shivers promised to keep his boss fully informed on information obtained from the wiretaps; see FBI file 65-414-5.
3. For Morimura's "surprise attack" message of December 6, 1941 see facsimile of his message on p. 116 of this book.
4. See J. Edgar Hoover memorandum to Lieut. Gen. George Grunert, president of the Army Pearl Harbor Board, dated August 25, 1944, in RG 80, PHLO, Exhibit 70, pp. 5, 6, Archives II, copy in author's file.
5. For the arrival of the *West Virginia* at Ten-ten Dock, see RG 24, Deck Log of *West Virginia*, March 26, 1941, Archives II. This was the only time in 1941 when the battleship berthed at the Navy Yard dock; all her other moorings were at the isolated Battleship Row.
6. For Hoover's warning on Japanese naval officers as spies, see FBI file 65-414-28, para. C, dated Oct. 24, 1940, copy in author's file.
7. Robert Shivers letter dated October 31, 1940; see FBI file 65-414-22, p. 5, copy in author's file.
8. For J. Edgar Hoover letter of December 14, 1940 to Shivers, see p. 6 of Hoover's memorandum dated August 25, 1944, filed with Army Pearl Harbor Board as Exhibit 70; RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
9. Attorney General Janet Reno did not release the complete *Nitta Maru* file because of its designation as a National Defense Secret. Her press relations official, Carl Stern, a former NBC-TV Supreme Court reporter, backed her up. He wrote that it was unfair for the author to accuse the FBI of stonewalling FOIA requests on Morimura. While at NBC-TV Stern, an attorney, succeeded in obtaining government documents by filing his own FOIAs; see Stern letters of May 25 and Aug. 2, 1994, author's file. Re the *Nitta Maru*, see FBI FOIA 292,385: six pages of the file are super secret and totally blacked out as this goes to press in 1999. Underscoring the secrecy attached to the six documents by the Department of Justice, neither Reno nor Stern would reveal the dates, serial numbers, or file numbers. The day before Morimura's arrival in Honolulu, Shivers addressed a letter to Hoover dated March 26, 1941. The letter concerned an ONI-FBI investigation, but the text is blacked out in FBI file 66-8603-165.
10. Interview of Frederick G. Tillman by the author, Fowler, California, March 26, 1990. Audio tape, transcript, and notes in author's file.
11. For Matsuoka's March 8, 1941 message to Honolulu re Morimura, see PHPT 37, p. 1101.
12. See the consulate's incoming message log for March 1941, in PHPT 35, pp. 403 ff.; the outgoing message log is on pp. 430 ff. A duplicate of the log is in PHPT 37, starting at page 1101. For Morimura's protocol (diplomatic passport) see FBI report 100-65558, item 1. For Morimura's arrival reported by Honolulu newspapers, *Hawaii Hochii*, *Nippu Jiji*, and *Star-Bulletin* for March 27, 1941. Station US kept a numerical log of the consulate's incoming and outgoing messages but none of the March 1941 Morimura dispatches could be located in the Station US numerical logs; instead there are blank spaces. For the Station US numerical logs concerning radio messages to and from the consulate, see RG 38, Station US papers, folder 5830/30 for March 1941, MMRB, Archives II. The J dispatches also disclosed that a new consul-general, Nagao Kita, was due to arrive in Honolulu March 14, 1941, a week before Morimura. By what is presumed to be pure coincidence, the *Star-Bulletin* on the same day carried a separate AP story headlined "Modern Spies Lack Oomph, Imagination." As of 1998, the original intercept of H-4 has not been declassified by Archives II. For information on the Mackay Radio dispatches of January 1941 see the

- “bulky enclosure” section of FBI file 65-414. “Bulky” is an FBI term for documents stored with many enclosures, annexes, etc.
13. For Okuda’s Armistice Day statements, see Honolulu *Star-Bulletin*, November 11, 1940, byline by Lawrence Nakatsuka; also FBI file 65-414-30.
 14. For Frederick G. Tillman’s identification of Otojiro Okuda as involved in intelligence matters, see State Department decimal file 702.9411a/37, RG 59, Diplomatic Branch, Archives II. Hoover sent Tillman’s comprehensive report on Japanese espionage activities in Hawaii to Adolf Berle on Oct. 6, 1941. Tillman prepared the report on August 22, 1941.
 15. *Nitta Maru* was a 17,000-ton luxury passenger liner built for the Tokyo-Europe run. The ship’s maiden voyage in June 1940 was diverted to San Francisco due to the European war. Admiral Yamamoto then conscripted the vessel for military transport. In November and December 1941 it transported aviators of the Eleventh Air Fleet to Takeo, Formosa for support of the amphibious landings in Southeast Asia. Then in January 1942 the ship transported reinforcements for the Japanese garrison that captured Wake Island. *Nitta Maru* was assigned to Carrier Division Three in March 1942 and converted to an aircraft carrier. As such she was commissioned in November 1942 and renamed HIMJS *Chuyo*; she was sunk by USS *Sailfish* on December 4, 1943, southeast of Tokyo Bay.
 16. Lt. Denzel Carr, a prewar University of Hawaii professor and naval reservist, had taught previously in Japan at Otani and Wakayama Universities in Kyoto. After the war, he became a tenured professor and later chairman of the department of Oriental Languages, University of California, Berkeley. He was a Guggenheim Fellow in 1955. Carr “Known to Anderson”; see CNO confidential letter, Serial 0361316, Dec. 6, 1940 signed by W. S. Anderson, Director of Naval Intelligence. The letter included a November 1940 report by Captain W. S. Kilpatrick, the US Navy’s Inspector-General, that praised Carr: “The work of Lieutenant Carr has special qualifications unequalled by anyone else in the United States naval service of intelligence.” Praise was heaped equally on Emanuel’s work as “outstanding.” See Anderson’s letter and Kilpatrick’s report in RG 181, National Archives, San Bruno, CA. Carr was born in Kentucky in 1902 and died in Berkeley, CA. on Oct. 14, 1984. The mission of Carr’s unit, the District Intelligence Office of the Fourteenth Naval District, was totally different from that of Station HYPO, Rochefort’s organization located in the Pearl Harbor Naval Yard six miles distant. Station HYPO was concerned with combat intelligence derived from intercepted Japanese naval messages, while Carr and his associates dealt with domestic intelligence and espionage matters.
 17. Okuda to escort Morimura, see Globe Wireless intercept of March 24, 1941, PHPT 35, p. 454, item 68. Duplicate in PHPT 37, p. 1094.
 18. Queen Liliuokalani was a celebrated and accomplished composer. The Hawaiian monarchs supported the Royal Hawaiian Band as a public cultural legacy. After the Queen was overthrown in an 1893 cabal led by American economic interests, public subscriptions continued funding the band. The Royal Hawaiian Band is not connected with the Royal Hawaiian Hotel.
 19. Denzel Carr interview with the author, El Cerrito, CA, May 9, 1983; in author’s files.
 20. For Theodore Emanuel’s identification of Morimura, see COM 14 District Intelligence Confidential File A-8-5, dated March 28, 1941 included in FBI file 65-414 serial 67 1/2. Emanuel’s report was signed by Captain Irving Mayfield, District Intelligence Officer for Hawaii. Ted Emanuel’s photograph of Morimura has not been located in USN files at Archives II nor was it included in the FBI report serial 67 1/2 cited above. The FBI file copy has blacked out Mayfield’s signature but left Theodore Emanuel’s initials “TE” in the upper right corner. Photography of Japanese diplomats was a sore subject with the consulate. In April 1937, shortly after FDR issued the surveillance order, a “disguised” naval photographer, A. J. Carroll, created an international incident when he carried out the Roosevelt policy: Carroll in civilian clothes began photographing Japanese Consul-General Toyokichi Fukuma during a *bon voyage* send-off for the naval tanker HIMJS *Hayatomo*. Hearing the click of the camera’s shutter, Fukuma’s staff pummeled Carroll, then had him arrested and taken to the Honolulu police station. Though no formal charges were brought against Carroll, his cover was blown. Admiral O. G. Murphree, then commandant of the Fourteenth Naval District, protested the Japanese action to the Secretary of the Navy. See RG 187, National Archives, San Bruno, CA., COM 14 DIO, confidential file A-8-2 (2) of April 8–9, 1937. See also the newspaper *Hawaii Hochii* of April 9, 1937 for story and pictures of the incident. Carroll’s surveillance duties were assumed by Chief Yeoman Theodore Emanuel.
 21. Frederick G. Tillman interview with the author tape-recorded March 26, 1990, Fowler, CA. In author’s file.
 22. Ibid.
 23. Washington, DC intelligence officials who admitted seeing the spy reports included Captain Theodore Wilkinson, Director of Naval Intelligence, and Brigadier General Sherman Miles, US Army intelligence; see their testimony in chapter 7 herein. For J. Edgar Hoover’s reaction see Note 40, this chapter. Frederick Tillman not given intercepts: see his interview with author, Fowler, CA, March 26, 1990, in author’s file.

24. From 1942 to 1944 America's top law enforcement officials investigated Richard Kotoshirodo. The investigation was spurred by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, and involves Assistant Attorneys General Wendell Burge and Tom Clark; the latter became a justice of the US Supreme Court. The FBI main file number on Kotoshirodo is 65-41886; the file is available at the J. Edgar Hoover Building in Washington, DC. Copies of the file were obtained by the author through a FOIA request though much of the file is blacked out. In the interviews, Kotoshirodo details his spy excursions to Pearl Harbor, areas on Oahu, and neighboring islands of Kauai, Maui, and the Big Island (Hawaii). FBI report 65-41886-18 includes a 55-page report on Kotoshirodo's spy activities and concludes with a finding by investigators that Kotoshirodo willingly assisted Morimura, Okuda, and Seki. A Territorial Internee Hearing Board found that Kotoshirodo assisted Morimura and others to willingly commit the crime of espionage by observing and reporting US military installations. In connection with the Territorial Hearing Board action, Kotoshirodo gave this statement to Frederick G. Tillman of the FBI, on August 24, 1943: "I understood that I was gathering naval information for the Japanese Government when I made these trips, but I gave no thought as to what my superiors in the consulate were going to do with it" (FBI file 65-41886-32-5). In FBI report 65-41886-9-32-5, J. Edgar Hoover proposes prosecution of Kotoshirodo to Assistant Attorney General Wendell Burge. Attorney General Tom Clark's involvement is shown in FBI report 65-41886-41, p. 9. Prosecution of Kotoshirodo was denied by the US Attorney in Hawaii, G. Douglas Crozier, on March 18, 1944, in FBI report 65-41886-52.

Kotoshirodo's activities were not directly linked to Morimura until after the attack; see FBI report 65-41886-14. The 1941 US Navy wiretap transcript mentions Kotoshirodo's name but there is no hint of his spy activity. Seki emerges in the 1941 transcript as purchasing cameras, binoculars, maps, and film for the consulate. Frederick Tillman's initials on each wiretap indicate the date he read the transcript in 1941. Kotoshirodo and his wife, Joan, were interned at Topaz, Utah.

25. Station US ordered that diplomatic messages between Tokyo and overseas missions containing a five-numeral group at or near the beginning of messages and none at the end, and with a five-letter group of the form consonant-vowel-consonant-vowel-consonant, be forwarded immediately by teleprinter to Washington, DC. See OP-20-G, Secret serial 044320, Mar. 5, 1941 in COM 13, A6-2 files, RG 181, National Archives, Seattle, WA, copy in author's file.
26. Station TWO airtailed the intercepts to Washington for processing. The exact time and day that Station TWO discarded the slower airmail delivery and began forwarding intercepts by the faster teleprinter is in dispute. Army testimony claims that teleprinter transmission began Dec. 6, 1941. Col. Robert Schukraft, head of Army intercept stations, testified to the Joint Congressional Investigation that he used the teleprinter in a conference with Station TWO on Nov. 28, 1941; see PHPT 10, p. 4914. Records of Station US indicate that "AT" (Army teleprinter) was in use at Station TWO, May 12, 1941; see RG 38, Station US papers, Folder 5830/30, MMRB, Archives II. Fort Hunt, Virginia, known as Station SEVEN, intercepted one of Okuda's January messages. Fort Hunt is sixteen miles south of Washington on the Potomac River.
27. For the one-day decode of J series, see PHPT 36, p. 67.
28. See Oahu telephone directory, Spring and Fall 1941, Library of Congress, copy in author's file. The consulate buildings were demolished by Japan after the war and a new consulate built. But the stone gate used by Morimura still exists and faces outward on Kuakini Street near the corner of Nuuanu Avenue.
29. For "overzealous" critique, see Denzel Carr's interview with the author, May 9, 1983, El Cerrito, CA, in author's file. On Emanuel's home and activities in 1941, see interview with Denzel Carr and Yale Maxon, El Cerrito, CA, in author's file. Emanuel lived in Honolulu on Pacific Heights Road, according to FBI file 6233413-1024, copy in author's file.
30. The Shunchoro restaurant was still in operation in 1994, in the same building and location, 2101 Aulii Street, Honolulu. Poinciana trees and neighborhood growth now obscure the Ewa views toward Pearl Harbor. The genial proprietor took the author on a tour of the two floors and said the premises were exactly the same as in 1941, except for a new kitchen. One policy change in service—no drop-in trade. Private parties only with reservations.
31. For description of the hired Packard limousine, and its "trips to the country," see FBI file 65-41886. The file is a post-attack investigation by the FBI and runs from item 1 to 75. All items of the file must be consulted as there are many cross-references to the espionage conducted from the Japanese consulate in 1941.
32. Teisaku Eto was the innocent sixty-seven-year-old proprietor of the soft-drink stand near the Pan American China Clipper base and the naval enlisted men's landing. For the location of the enlisted men's landing, see berthing chart of Pearl Harbor in PHPT 33, p. 1397, item 5. For description of Morimura and Kotoshirodo's visits to Eto's stand, see ONI Investigation Report, dated June 15, 1942, COM 14 file in RG 181, folder 58-3402, Box VOO9468, National Archives, San Bruno, CA. For quote that Morimura was amused by USN laxity, see *ibid.*, p. 10, item 32. Eto was loyal to America and was not engaged in espionage. At that time American exclusion laws would not allow Eto or any other Japanese emigrant to obtain American citizenship.

The PAA terminal site could be seen in 1991. Foundations and cement lanais marked the historic Trans-Pacific

Hawaii terminal at Franklin and Laniwai Avenues in Pearl City.

“Scuttlebutt” was navy slang for gossip.

Hawaiians rarely use traditional compass directions. Instead they say makai, toward the sea; mauka, toward the mountains; ewa (pronounced eh-vah), northwest of Pearl Harbor; Diamond Head, southwest of Pearl Harbor.

33. On Morimura’s bank credit problem, see FBI file 65-414-2-2, serial 258. For Denzel Carr’s “outside” note, see FBI file 65-414-3-1, serial 349.
34. Morimura’s two phases of espionage reports can be documented through the Japanese consulate’s outgoing message log, found in PHPT 35 starting on p. 430. A clear picture of Tadashi Morimura’s activities can be traced by combining the incoming and outgoing message files, together with the English translations of the intercepts. To this information must be added the telephone calls—revealed by the wiretaps—to the Honolulu cable firms for a motorcycle messenger, and taxi and limousine charges for “trips to the country.” By assembling and arranging this information into a daily basis, it is possible to reconstruct a day in the espionage life of Morimura on Oahu. For example, his arrival in Honolulu on March 27, 1941 can be documented through three sources: (1) the consulate’s outgoing message file, in PHPT 35, p. 431, (2) the Mackay Radio message announcing his arrival, in PHPT 35, p. 441 and PHPT 37, p. 1026; (3) intercept by the US Army’s Station TWO can be confirmed in the Station US diplomatic-intercept log found in RG 38, Station US papers, folder 5830/30, MMRB, Archives II.

Morimura left a paper trail when he filed his first bomb plot of Pearl Harbor on August 21, 1941. His “diary” can be reconstructed from three sources: (1) the outgoing message log in PHPT 35, pp. 437 and 439 and PHPT 12, p. 262, (2) a two-dollar charge for the Packard taxi in FBI file 65-41886-20, (3) proof that the bomb-plot message was intercepted at Station SEVEN and CAST can be found in RG 38, Station US papers, folder 5830/30, MMRB, Archives II. His drunken binge is confirmed by the wiretaps in FBI file 65-414, “bulky” section, “bulky” being an oversize archival filing method designed by the FBI. See Morimura’s daily record of 1941 compiled by the author, in author’s files. Mackay’s Washington office as Station X is confirmed by Station US message log in RG 38, Station US papers, folder 5830/30 for January 11, 1941, Archives II.
35. Officials knew of Morimura: Hoover to Berle containing Tillman’s “outside man” quote; Hoover to Maj. Gen. Edwin “Pa” Watson in FBI file 61-10556, serials 395, 399, 402, 405. Contents of Hoover’s messages are classified as National Defense Secrets by the FBI in 1999, copies with FBI blackouts, in author’s file.
36. Joint Investigative Committee reports were signed by these officials: Colonel James Lester of the War Department, Captain “CENSORED” of the Navy, and Edward Tamm, Assistant Director of the FBI and Hoover’s third in command. See Report of the Committee of Intelligence Trends (an adjunct of the J.I.C. in FBI HDQ file 66-8603-165, p. 9. For Berle see p. 16. The FBI report blacked out the name of the USN captain for unknown reasons. Meetings of the J.I.C. alternated between the Munitions Building (US Army headquarters), Navy Department, and FBI headquarters. Roosevelt couldn’t keep Directors of Naval Intelligence for long during 1941. Walter Anderson departed for Pearl Harbor in January. Then Captain Jules James briefly served until March. Next, Captain Alan Kirk stepped into the director’s office. He departed rapidly when his friend, Admiral Adolphus Andrews, warned, “Get out of Naval Intelligence as fast as you can.” See Kirk, *The Reminiscences of Alan Goodrich Kirk* (New York: Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, 1962), p. 182. Apparently Andrews, a former US Fleet commander, was aware of McCollum’s eight-action policy. Kirk was gone by October 1941, relieved by Captain Theodore Wilkinson, one of Anderson’s battleship commanders, who moved from command of the USS *Mississippi* to the ONI post.
37. For quote “out of all reasonable proportion,” see item 3 in FBI memorandum dated April 29, 1941 in FBI file 8603, serial 180x, copy in author’s file.
38. Ibid.
39. For mail cover order, see RG 59, State Department Decimal File, 702.9411A/35, Diplomatic Branch, Archives II, copy in author’s file.
40. See *Complete Presidential Press Conferences of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (New York: DaCapo Press. 1972), Vol. 17, pp. 401, 402.
41. For Hoover’s be most “circumspect” order, see FBI file 66-8603, item 326, dated April 15, 1941, copy in author’s file.
42. “No expulsion possible,” see Berle diary, p. 196, June 3, 1941, FDRL, copy in author’s file.
43. For reports sent to Berle by Hoover naming Morimura and Kita, see date August 7, 1941 in State Department Decimal File 702.9411A/35, item 35 in RG 59, Diplomatic Branch, Archives II, copy in author’s file. For Morimura first being placed on the “most dangerous list,” see Ted Emanuel’s report in Note 20 of this chapter.
44. J. Edgar Hoover continued to pursue Morimura into the postwar years. In 1961, when Walter Cronkite and CBS-TV brought Morimura to Hawaii for the twentieth anniversary of the attack, Hoover saw another opportunity to arrest the spy for espionage. FBI agents tailed Cronkite and his TV crew when they photographed Morimura at Pearl Harbor.

Hoover asked President John Kennedy's assistant attorney-general, J. Walter Yeagley, for permission to charge Morimura and was turned down. See FBI File 94-4-925 and 100-65558, copies in author's file.

1. For bomb plots produced during Phase II, see the English version of Morimura's Japanese-language map recovered from a downed Japanese aircraft on December 7, 1941 in this chapter on p. 106. The original Japanese version found in the aircraft was not located by the author in Archives II.
2. See transcripts of the Japanese consulate's purchase of maps, postcards, cameras, and binoculars in FBI wiretap file 65-414, Subsections 2 through 4 serials 123 to 940. The author counted a total of 817 Honolulu consulate wiretap reports for 1941. Be aware that the wiretap was the work of naval intelligence in Hawaii which provided the file to the FBI.
3. Description of the August 21, 1941 spy trip is based on interrogation of Kotoshirodo by US Navy intelligence officers, see RG 181, COM 14 Confidential A-8-5 file, NA, San Bruno, CA, dated February 18, 1941 to April 30, 1942. See also the FBI interrogation of Kotoshirodo in chapter 6 of this book.

On June 21, 1941 Japan's Foreign Minister ordered a new version of the J code placed in effect, which US Navy cryptologists called J-19. Though Morimura's bomb plot message of August 21, 1941 has never been released publicly by the United States, its radiotelegraphy route from Honolulu to San Francisco to Washington to Tokyo can be traced in Japanese and American records. The bomb-plot-message day (August 21) involving both Richard Kotoshirodo and Tadashi Morimura can be reconstructed from FBI and US Navy records and from the Japanese consulate's outgoing message log: first the Packard taxi was ordered by telephone from John Mikami's Royal Taxi Stand. Mikami arrived at the consulate, picked up Kotoshirodo, and drove him to the heights overlooking Pearl Harbor. It was a two-hour spy trip and Mikami charged two dollars (FBI file 65-41886-20). Kotoshirodo briefed Morimura on the location of the US warships. The bomb-plot details were then encoded in the J-19 code system. Three copies were dispatched by RCA: (1) to the San Francisco Japanese consulate, (2) to Ambassador Kichisaburo Nomura in Washington, DC, and (3) to Foreign Minister Admiral Teijiro Toyoda in Tokyo, who replaced Matsuoka in the July 1941 shakeup of the Imperial Cabinet. Once the spy messages hit the RCA airwaves, they were intercepted at both Station SEVEN at Fort Hunt, Virginia, and Station CAST on Corregidor.

The outgoing Honolulu message log of the Japanese consulates is in PHPT 35, pp. 437, 439ff., and PHPT 37, pp. 1096ff.

For confirmation of US interception, see RG 38, Station US papers, folder 5830/30, MMRB, Archives II. See also FBI file 65-414, "bulky," which contains excerpts from the consulate's account book showing RCA charges. "Bulky" is a file term used by the FBI to indicate oversize, extra copies, enclosures, etc., attached to regular reports. FBI reports are filed by categories represented by a main file number. Example: 65-414-1 signifies that 65 is the category; 414 is the case number and the first report (or serial number) is 1. Subsections can be added. Voluminous records such as a 500-page supplementary report may be placed in a "bulky" file within 65-414.

4. Wiretapped conversations of August 21-23, 1941 are in FBI File 65-414, copies in author's file. For Okuda being worried about police matter on August 22, 1941, see subsection 4, serial 647, pp. 3ff. For the Nakatsuka interview with unnamed consulate employee August 23, 1941, see loc. cit. serial 654, pp. 1ff. Each wiretap transcription contains an FBI route stamp with initial T for Frederick G. Tillman, the FBI case agent assigned to investigate the consulate.
5. See Hoover-Berle correspondence, Aug. 7, 1941 in RG 59, State Department Decimal File 702,9411A/35, Diplomatic Branch, Archives II, copy in author's file. See FBI file 61-10556, serials 354, 355, 357, 361, 368 for the special messenger reports sent to Adolf Berle by Hoover. See FBI file 61-10556, serials 395, 399, 402, 405, which date from October 29 to November 13, 1941, copy author's file. Hoover forwarded the reports to FDR via the President's military aide, Major General Edwin "Pa" Watson. Eight "special messenger" reports, some containing British intercepts of Japanese messages, were delivered. One serial, 61-10556-399, dated November 13, 1941, contains 32 pages of British WT (wireless/telegraph, a British synonym for intercepts) intercepts of Japanese messages. Hoover wrote a directive by hand on serial 399 to his assistant, Clyde Tolson: "Get this to Watson, Berle, Miles and Wilkinson at once." Attorney General Janet Reno and her public affairs chief, Carl Stern, declined to declassify Serial 399 and labeled it a B-1 National Defense Secret under the provisions of the FOIA act.
6. For espionage underway, see Wilkinson's testimony in PHPT 4-1841.
7. See Adolf Berle's diary entry dated June 3, 1941, FDRL, copy author's file.
8. For Mackay messenger request by Honolulu consulate, see transcript of Navy wiretap in FBI file 65-414-Subsection A-4-serials 759, 780. For intercepts of the second bomb-plot message, see Station US intercept logs in RG 38,

- Station US papers, folder 5830/30, MMRB, Archives II, copy author's file.
9. See the Miles-Gesell exchange in PHPT 2, pp. 787, 794, 795, 797.
 10. For Wilkinson exchange with Gesell, "I don't recall," see hearing testimony December 18, 1945 in PHPT 4, pp. 1748 ff. Two months after Wilkinson was questioned by Congress, he drowned when his car plunged off a ferryboat near Norfolk, Virginia.
 11. For this lunch at the White House, see the Usher Book for October 14, 1941, FDRL, copies in author's file. For this FDR-Sarnoff exchange, see PHPT 20, p. 4468 ff; Sarnoff's cablegram sent from Honolulu and addressed to the President is on a White House cablegram form dated November 13, 1941. In a note at upper right of the cablegram FDR wrote by hand: "Steve to thank him." (Steve Early was FDR's press secretary.) For request for Forrestal-Kimmel to extend courtesies to Sarnoff, see RG 80, PHLO; CINCPAC flag file, Incoming Dispatches Serial 281812, October 26, 1941, MMRB, Archives II; in this document Assistant Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal asked Admiral Husband Kimmel and Rear Admiral Claude Bloch, commandant of Hawaii's Fourteenth Naval District, to extend every courtesy to David Sarnoff. In addition to RCA, Sarnoff was president of NBC, the National Broadcasting Company. Its radio news operation included KGU, the NBC affiliate in Honolulu. He was a skilled Morse Code operator and a real live newsman. In his youth he worked for Marconi Radio & Telegraph stations on the East Coast. On April 14, 1912, he picked up the SS *Titanic's* SOS, and for the next seventy-two hours provided nonstop reports of the sinking and the rescue efforts to news organizations.
 12. See Joseph Rochefort's discussion of Sarnoff's visit to Honolulu and the ability of Station HYPO to decode the messages: "We could read most of that stuff as it came in. The simple ones we could read." PHPT 23, p. 686, given on January 2, 1942 during testimony before the Roberts Commission in Honolulu.
 13. For the radio order to Captain Mayfield, see RG 80, PHLO, CINCPAC outgoing radio message files, microfiche form, MMRB, Archives II. When seen by the author this microfiche was in a state of serious deterioration, so the author photocopied the document so that there would be a readable record for future research; author's file. Lieut. Yale Maxon was an American interpreter for the Tokyo War Crimes trial after the war and translated interviews with Japan's wartime Premier, Hideki Tojo. Later Maxon became a professor at the Merritt Campus of Peralta Colleges, Oakland, California.
 14. The original alert sent to Rochefort by Maxon is in the Rochefort Papers, held by his daughter, Janet Rochefort Elerding, of Santa Ana, CA. In 1982 she permitted the author to make a photocopy which was shown to and identified by Maxon and Carr during interviews at their homes in 1983, copy author's file. Neither Maxon nor Carr testified before any of the Pearl Harbor investigations.
 15. For Morimura's spy message transmitted to the *Akagi* on December 2, 1941, see Mitsuo Fuchida, *The Japanese Navy in World War II* (US Naval Institute Press, 1969), p. 20. Beware of the scrambling of the message numbers by Woodward, for it can confuse any Pearl Harbor investigator. The Japanese consulate's outgoing log book numbered the message as 357 and it was transmitted by RCA as their radio message 363; see PHPT 35, p. 433 ff. For Woodward decoding before December 7, 1941, see his handwritten note in Exhibits and Illustrations of the Hewitt Inquiry, PHPT 38 item 153 ff. For his placing the question mark on RCA radio message 363, see *ibid.* item 151. The author believes numbers 357 and 363 are one and the same and represent the identical Morimura message that Fuchida received aboard the *Akagi* on December 2, 1941 (Tokyo Time). The original 5-Num transmission to the *Akagi* has not been released by the US government.
 16. For cable companies refusing to turn over Japanese messages, see Shivers' report 65-414 dated December 26, 1941, in Record Group 59, US State Department decimal file 702.9411A/75, Diplomatic Branch, Archives II, copy author's file. Note that the cited Shivers report was not found in the FBI file 65-414 released by FOIA request to the author. For local radio firms refusing to hand over Japanese messages; see PHPT 36, p. 477. According to testimony given to Pearl Harbor investigators by Army, Navy, and FBI intelligence officers, the Hawaii RCA manager, George Street, declined to turn over the messages, claiming that the FCC Act of 1934 protected private communications. Robert Shivers said, "They flatly refused to turn over the wireless messages." Whether he knew it or not, Shivers' testimony muddled the truth because Army and Navy intelligence bypassed Street, ignored the FCC Act, and intercepted the espionage messages off the Tokyo-Hawaii radio circuits of RCA and Mackay. Each message was decoded and translated in Washington, but not forwarded to Hawaii.
 17. For the testimony of Wilkinson, Layton, and Rochefort concerning cable company refusals, see PHPT 36 p. 477. As this book goes to press, there have been nine official Pearl Harbor investigations conducted in the United States: (1) Roberts Commission proceedings, 1942; (2) Admiral Thomas Hart's inquiry of 1944; (3) Army Proceedings, 1944; (4) Navy Court of Inquiry, 1944; (5) Clarke Investigation, 1944; (6) The Clausen Investigation 1944-45; (7) Admiral Henry Kent Hewitt investigation of 1945; (8) The Joint Congressional Investigation of 1945-46, and (9) Senator Strom Thurmond's investigation of 1995.
 18. See the consulate's message log book in the Clausen investigation report, PHPT 35 starting on page 430. See the

- Station US log book in RG 38, Station US papers, Folder 5830/30, entitled Jap Dip. Trf. Logs (outgoing), 1941, MMRB, Archives II, and author's file. The USN log lists the place of the interception of the spy messages.
19. For Wilkinson's "fairly secure" quote, see PHPT 4, p. 1849.
 20. Telephone conversation between author and Robert Dowd from Oakdale, California, May 13, 1999; transcript and notes in author's file. Japanese communications intelligence intercepted in the Pacific was encoded in COPEK or a sister system, CETYH, and dispatched over the US Navy's radio network. Encryption and decoding were done on an electric cipher machine (ECM), that was similar in concept to Japan's Purple machine and Germany's Enigma machine. Six Navy commands held the "keys": CAST, HYPO, and Station US plus Admirals Hart, Kimmel, and King. The code systems, believed by the United States to be totally secure and unsolvable by enemies, were placed in operation on November 4, 1941 and carried the bulk of intercepted Japanese communications intelligence through December 7. For USN placing the COPEK system in effect, see OPNAV SECRET serial 042036 of November 4, 1941, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. Another similar Navy system, TESTM, transmitted radio direction finder data during November and December 1941. The two systems were used to transmit communications intelligence concerning Japanese military moves to the White House.
 21. For Noyes quote, "could send to Honolulu," see PHPT 10, p. 4714.
 22. Stations CAST and US held the solutions or "keys" to J-19 before the attack. Hawaii's ability to decode J-19 is murky. Thomas Dyer, Station HYPO's chief cryptographer wrote: "We did have [the ability to decode] J-19, but had no traffic to work." (Dyer letter to author, June 4, 1983, in author file.) Farnsley Woodward, HYPO's diplomatic cryptographer, testified to the Hewitt inquiry: "I did not work on J-19" (PHPT 36, p. 320). Morimura's J-19 dispatch to the *Akagi* on December 2, 1941 was in J-19, according to the consulate's log book, and was delivered to Woodward at Station HYPO on Friday, December 5, 1941, according to his written note. But four senior US naval officers gave varied answers when the J-19 decoding question was posed to them during the Joint Congressional Investigation of 1945-46. Leigh Noyes, the 1941 Director of Naval Communications was adamant: "We could not decrypt J-19 at Pearl Harbor" (PHPT 10-4714), Joseph Rochefort, commander of Station HYPO, testified that his cryptographers "could not decode J-19 without special equipment" (PHPT 10-4674). His testimony conflicted with what he gave to the Roberts Commission on January 2, 1942, see Note 12 in this chapter. Earl E. Stone, Chief of Naval Communications in 1945 was less sure: "No evidence has been found that J-19 could be processed in Hawaii." (See his letter to the Pearl Harbor congressional staff, dated February 28, 1946, serial 0003042P20 in RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II.) Joseph Wenger, an assistant to Stone, was more cautious when he wrote: "J-19 was not available at Pearl in registered publications," (Wenger to Pearl Harbor congressional staff, November 9, 1945 serial 00023P20. His letter was found in a special Pearl Harbor document release authorized by an FOIA and delivered to the author by the Naval Security Group Command, August 31, 1993, in author file). While the four naval officials provided nebulous information concerning the decoding of the J-19 system before December 7, 1941, their commander-in-chief, President Roosevelt, received decrypts in the system, according to Laurance Safford, head of Station US: "The naval aide (Captain John Beardall) saw Jig-19 and took the messages to the President." (See Safford testimony before the Hewitt Investigation, PHPT 36, p. 64.) The solutions to the Japanese code systems, both military and diplomatic, were distributed to the Pacific intercept stations and processing centers as Registered Intelligence Publications (RIP). Strict procedures were in place to assure the security of the code solutions. In 1941 each US naval base, ship, and station had a Registered Publications Office that accounted for the RIPs and other secret documents. The records of each RPO which show the status of the RIPs in 1941 at each monitoring station have not been declassified. Station CAST was regularly intercepting, translating, and reading J-19 during the fall of 1941, according to an affidavit filed with the Joint Congressional Investigation of 1945-46 by John Lietwiler, CAST's co-commander. Lietwiler said Station US regularly furnished his cryptographers with daily updates on the J-19 solution procedures. See his affidavit in RG 38, Station US Papers, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file. See the daily solutions to J-19 provided by Laurance Safford, commander of Station US, in RG 38, loc. cit., and in author's file. The testimony is overwhelming. At least five naval officers (Dyer, Woodward, Rochefort, Safford, and Lietwiler) and President Roosevelt were aware of the J-19 messages before the attack.
 23. See Morimura's "opportunity for surprise attack" message and related items reproduced on p. 116 in this chapter. Members of the 1945-46 Congressional investigation heard about the Navy's failure to timely decode Morimura's message during the following exchange between investigator Gerhard Gesell (later appointed a federal district judge in Washington, DC) and Theodore Wilkinson, the Navy's pre-Pearl Harbor intelligence chief:

GESELL: "It was tragic that that was not decoded before."
WILKINSON: "Yes sir."
GESELL: "How do you account for the fact that that was not decoded, when the decoders were decoding very rapidly and decoding messages in great number that day, the sixth?"
WILKINSON: "I do not account for it sir" (PHPT 4, p. 1854).

Since Morimura's message to the oncoming Japanese bombers and torpedo planes was in the simple PA code, the timely decoding procedures in Washington's Station US are of immense interest. Laurance Safford, commander of Station US, testified to the Hewitt investigation: "We had no difficulty in reading PA." (PHPT 36, p. 67)

24. See Morimura's "no barrage balloons and surprise attack" message on p. 116 of this chapter.
25. For consulate messages received, decoded, and translated before December 7, 1941, see PHPT 38, starting with item 149, which is the December 1941 RCA statement of toll charges for the Japanese consulate. See Farnsley Woodward's handwritten note "received 5 Dec. 41" on items 179, 178, 177, 176, 175. On Item 156 Woodward wrote: "Received on 5 Dec. 1941. Deciphered and translated prior to 7 Dec. 1941. Original message sent to Washington, translation retained by Pearl" /ss/ Woodward. For other messages received on December 5, 1941 by Woodward, see items 153, 154, 155 ff. Woodward identified a J-19 message sent over RCA on December 2. His handwritten note on the message reads: "J-19 K-10 transportation." Woodward circled the five-letter group HAHVK as the Japanese indicator for the J-19 system. (Item 249)
26. For Rochefort's quote, "cheap price," see *The Reminiscences of Captain Joseph J. Rochefort* (US Naval Institute Oral History Program, 1970), p. 163, copy in author's file.
27. See Joseph Finnegan's testimony before Pearl Harbor proceedings of Admiral Henry Kent Hewitt, June 8, 1945, PHPT 36. p. 251ff. Finnegan was then a Navy captain working at FRUPAC—the post-Pearl Harbor acronym given to Station HYPO which stood for Fleet Radio Unit Pacific. On December 7, 1941 Lieut. Finnegan was Flag Lieutenant for Rear Admiral Daniel Bagley, Commander of Battleship Division Two of the Pacific Fleet. In his testimony given to the Hewitt proceedings Finnegan said that Admiral Kimmel directed his temporary transfer to HYPO for translation duties. He received permanent orders on February 15, 1942. Finnegan was also a subordinate of Rear Admiral Walter Anderson, Commander Battleships.

1. On Japanese males being drafted, see an estimate by British in PHPT 31, p. 3218, item FE-290. See also estimate of Colonel Harry Cresswell, US Army military attaché in Tokyo, PHPT 34, p. 186, serial 505.
2. For more on the China Incident, which is a Tokyo euphemism for Japan's aggression against China, see John Toland, *The Rising Sun* (Random House, 1970), pp. 37 ff.
3. For the total embargo against Japan advocated by McCollum's Action H, see where FDR signed Executive Order 8832 on July 26, 1941 (he announced the embargo on July 25) in Jonathan Marshall, *To Have And Have Not* (University of California Press, 1995), p.127; see also *The Magic Background of Pearl Harbor* (Department of Defense, GPO), Vol. II, p. A-226, item 447.
4. For Rochefort quote, see Rochefort's Oral History (in booklet form), *The Reminiscences of Captain Joseph J. Rochefort* (Annapolis: US Naval Institute Oral History Program, 1970), p. 65. His Oral History contains 307 pages transcribed from four interviews conducted by Commander Etta Belle Kitchen at Rochefort's home in Redondo Beach, California, August 14, September 21, October 5, and December 6, 1969.
5. For 100 aircraft carriers, see Stefan Terzibaschitsch. *Aircraft Carriers of the US Navy*, 2nd ed. (Naval Institute Press, 1989), p. 304.
6. For Japan's peacetime oil requirements, see Hiroyuki Agawa, *The Reluctant Admiral* (Naval Institute Press 1979), p. 235; and Yale C. Maxon, *Control of Japanese Foreign Policy* (University of California Press. 1957), p. 168. To convert metric tons of crude oil to barrels multiply the number of metric tons by 7.3 barrels per ton, according to the American Petroleum Institute, Washington, DC. In an effort to conserve oil supplies Japan converted public transportation vehicles such as buses to coal-burning engines, according to George Matsumoto of Oakland, CA, who visited relatives on Kyushu during the summer of 1941; interview by the author in January 1999.
7. America's 1943 timetable was accurate. United States carrier task forces began the sustained assault on Japan in November 1943 with the invasion of Tarawa, when the first of the *Essex* and *Independence* class carriers, with their protective battleship, cruiser, and destroyer escorts reported to the Pacific Fleet.
8. For US carrier keels laid, see Francis E. McMurtrie, ed., *Janes Fighting Ships 1942* (Macmillan, 1943), pp. 450, 451.
9. For the start of Japan's China recall, see Rochefort's Daily Communication Summary, September 4, 1941, RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II.
10. The order of battle of Japanese Fleet was prepared by Duane Whitlock, a traffic analyst at Station CAST in 1941. Taped audio interview at Danville, California in September 1993, and in telephone interviews in May 1999, author's file.
11. During the pre-Pearl Harbor era, the Pacific Fleet was in the early stages of forming a Fast Carrier Force. In 1940, Vice Admiral Charles A. Blakely, a pioneer Navy aviator, organized the carriers USS *Enterprise*, *Saratoga*, *Yorktown*, and *Lexington* into a command known as the Aircraft Scouting Force. Blakely faced stiff opposition from the "battleship admirals," who distrusted air power. However, his concept of the fast carrier strike force was later adopted by Admiral Chester Nimitz. The Pacific War was essentially won by Navy task forces built around 16 aircraft carriers of the *Essex* and *Independence* classes supported by escort carriers called baby flattops.
12. For Yamamoto's radio silence order of November 25, 1941, see SRN 116866, RG 457, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. The order applied to all categories of Japanese naval units including the First Air Fleet, the carrier force assigned to the Pearl Harbor raid. During the Hawaii attack the First Air Fleet was combined with the Sixth Fleet. Japan named the force the *Kido Butai*. According to the Kenkyuska Dictionary, Harvard University Press, 1942: *Kido* means "have the entree," p. 936; *butai* means "fighting force," p. 129. Joseph Rochefort's translation from his Oral History, loc. cit., is, "Strike Force."
13. In this book, the term "US cryptographers" includes the Navy's radio intercept operators, who, by intercepting the Japanese naval messages, collectively participated in solving Japan's naval call sign code, the *Yobidashi Fugo*. Duane Whitlock, one of the three traffic analysts at Station CAST, explained to the author that the call sign system, combined with Japanese naval communication procedures and radio direction finder bearings, revealed Japan's military strategy. Whitlock insisted, that while the information he used in his 1941 analyses came from the 5-Num dispatches (he called them 5-Digit), none of the cryptologists at Station CAST had the means to read the encoded message text prior to Pearl Harbor because the solutions had not been received from Station US in Washington, DC. Whitlock told the author during a telephone interview in May 1999 that in 1941 he was unaware of three crucial US

- cryptographic breakthroughs: (1) Agnes Driscoll's team of cryptographers in Washington had solved the 5-Num code and published the solutions as Radio Intelligence Publication 73 (RIP 73); (2) his immediate boss, Lieutenant John Lietwiler, had brought 5-Num solutions to CAST in the fall of 1941; and (3) Admiral Thomas Hart had assured the Chief of Naval Operations on March 5, 1941 that the British cryptology unit at Singapore had provided the US Asiatic Fleet with solutions to portions of the 5-Num code. In the interview with the author, Whitlock indicated that the solutions of the 5-Num code described by Admiral Hart and RIP 73 had been rendered obsolete by changes to the code instituted by Japan later in 1941. Whitlock emphasized that prior to Pearl Harbor, all Japanese military information gained from the 5-Num intercepts at Station CAST came from analyzing the communications data and the radio call signs. Telephone interview of Captain Duane Whitlock by the author, May and June 1999, in author's file.
14. The American intercept operators knew the Japanese Bureau of Military Preparations by its three-*kana* radio call sign, E O NO. Stations CAST and HYPO, using IBM statistical machines, established a normal rate of Japanese naval transmissions for each command, daily, weekly, etc. Every Japanese radio call sign intercepted by the cryptographers, such as E O NO, was punched into separate IBM cards for processing and the resulting tally established a norm. Rochefort said he used hundreds of thousands of the punch cards by December 7, 1941 (see his Oral History at US Naval Institute, loc. cit.). Readers can find the E O NO intercepts dated September to December 1941 in Record Groups 457 and 38, MMRB, Archives II, and in the author's files.
 15. For examples of Japan's China recall dispatches obtained by Rochefort's staff, see Joseph Rochefort's Daily Communications Summaries (COMSUMS) issued between September 4 and 8, 1941 in RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II. He first noted the recall in his September 4, 1941 summary (see Note 9, this chapter). Admiral Kimmel usually initialed each summary. Abridged versions of Rochefort's Daily Communication Summary can be found in the 39 volumes of the *Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, 1945-46*. The original complete set of summaries prepared and delivered each day to Admiral Kimmel between July 15, 1941 and December 6, 1941 was not published in its entirety. The original set can be found in RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II. An abridged version introduced before the Congressional investigators can be found in Exhibit 115 (PHPT 17, p. 2601 ff.), but it includes only November 1 to December 6, 1941. Exhibit 115-A contains December 9 and 10, 1941, *ibid.* p. 2673. Another abridged version can be found in PHPT 37, pp. 706 to 778 which contains breaks in continuity between pp. 729 and 739. While this book refers to the Rochefort summaries, each report reflects the combined efforts of the entire organization of the Mid-Pacific Communications Intelligence Network (MIDPAC). At Station HYPO, the headquarters of the MIDPAC network, traffic analysts Lieutenant Commander Thomas A. Huckins and Lieutenant John A. Williams generally wrote the summaries, according to Wilfred J. Holmes in *Double Edged Secrets* (Naval Institute Press, 1979), p. 18.
 16. For Admiral Koga's message of September 1, 1941, see Station H intercept file, RG 457, MMRB, Archives II, SRN 117554; for a sample of other Japanese commands departing China, see SRN 117392 (Submarine Squadron Six's departure on September 4); SRN 117531 (commander-in-chief of Third Fleet's departure from China on September 5); SRN 117506 (arrival of Sea Plane Tender Division 12 at Sasebo on September 6), etc.
 17. All of Japan's land-based naval air activity was concentrated in the Eleventh Air Fleet. About 564 aircraft were assigned, plus two seaplane squadrons which operated from sea-based tenders. At the start of the Pacific War the might of the Eleventh Air Fleet was concentrated in Air Flotillas 21, 22, 23, veterans of the China campaign, and Air Flotilla 24 based in the Central Pacific. See *Campaigns of the Pacific War* (United States Strategic Bombing Survey, USGPO 1946), p. 74.
 18. At the time this book goes to press in 1999, English versions of the China recall messages issued by Japanese naval forces can be found (not in chronological order and with the naval code designator blacked out) in RG 457, MMRB, Archives II, in a file called SRN (Special Research Navy). A destroyer squadron is usually made up of four divisions, which contain four destroyers each. DESRON 5 then contained 16 destroyers plus a light cruiser as flagship, and supporting auxiliaries.
 19. See Homer Kisner's audio tape interview with author, April 1988, at Carlsbad, California, transcript and tapes in author's file.
 20. For the separation of Japanese carrier commands, see Station H Chronology, November 1941, supervised and written by Homer Kisner, traffic chief. A complete report containing Kisner's Daily Chronology, Supervisor Reports, Movement Reports, and Radio Call Signs can be found in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. An abridged version comprising dates of December 1 to 6, 1941, is in PHPT 37, pp. 725 to 728. Kisner's interview with author at Carlsbad, California, April 1988, transcript and tapes in author's file.
 21. See Arthur McCollum's merchant marine recall memorandum to all Navy commandants, Confidential Serial 016916 of February 17, 1940, in RG 181, COM 14 confidential file, National Archives, San Bruno, CA. McCollum used his secret code name F-2 on the memo. Declassified October 3, 1991 by author's FOIA request.
 22. For the Berne List, see RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. American listening posts, operated by the US

- Navy, followed Tokyo Time when intercepting and recording Japanese naval communications. However, radio broadcasts originated by the US Navy were recorded in Greenwich Mean Time (GMT) in the pre-Pearl Harbor era.
23. For an example of the confusion on Japanese communication procedures by historians, see Telford Taylor, *New York Times Magazine*, April 29, 1984, p. 113. For identification of the *Akagi*'s radio call signs—before the attack—see Station H report for November 1941; tactical call 8 YU NA p. 133; *Akagi*'s administrative call SE YA Ø, p. 104; in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II.
 24. For pre-Pearl Harbor intercept training concerning the On-the-Roof-Gang, see RG 457, SRH 355 (Special Research History), Vols. 1 and 2, MMRB, Archives II.
 25. For Stark's "probably involves war" warning, see CNO to CINCAF, CINCPAC, CINCLANT, COM 15, SPENAVO—London. Secret Serial 031939 of July 3, 1941 in FOIA released to author by US Navy Security Group Command, August 31, 1993, author's file (presumably also released to Archives II in January 1995); see also Admiral Kimmel acknowledging the warning in PHPT 6, p. 2629. SPENAVO was the acronym for America's Special Naval Observer based in London, with liaison to the British Admiralty and Prime Minister Winston Churchill.
 26. For Stark's message on the rapid withdrawal of Japan's merchant marine, see CNO dispatch Serial 142155 with information copies to COM 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, in FOIA, Naval Security Group Command release, loc. cit. West Coast naval districts in 1941 included the Eleventh (COM 11), in San Diego, Vice Admiral Charles A. Blakely; Twelfth (COM 12) in San Francisco, Vice Admiral John Greenslade; and Thirteenth (COM 13) in Seattle, Vice Admiral Charles S. Freeman.
 27. For Kimmel's written instruction to Layton concerning the *Heiyo Maru*, see RG 80, PHLO file, September 27, 1941, Pacific Fleet Incoming Message File in microfiche section, MMRB, Archives II. The message originator was COM 13 on September 27, 1941, see Serial 271911 with the Action address as OPNAV and the INFO addressees as COM 12 (San Francisco) and 14 (Hawaii) in CINCPAC Confidential Incoming Message File, PHLO, RG 80, MMRB, Archives II. The author found the image on a microfiche, which indicated rapid deterioration of the original. Congress cut National Archives funding in 1995, hampering efforts to preserve crucial Pearl Harbor documents. The author made 35-mm copies on Kodak T-Max black-and-white film of pertinent dispatches in the PHLO microfiche reels. The *Heiyo Maru* used three different radio call signs (*Yobidashi Fugo*) during this period. Station SAIL (Seattle) reported her using JRXB from the Berne list. Station BAKER (Guam) reported the vessel used call letters of SA TE Ø in October but changed to HE NU 2 on November 1, 1941; source: Station S monthly report for November 1941. The vessel was also heard by Stations AE (Sitka, Alaska) and ITEM (Imperial Beach, CA). See WCCI report in COM 13 files for November 1941, RG 181, National Archives, Seattle, WA. For Station BAKER TESTM of November 14, 1941, see TESTM files in RG 38, Station US papers, Archives II.
 28. On the pouring in of building materials and laborers for construction of Japanese bases in Central Pacific, see Communications Summaries, September and October 1941, PHLO, loc. cit. Some historians assert that Japan began building war bases in the Central Pacific in the late 1930s and that aviatrix Amelia Earhart was sent to overfly the bases in 1937 and take photographs. However, according to Station H intercepts, Japan did not begin construction of the Central Pacific military bases until late 1940 and early 1941. See the intercepts in RG 457, SRN file, MMRB, Archives II for August through November 1941, also author's file.
 29. For the "peculiar" 5-Num dispatch report of September 24, 1941, see COMSUM of that date in RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II, also author's file.
 30. For Rochefort's "not to exploit" quote to Senator Ferguson, see PHPT 10, p. 4697.
 31. For the *Keibii* report see the September 24, 1941 COMSUM, RG 80, PHLO, Box 41, MMRB, Archives II. The Japanese word *keibii* can mean defense; guard; guarding; police; a guard ship; a garrison, per *Kenkyuska New Japanese-English Dictionary* (Harvard University Press, 1942), p. 893. For the 5-Num message dates cited by Rochefort in his 1941 summaries, see the Communications Summaries in PHLO, RG 80, Box 41, MMRB, Archives II. But 28 years later in his 1969 interview with Commander Kitchen (see Note 2 in this chapter) Rochefort switched gears and implied he and his staff only worked on a Japanese naval system he called AD: Rochefort (p. 109 of ROH): "Yes, you see, originally—without getting into too much of the details of it, some of it is still classified I would imagine—we were assigned responsibility when I took over there for one system which was not the system that Washington was working on. Washington and Cavite [*sic*, it was Station CAST on Corregidor] were working on what the Navy called the JN—for Japanese Navy, 25. This was the system" [*sic*, in 1941 the system was known as the 5-Num code, not JN-25].

Later in the series of interviews, Rochefort told Commander Kitchen that in 1941 he and his staff were assigned "a basic responsibility of solving the Japanese naval system which we called AD" (see ROH, p. 134). Rochefort's description of the AD code appears to be a cover story. According to Station US records, the AD code was used by Japan's navy for administrative matters, not operations. It was in effect from January 1, 1938 to November 30, 1940. (See Radio Intelligence Publication 54 A and B, RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, pp. 608, 609.) The

AD code appears to have been discontinued by Japan's navy by December 1940. On October 31, 1941 Leigh Noyes, the Director of Naval Communications, wrote that the AD code was in effect until October 1940 and that it was used by all Japanese naval units for administrative matters not covered by special systems. Copies of the AD code's decryption details were sent to Stations CAST and HYPO, and to Admirals Hart in Manila and Kimmel in Hawaii. Noyes's letter is published in the US Navy's Registered Intelligence Publication 32 (RIP 32) which he released on October 31, 1941. See RG 38, Station US papers, RIP 32 file, section 23, MMRB, Archives II. There are no AD code messages in President Carter's document release of 1979 housed in RG 457, MMRB, Archives II.

Edwin Layton, in his book *And I Was There* (William Morrow, 1985), had a different account concerning Station HYPO's cryptographic efforts in the fall of 1941. He writes (p. 77) that Station HYPO concentrated on the Japanese navy's NL system until the second week of December 1941. He wrote that it consumed many thousands of valuable hours of cryptanalytic effort with no intelligence return. Layton's claim is not substantiated in President Carter's 1979 release of Japanese intercepts. There are no NL intercepts in Carter's release. According to Radio Intelligence Publication (RIP) 32 *ibid.*, above, the NL code was the Japanese navy's encryption system for the Intelligence Office, Hydrographic Office, and Radio Stations of the South Sea Island Network (Central Pacific); see October 31, 1941 edition of RIP 32, p. 23.2, in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. SMS 001 means "Secret Message Series number one" and indicates that it is the first radio message originated by the newly organized *Keibii* 52. The specific message was not found in President Carter's release of 1979.

None of the printed reports published by the nine Pearl Harbor investigations reproduced the entire set of Rochefort's Daily Communication Summaries (COMSUMS) which date from July 15 to December 31, 1941. The original and complete set, including the dates of September 24 and 28, 1941—which were initialed by Admiral Kimmel—can be found in the PHLO files, Box 41, MMRB, Archives II. It is complete from July 15, 1941 to December 6, 1941 but beware: the radio direction finder bearings for July, August, September, and October which were intended to be seen by Admiral Kimmel, have been crudely cut from the documents. Another set of the COMSUMS dated from October 14 to December 14, 1941—in printed form—is published in the Hewitt Investigation as PHPT 37, p. 739. RDF bearings are included from October 14 to 22, but missing from October 23–December 14, 1941. The Clausen Investigation printed the COMSUMS as Exhibit A dated from November 1 to December 6, 1941, as PHPT 35, p. 62. The RDF bearings are missing. The Congressional Investigation printed the COMSUMS as Exhibit 115 on PHPT 17, p. 2601. They are also dated November 1, 1941 to December 6, 1941; the RDF bearings are also missing.

32. For the COMSUM of September 28, 1941, see RG 80, PHLO, *loc. cit.* For background on Japanese troop movement to the Central Pacific, see intercept of September 8, 1942 Tokyo Time, Station H operator WK, who is unidentified as of the writing of this book, intercepted a message to the Fourth Fleet from the Tokyo Bureau of Military Affairs. The message provides military details on the composition of Guard Divisions (*Keibii*) 51, 52 and 53. While there is no proof that the Japanese message text could be read in 1941, it indicates that each unit consisted of 16 warrant officers and 374 petty officers and men, listed their armament, and said the three units would be transported to the Central Pacific early in October. Rochefort did not specifically mention this dispatch in his September COMSUMS, though his knowledge of the *Keibii* units probably derived from this dispatch. See RG 457, SRN 117804, MMRB, Archives II.
33. For details on the Wake Island battle, see Stan Cohen, *Enemy on Island, Issue in Doubt* (Missoula, Montana: Pictorial Histories Publishing Co., 1983). On January 12, 1942, the *Nitta Maru* arrived at Wake, picked up American survivors, and transported them to POW camps.
34. For Rochefort reporting his interception of 5-Num code messages in September, October, and November 1941, see his COMSUM for those months in RG 80, Box 41, PHLO, *loc. cit.*
35. According to Rochefort's Oral History (ROH), he forwarded important Japanese naval intercepts to Washington by radio dispatch, others by US air mail. See ROH, US Naval Institute Oral History Program, Annapolis; copy in author's file.
36. See the intercepts of the *Heiyo Maru* in RG 457, SRN file for October and November 1941, MMRB, Archives II; also author's file.
37. See Note 27 in this chapter for monitoring stations that tracked the *Heiyo Maru*.
38. For the radio call signs, SA TE Ø and HE NU 2, see Note 27, in this chapter.
39. For proof that the *Heiyo Maru* originated the radio message on November 22, 1941, see the intercept by Jack Kaye (sine JK), SRN 117245 at 1546 hours Tokyo Time in RG 457, SRN file, MMRB, Archives II. In May 1999, Kaye, a retired US Navy captain, confirmed that his operator sine at Station H was JK in 1941. Kaye could not recall the intercept. "I was never told of the contents of the messages I intercepted. It was on a need to know basis and I didn't need to know." Kaye e-mail to author, May 1999, author's file.
40. For Washington, DC visits of Vincent Murphy, War Plans Officer for Admiral James Richardson in 1940 and later

assistant war plans officer for Admiral Kimmel, see James Richardson, *On the Treadmill to Pearl Harbor* (Naval History Division, Department of the Navy, 1973), pp. 288, 307, 308, 383. For Murphy's meeting with Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox and Admirals Stark and Ingersoll in October 1940, see pp. 339, 400. Recalled to Washington by Admiral Stark in November 1940, see PHPT 14, pp 962, 980, 982, 983; see also letter Stark to Kimmel regarding Murphy's visits to Washington in PHPT 16, 2145.

41. For Rochefort's quote "concentrating far greater," see COMSUM of November 20 and 21, 1941 p. 2.
42. On Admiral Kimmel's concerns for the Japanese advance on Hawaii, see his alert sent to Washington, November 25, 1941 in chapter 10 of this book. See also a report dated November 25, 1941 concerning the arrival of Japanese Central Pacific landing forces together with arrival of *Marus* in the Marshall Islands, PHPT 14, p. 1365.
43. For the B-24 photo mission, see PHPT 7-2996; also PHPT 24-1780, 1781, 1826, 1827.
44. For confirmation that the B-24 was 100 percent destroyed, see PHPT 24-1833.

1. See COM 14 secret serial Z-2051 of Oct. 8, 1941, in NA, Seattle, COM 13, A6-2 file of DCO route slip 029, declassified Oct. 9, 1985. All of Joseph Rochefort's written orders of 1941 carried the designator Z to indicate secret communications intelligence (COMINT) dictum.
2. For lookout for tankers, see Communications Summary (COMSUM), July 15, 1941 in RG 80, Box 41, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II.
3. For the *Katsuriki* in the Gilberts, see Station H, RDF bearings for October 1941, RG 38, Station US papers, Archives II.
4. See Joseph Rochefort's COMSUMs of Oct. 21 and 22, p. 2. Admiral Nishizo Tsukahara assumed command of the Eleventh Air Fleet at Yokohama Air Station on September 10, according to Station CAST intercept, SRN 117447 in RG 457, SRN file, MMRB, Archives II. Rochefort referred to the Eleventh Air Fleet as the Combined Air Force.
5. See COMSUM of October 21 and 22, 1941. loc. cit.
6. See PHPT 14, p. 1057; PHPT 2, pp. 560, 561, 679; also Joseph Grew, *Ten Years in Japan* (Simon & Schuster, 1944), pp. 470, 497. On the unnamed informant, see *The Magic Background of Pearl Harbor* (US Department of Defense, USGPO), Vol. IV, pp. N 11-13, items 14-17.
7. Japanese Foreign Ministers were in shaky political positions during 1941. Shigenori Togo was the third Foreign Minister appointed in 1941; Yosuke Matsuoka, January to July, Admiral Teijiro Toyoda, July to October, and Togo October onward.
8. For Smith-Hutton's schedule see RG 457, SRN 116271, Archives II, copy in author's file. Intercepted by Chester Howard at Station H on October 31, 1941. After Smith-Hutton applied for a land travel permit from the Japanese Naval Ministry, Admiral Yamamoto was provided with Smith-Hutton's itinerary. The attaché was fluent in Japanese. His experience with the Japanese navy was unique. He was on personal and friendly terms with most of Japan's commanding naval officers. Smith-Hutton was closely associated with USN communications intelligence—he served at Station CAST in 1937 and was US Asiatic Fleet Intelligence Officer in 1938.
9. For Grew's "no substantial warning," see his testimony in PHPT 14, p. 1059.
10. See Rear Admiral Richmond K. Turner's discussion of the Vacant Sea order in PHPT 4, p. 1942. The significance of his admission that the North Pacific was cleared for the Japanese carrier force did not register with Congress or with the news media covering the 1945–46 investigation.
11. The Vacant Sea order was authored by Rear Admiral Royal Ingersoll, Assistant Chief of Naval Operations, and can be found in PHPT 12, p. 317. The order was issued after Admiral Kimmel disputed an earlier Vacant Sea order of Nov. 22, which interfered with his plans to have the Pacific Fleet patrolling the North Pacific waters starting Sunday Nov. 23. See Kimmel's protest: CINCPAC to OPNAV, Serial 220417 of Nov. 22, 1941 in RG 38, PHLO, Archives II.
12. Robinson Jeffers, "Pearl Harbor," in *Articles of War* (University of Arkansas Press, 1990). Reprinted by permission of the University of Arkansas Press.
13. See PacFleet employment schedule for Second Quarter, 1941–42 fiscal year, in PHPT 26, items section.
14. For Rear Admiral Richmond K. Turner's testimony that 25 years of US Army and Navy training taught that Japan would plan an air raid on Hawaii, see PHPT 4, p. 1963.
15. King's exercise was called Fleet Problem Nineteen and got underway March 14, 1938. See *Fleet Admiral King, A Naval Record* (W. W. Norton, 1952), pp. 281–282. For Alan Kirk's description of Fleet Problem 19, see his oral history, *The Reminiscences of Alan Goodrich Kirk*. (Oral History Office, Butler Library, Columbia University, NY 1962) p. 119, copy of entire OH, in author's file. Beware: Kirk has the wrong date for King's exercise. It was 1938, not 1937.
16. For Admiral Kimmel's Easy Cast Easy order, see CINCPAC order 37-41 of Nov. 5, 1941, Confidential A-4-3/FF12 [1], serial 01801, RG 313, Archives II. The report contains supporting files from various Pacific Fleet warships and commanders involved in Exercise 191, copy in author's file.
17. For quote of F. W. Purdy, see deck log of the USS *California* of Nov. 7, RG 24, PHLO, Archives II, copy in author's file.
18. "Catalina" was the name given to Navy twin engine patrol aircraft built by Consolidated and designated PBY. PB = patrol boat; Y = Consolidated Aircraft Corp. See NOAA chart 19007 for "Classical" seamount locations, duplicate in author's file.

19. For Admiral Kimmel's "no radio" order of November 17, 1941, see PacFlt Flag file, RG 80, PHLO, Archives II.
20. For the scenario of Exercise 191, see CINCPAC Flag file serial 172118 of Nov. 17, 1941, RG 80, PHLO, and RG 313, Archives II, copies in author's file.
21. See Anderson-Greber memos, Nov. 19–21, in RG 313, Exercise 191 file A-16-3, Archives II, copy in author's file.
22. Ibid.
23. The USS *Tennessee* action report said the cancellation signal was FOX CAST DOG and was received at 3:47 P.M. Hawaii Standard Time. See RG 313, Exercise 191, file A-16-3, Archives II, copy in author's file.
24. The warning that halted the war games came from the Deputy Chief of Naval Operations, Rear Admiral Royal Ingersoll, who dispatched the order to Kimmel at 3:05 P.M., Washington time. According to Admiral Harold Stark, it reached Hawaii sometime after 1:35 P.M., Monday November 24, 1941; See PHPT 5-2438. For Greenwich Mean Time coordinated with the other time zones of the world, see time chart in PHPT 12, p. 340 ff.
25. See Admiral Stark's letter of September 23, 1941 to Admiral Kimmel advising of President Roosevelt's Pacific shooting policy, PHPT 33, p. 1168. Admiral Kimmel's comments, loc. cit.
26. See prediction of General George C. Marshall that a US-Japan war would break out during the first ten days of December 1941 in Chapter 10 herein.
27. See Admiral "Bull" Halsey's order 112-41 in RG 313, Archives II. The circumstances concerning the cancellation of Halsey's plan 112-41 have never been explained. He did not discuss the plan in his autobiography *Admiral Halsey's Story* (McGraw-Hill, 1947) nor did a separate biography, E. B. Potter, *Bull Halsey* (Naval Institute Press, 1985).
28. For Admiral Kimmel's disregard of Washington's injunction as faulty, see PHPT 6, p. 2713.
29. The USS *Lexington* and her battle group, composed of America's newest warships, was supposedly dispatched to Midway on a mission similar to Halsey's: deliver 18 fighter planes. She never delivered the planes. Normally the Navy's peacetime deck logs listed the specific destination of the vessel. According to the log entry by Lieutenant [j.g.] T. J. Nixon, the carrier was en route to "an assigned area." Between December 5 and 7 the log indicates the flattop remained in the Hawaii time zone [+10 1/2 GMT] until Monday morning, December 8 when she entered the +11 (GMT) time zone [Midway] at 10:50 A.M.

The Task Force commander, Rear Admiral John Newton, testified before the Hart Proceedings that he canceled the Midway delivery on December 7 shortly after he learned of the Pearl Harbor raid. He did not explain what he was doing in the Midway area a day later, nor his reaction to the shelling of Midway by two Japanese destroyers on the night of December 7. For the *Lexington's* deck log, see RG 24, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file. Newton account of canceling the flight to Midway, see PHPT 26-344 (Hart Proceedings).

30. For Senator Barkley's question to Stark, and for Stark's reply, "No specific dates," see PHPT 5, p. 2197.
31. For "transportation on aircraft carrier" dispatch from Stark, see serial 270038 of November 26, Washington Time, PHPT 17-2479. For Stark's documentation, see PHPT 5, pp. 2160-63. On October 17, Stark ordered Kimmel to take all practical precautions for the safety of airfields on Wake and Midway islands to protect flights of B-17 bombers headed for the Philippines. In compliance, Kimmel directed Halsey to plan for transporting 12 fighters to Wake and 18 to Midway. Instead, the transport plan was sidetracked on November 24 when Halsey planned to locate an enemy carrier force. But on November 26, Washington sidetracked the sidetrack and placed the deliveries to Wake and Midway back on the schedule; see PHPT 17-2534; PHPT 5-2160.
32. For Admiral Kimmel's directive to Layton/Rochefort, "Find The Criers," see PHPT 10-4834. Testimony of Edwin Layton to JOINT, Feb. 18, 1946, questioned by Seth W. Richardson, general counsel.
33. For November identification of the *Akagi* as 8 YU NA, see Station H November 1941 report, p. 133; Station CAST made the identical ID in the TESTM reports, November 1941. Both reports in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, and in author's file.
34. For Dutch cryptographers locating Japanese warships in the Kuriles, see Lt. General Hein ter Poorten's letter of July 23, 1960, Royal Netherlands Army Archives, The Hague, copy in author's file. In 1941 General ter Poorten was commander of the Dutch Army forces in the Netherlands East Indies.
35. General John Magruder was a former head of Army Intelligence and, at the time, an ally of the Navy's Intelligence Director, Walter Anderson. Both met with Roosevelt in the Oval Office in 1939. Magruder's mission to China across the Pacific in September and October 1941 received full publicity and was dutifully reported to Tokyo by Honolulu Consul-General Nagao Kita.
36. Australia and the United States secretly set up Pacific Base F at Rabaul, New Britain on October 25, 1941; see CNO secret letter serial 0119912; also Navy Bureau of Ordnance A-16-a[2] PL, same date. On December 12, 1941 the development of Base F was indefinitely postponed by OPNAV serial 0134730. In RG 181-58-3223, NA, San Bruno, California. Japan seized Rabaul in the spring of 1942.

1. The account of the US Army's secret conference held with selected members of the print media on November 15, 1941 at 10:15 A.M. in the Munitions Building is based on a memorandum written by *Time* magazine military correspondent, Robert Sherrod for his New York editor, David W. Hulburd, Jr. Sherrod wrote that the War Department invited the reporters to the secret conference. According to Sherrod's memo, General Marshall told the reporters he had called them together as "there were some things he had to tell to key press correspondents in order that their interpretations of current and forthcoming events did not upset key military strategy of the United States." After the war, Marshall told Hanson Baldwin, military writer for the *New York Times*, that the gist of Sherrod's account "is apparently correct." Reporters who complied with the secrecy rule were: Robert Sherrod, *Time*; Ernest K. Lindley, *Newsweek*; Charles W. B. Hurd, *New York Times*; Bert Andrews, *New York Herald Tribune*; Lyle P. Wilson, United Press; Edward Bomar, Associated Press; and Harold Slater, International News Service. None of the radio news reporters were invited to the conference. See Larry Bland, ed., *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall* (John Hopkins University Press, 1986), Vol. 2, p. 676 ff. For Short's questioning of Marshall's ethics in not telling him, see PHPT 7, p. 2960.
2. General Marshall did not disclose the specific source of his information to the correspondents that Japan would attack the United States during the first ten days of December 1941. Since Marshall revealed that his source was intercepted and decoded Japanese radio messages, the author looked for confirmation in Army and Navy communications intelligence records. On November 5 and 9, 1941, Admiral Osami Nagano, Chief of the Japanese Navy's General Staff (a title similar to the Chief of Naval Operations in the United States held by Admiral Harold Stark), sent radio messages to Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Japanese Navy: "In view of the fact that it is feared war has become unavoidable with the United States, Great Britain and the Netherlands and for self-preservation and future of the Empire, the various preparation for war operations will be completed by the first part of December." Admiral Nagano also transmitted by radio a copy of the dispatch to the Commander-in-Chief of Japan's China Area Fleet, according to a US Navy publication, *The Campaigns of the Pacific War* (USGPO 1946), p. 49, published by the Naval Analysis Division of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey. None of Admiral Nagano's dispatches of the early November, 1941 time period intercepted by the United States monitor stations have been released to the National Archives, according to John Taylor, archivist in charge of the Japanese naval intercepts in Archives II. However, evidence found by the author in US navy records of Station HYPO indicates radio messages from Admiral Nagano were intercepted in Hawaii during the period of November 5 to 13, 1941. Joseph Rochefort, commander of HYPO, wrote in his Communications Summary (COMSUM) that his intercept operators obtained radio dispatches originated by the Chief of Japan's Naval General Staff (Admiral Nagano) addressed to at least three Japanese naval commands: 1. Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Navy, 2. Commander-in-Chief of Japan's China Area Fleet, 3. chief of staff of Japan's carrier divisions, and other naval commands. Rochefort wrote that a series of high priority radio dispatches originated by Admiral Nagano were intercepted by his staff between November 5 and 13, 1941. See Rochefort's COMSUMS for November 5 and 13, 1941, pp. 198, 206, in RG 80 PHLO, MMRB, Archives II, copies in author's file.

Admiral Nagano sent two radio messages on November 5 in the Japanese Navy's "kana code," according to Rochefort's COMSUM on November 5, 1941, page 198. Apparently these two messages that indicated war with the United States would begin the first part of December were the source of Marshall's press briefing. On November 25, President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced to his War Cabinet that: "We were likely to be attacked perhaps (as soon as) next Monday (December 1), for the Japanese are notorious for making an attack without warning. . .," according to the diary of Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, in PHPT 11, p. 5433 (double parentheses by author). Nagano's intercepts of November 5, which indicated war would start by the first part of December, were forwarded to Station US in Washington for decryption and translation, according to US Navy communications intelligence policy. The communication circumstances of the November 5, 1941 Japanese naval intercepts, their forwarding to Washington, and their apparent decryption and translation while in the nation's capital fit into a time frame sufficient to reach General Marshall for his November 15 press briefing and for President Roosevelt's war discussion with his cabinet on November 25, 1941.

Only one of Admiral Nagano's Secret Message Series of 1941 has been released to the National Archives. It is SMS 843 that Nagano originated on November 1, 1941, and was intercepted at Station H by Radioman Second Class J. P. Olson. At least 842 of Nagano's messages are missing from the Station H files, plus those that Roche-fort

indicated were intercepted at Station H between November 5 and 13, 1941.

3. On the visits of Princess Martha of Norway, see the White House Usher Book and Trips and Itineraries of the President under these dates: Princess Martha at the White House on June 15, 1941; see Trip of the President aboard the USS *Potomac* with Princess Martha, August 1941. Near Cape Cod Roosevelt left the *Potomac* and transferred to the USS *Augusta* for the Churchill meeting; dinner with Princess Martha on November 25, 1941. For the full schedule of Princess Martha's visits with President Roosevelt, see the White House Usher Book for 1940 through 1941. All recorded in the White House Usher Book, FDRL, Hyde Park, NY, copy in author's file.
4. See *Uritski* file, record card 1283; *Azerbaijan* card 3019, San Francisco Maritime Museum, San Francisco, California. See also Bar Pilots' records, Columbia River Museum, Astoria, Oregon, copies author's file. See radio message sent to Admiral Nagumo dated November 28, 1941 warning that his warships might encounter the *Uritski* and *Azerbaijan* in RG 457, SRN 16667, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
5. See Grace Tully, *F.D.R. My Boss* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), pp. 23–24; FDR addressing the Princess as "child," p. 23, and Lieutenant Commander Fox as White House pharmacist p. 148, *ibid.* Princess Martha addressing the President as "Dear Godfather," see Joseph P. Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin* (W. W. Norton, 1971), p. 677. Information on Pooks Hill courtesy of Jane C. Sween, Montgomery County Historical Society, Rockville, MD.
6. The fortieth parallel of north latitude crosses the United States from Cape Mendocino, California, through Denver, Indianapolis, and Philadelphia. Nagumo's concentration of the carriers at the center of the Japanese fleet indicates that Japan's navy was years ahead of the US Navy in recognizing the military might of a Fast Carrier Task Force. Japan placed her carriers in the central position surrounded by other warships in outward formations for protective anti-aircraft roles. In pre-Pearl Harbor maneuvers USN battleships and cruisers were the stars of the fleet and moved separately from the carriers.
7. See Admiral Yamamoto's radio silence order SRN 116866 in RG 457, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
8. Commander Minoru Genda's written statement to the author dated November 22, 1982, author's file. After the war, Japanese voters elected him to the Diet (Parliament). Genda died on the forty-fourth anniversary of VJ-Day, Aug. 15, 1989.
9. For Edwin Layton on radio silence, see PHPT 10, p. 4904; see also Layton's comments on radio silence to the Roberts Commission, PHPT 23, p. 660.
10. Brig. Gen. Telford Taylor's article was published in the *New York Times Magazine*, April 29, 1984, p. 120. Taylor was US Chief of Counsel and prosecutor for the Nuremberg (Germany) War Crimes Trials of 1946–49. He died May 1998.
11. The Don Whitehead quote is from Don Whitehead, *The FBI Story* (Random House, 1956), p. 181.
12. Undated written report of Commander W. J. Sebald, COMINT aide to Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, Chief of Naval Operations, folder 5830/6, RG 38, Station US papers, declassified January 28, 1995, MMRB, Archives II.
13. For interception of Admiral Nagumo's "extensive radio communications" as he departed Hitokappu Bay, see Joseph Rochefort's Communications Summary (COMSUM) of November 25, 1941, RG 80, PHLO, Box 41, Archives II. All of the original COMSUMS prepared by Station HYPO's staff for Admiral Kimmel and dated from July 15 to December 6, 1941 can be found filed together in Box 41, *loc. cit.* The PHLO files contain the original Kimmel copy with the admiral's notations and his initials, HEK.
14. For the tracking of Vice Admiral Mitsumi Shimizu, the commander of Japan's submarine fleet, from Japan, south past the Bonin islands, then eastward to the Marshall islands, see series of daily COMSUM, prepared by Rochefort and his staff, dated November 25 through December 6, 1941 in RG 80, PHLO, Box 41, *loc. cit.* See also the Code Movement Reports, Station H, Nov. 1941, p. 110 ff., in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, and author's file.
15. Please note that the Chronology was prepared by Homer Kisner at Station H located on the windward side of Oahu; it differs from the Daily Communication Summary prepared at Station HYPO in the Pearl Harbor Navy Yard. The Chronology is a summary of the Japanese navy intercepts in the 5-Num code obtained by Station H during a 24-hour period from 8:00 A.M. to 7:59 A.M. For daily totals of Japanese naval message intercepts, see Station H report for November 1941, p. 110, under Nov. 25, 1941 [HST]. Estimate of 1225 intercepts is based on message sheets numbered 91932 to 93124 [1192 messages] and 78710 to 78743 [33 messages] RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. The Daily Chronology and its crucial supporting documents were overlooked by all Pearl Harbor investigations of 1944–46 and the Thurmond-Spence Pearl Harbor probe of 1995.
16. On Homer Kisner being unaware that FDR saw the results of communications intelligence, see Homer Kisner's interview with author, April 1988 and April 1999, author's file. Captain Kisner handled millions of Japanese intercepts during the war years and had forgotten the pre-Pearl Harbor dispatches. He and the author discussed the English translations of the pre-attack dispatches released by President Carter in 1979, but not the original Japanese versions that he (then a chief radioman) and his men acquired in 1941. The bulk of the original documents—about 98

percent—have not been released as this book goes to press in 1999. Kisner, promoted to commander, served as radio traffic chief and other communication intelligence duties for Admiral Chester Nimitz. He retired from the Navy as a captain.

17. For the November 25, 1941 movement report on Carrier Division Five, see Station H Chronology for November 1941, p. 110 under radio call sign of NA O Ø (The Ø distinguishes zero from the letter). For intercept of The Carriers (Kisner's term capitalized) on 4963 kilocycles, see Station H Chronology of November 26, 1941, Hawaii Time, p. 89. The intercept was made on the evening watch (4 P.M. to midnight) which would correspond to noon to 8 P.M., November 27, 1941 in Japan. Since The Carriers had been under way for over 24 hours, their location was about 200 miles east of Hitokappu Bay in the North Pacific. Full details on the intercept of the carriers is included on Station H message sheet 92095 of November 26, 1941. None of Station H's estimated 143,000 message sheets originated between July 15 and December 6, 1941, have been declassified by the US government as this book goes to press. See Station H Chronology, RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
18. See the author's written interview with Harry Hood, January 15, 1986, in author's files. US Navy intercept operators and cryptographers were forbidden to discuss their work with journalists without the supervision of the Naval Security Group Command (NSGC), so the author submitted written questions to Hood in the fall of 1985. The written questions traveled by US Mail in a roundabout way to Hood through the NSGC (successor to Station US) then located on "Antennae Hill," 3801 Nebraska Avenue NW—a high ground point in Washington, DC. (It is called Antennae Hill because TV station WRC and the National Broadcasting Company's transmitting facilities were next door creating an antennae farm that could be seen from most points in the nation's capital. It would be interesting to learn what TV anchor Tom Brokaw and NBC sound technicians intercepted from the US Navy's antennae farm.) Two officials of the NSGC, Commander Irving Newman and George Henriksen, reviewed the author's questions and Hood's answers, then returned the complete interview to the author. Nothing in the written questions and answers was censored. Hood was living in Philadelphia in 1986.
19. For the "broad range of air operations" quote, see Rochefort's COMSUM of October 22, 1941, RG 80, PHLO, Box 41, MMRB, Archives II, and author's file.
20. Earlier in September, citing the "enemy's submarine menace," Rear Admiral Charles Freeman, Commandant of the Thirteenth Naval District (COM 13) in Seattle, wrote that he was ready to provide distant aerial reconnaissance of the North Pacific and the Alaska sector and asked Admiral Harold Stark, the Chief of Naval Operations, for permission to begin the search and "prevent a surprise attack." Freeman never received an OK. See RG 187, COM 13, Confidential Serial 121129 of September 17, 1941, in NA, Seattle, and author's file.
21. For Rochefort's testimony on tracking of Japanese submarines toward Hawaii, see his Daily Communication Summary, November 24, 25, 26, 1941, under sub-heading Fourth Fleet and Mandates. PHLO, RG80, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
22. See the Priority dispatch as received in Washington with Laurance Safford's initials, LFS, in RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II, and author's file.
23. Princess Martha bringing a bottle of Aquavit to the White House, see Grace Tully, *F.D.R. My Boss* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), p. 23. For the time schedule of the President's dinner with Princess Martha, see White House Usher Book, November 25, 1941, FDRL, Hyde Park, NY, copy author's file. For description of the Oval Study dinners, see William Seale, *The President's House* (White House Historical Association. 1986), pp. 985–99.
24. The Rochefort-Kimmel-Bloch alert can be fully documented. It was written in Hawaii by Joseph Rochefort (see his testimony to Hart Proceedings, PHPT 26, p. 220, item 32) and dispatched by Radio Pearl Harbor to Washington DC at 1:10 A.M. November 26, 1941, GMT, which was 2:40 P.M., November 25, by Hawaii Time. Next it was received at Station US, where Commander Laurance Stafford initialed the copy shortly after 8:10 P.M. EST. Then Lieutenant Commander Ethelbert Watts, one of McCollum's assistants, prepared the Presidential Monograph 65 (published in PHPT 15, p. 1886 ff.). Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson wrote in his diary that he received a document from the Navy's secret service (his name for the US Navy's intercept operations) the evening of November 25, 1941 and sent it over to the White House. See Stimson diary entry for November 26, 1941 [EST], PHPT 11, p. 5434. See Edwin Layton, PHPT 26, p. 231, item 33, where he confirms that Kimmel authorized sending Rochefort's alert to Washington.
25. For missing monographs, see Richard von Doenhoff's letters to author, March 23, 1994 and April 27, 1995, author's file.
26. For President Roosevelt's daily schedule as recorded by Chief Usher Howell Crim, see White House Usher Book, FDRL, Hyde Park, NY, copy in author's file.
27. For Stimson's "secret service" quote see Note 21, this chapter. Brigadier General Sherman Miles, Army Chief of Intelligence, testified to the Joint Congressional Investigation that he received the message at 12:45 A.M. November 26, 1941. PHPT 14, p. 1366. For the presidential monographs 65, 66, see RG 80, PHLO files, Monographs 65, 66,

- Index Guide 901–200, dated November 26, 1941, MMRB, Archives II, copies in author's file.
28. For Captain John Beardall's delivery of Magic to FDR, see his testimony to the Joint Congressional Investigation of 1945–46 in PHPT 11, p. 5270.
 29. For further confirmation of delivery of intercepted Japanese messages to FDR, see a November 12, 1941 "unofficial memorandum," marked "*Dissemination to White House*," reportedly written by Lieutenant Commander Alwin D. Kramer (reportedly, see PHPT 11, p. 5475), the Navy's principal White House courier for communications intelligence, in RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
 30. For Kramer discussing delivery of "raw messages" to Roosevelt, see PHPT 9, pp. 3985, 3986. Captain Homer Kisner, radio traffic chief at Station H in 1941, believes Roosevelt did not literally mean "raw messages" for they would have been in Japan's naval 5–Num code or in clear Japanese language and either (1) unreadable or (2) untranslated. Instead, Kisner presumes FDR referred to the Communication Summaries (COMSUMS). See Kisner's taped interview with the author April 22, 1988, in author's files. See testimony of Kramer before Senator Homer Ferguson of the Joint Congressional Investigation of 1945–46. The two discussed delivery of Japanese "raw messages" to President Roosevelt before the attack (PHPT 9, p. 3986):

SENATOR HOMER FERGUSON: "Wasn't it your understanding that the President was personally receiving these raw messages to place his own evaluation on?"

LT. CDR. A. D. KRAMER: "Yes sir."
 31. For description of the leather pouch delivered to FDR, see memorandum of Captain W. B. Braun dated December 18, 1945 to Admiral Theodore Wilkinson in RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II, also in author's file.
 32. For FDR meeting with Admiral King and later swim with Betsey Roosevelt, see White House Usher Book, November 27, 1941, FDRL, Hyde Park, NY, copy in author's file.
 33. For Stimson's quote on his responsibility for carrying out the President's orders, see Stimson's written statement presented to the Joint Congressional Investigation of 1945–46, entitled "Statement of Facts as Shown by My Current Notes and My Recollection as Refreshed Thereby." Statement starts in PHPT 11, p. 5416; his account of carrying out Roosevelt's order will be found on p. 5425. See also Stimson dispatching the war warning order issued under authority of FDR and released for transmission by Brig. Gen. L. T. Gerow on Nov. 27, 1941: "The Secretary of War directs that following message be sent." Reproduced in Appendix C of this book.
 34. For Admiral Ingersoll's war warning on November 27, 1941, see Appendix C of this book.
 35. For the war warning by Admiral Stark on November 28, 1941, see Appendix C of this book.
 36. For Admiral Thomas Hart not interfering with Japan's initial assault on the Philippines, see Clay Blair, *Silent Victory* (J. B. Lippincott, 1975), p. 158. See also the following observations from a biography of Hart, James Leutze's, *A Different Kind of Victory* (Naval Institute Press, 1981): he (Hart) had 27 subs submerged in Manila Bay, p. 235; it was Washington, not the Asiatic Fleet Commander (Hart) that directed the fleet to withdraw from Manila," p. 230; Hart was directed by Washington to send US Navy surface forces and submarines southeast toward Australia, p. 237. For examples of MacArthur and Stimson feuding with Hart over lack of US Navy submarine action: MacArthur asked the admiral: "What in the world is the matter with your submarines?" p. 242; MacArthur complained that Hart's inactivity allowed Japan's navy freedom of action, p. 234; according to Stimson, MacArthur felt that Hart's ships and submarines were ineffectual, not because Japan controlled the air but because Hart had lost his courage, p. 240; Hart's reaction to MacArthur's brickbats: "He (MacArthur) is inclined to cut my throat and perhaps the Navy in general," p. 240.
 37. For the replies of Generals Andrews and DeWitt, see Papers of Lt. Gen. Walter Short, Hoover Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, CA.
 38. For General Short's comments on alarming Honolulu civilians see PHPT 7, p. 2985, PHPT 27, p. 283; and targets to shoot, see PHPT 7, pp. 2946, 3015. See also Chapter 4 of *The General's Lady*, an unpublished manuscript, by Isabel Short, the general's wife, in the Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, copy in author's file.
 39. For Adjutant General Adams' dispatch to General Short of November 28, 1941, see Appendix C of this book. For Adams' original War Department dispatch 482, as received by Short, see his personal papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, copy in author's file.

1. Lester R. Schulz was interviewed in writing by the author, Schulz' letters are in the author's file.
2. In 1941 Thanksgiving was celebrated by the nation on November 20. Congress changed the holiday to the third Thursday of November to provide more Christmas shopping days.
3. See the Stimson diary quotes—the original 1941 quotes in PHPT 11, pp. 5433–5435, and an elaboration of the diary provided to the Joint Congressional Investigating Committee in 1945–46, pp. 5421–5427.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. On FDR sending a special message to Emperor Hirohito, see Joseph Grew, *Ten Years in Japan* (Simon & Schuster, 1944), p. 486.
7. For wording of FDR's dispatch to Emperor Hirohito, see *ibid.*, p. 4870.
8. For FDR's quote on "fighting by next Thanksgiving," see the *New York Times*, November 30, 1941, p. 1.
9. Steve Early quote from *New York Times*, *ibid.*; see also Grace Tully, *F.D.R. My Boss* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), pp. 250, 251.
10. See Grace Tully, *F.D.R. My Boss* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), p. 205, where the *Ferdinand Magellan* was designated US Number One. The presidential car was bullet-proof and built of armor plate for the President by the Pullman Company and the American Association of Railroads. According to Tully, the car was placed in service after 1940. On FDR's return to White House, see Tully, *F.D.R. My Boss*, p. 250.
11. Hoisting a dark gray ball above railroad tracks was a standard procedure of American railroads in 1941. It directed all trains to secondary tracks or sidings for emergency passage of US Number One. In the Jet Age, similar procedures were adopted for Air Force One that clear air traffic routes and airport runway traffic for the presidential aircraft. During the Joint Congressional Investigative Hearing of 1945–46, Congressman Bertrand Gearhart (R., CA) questioned the high-ball return. Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles (the number two man) tried to provide an answer in State Departmentese (PHPT 2, p. 540).

GEARHART: Why did FDR return from Warm Springs so unexpectedly, so precipitously?

MR. WELLES: The instructions given me by the President to communicate the memorandum he had sent me to the two Japanese Ambassadors was one of the reasons, in my judgment at that time, as it is now, which required the President's return in order that he himself could take charge of the communication.
12. See Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo's messages in PHPT 12, pp. 195 (Togo to Ambassador Nomura in Washington, "Don't give impression negotiations broken off," Nov. 28, 1941), 204 (a two-part message from Togo to Ambassador Oshima in Berlin, "Say to Hitler that there is extreme danger war will break out with United States," Nov. 30, 1941), 206 (Togo to Ambassador Oshima in Berlin, "The United States regards Japan as an enemy," Nov. 30, 1941), and 208 (Togo to Ambassador Nomura in Washington, "To keep United States from becoming unduly suspicious say negotiations are continuing," December 1, 1941).
13. For FDR's requests for a copy of the "extreme danger" dispatch, see Herbert Feis, *The Road To Pearl Harbor* (Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 336.
14. For Rear Admiral Richmond K. Turner's quote, "indication of war," see PHPT 4, p. 2002.
15. For Joseph Rochefort's "looked damn bad" testimony, see Admiral Hart's Proceedings in PHPT 23, p. 687.
16. For observations of Captain Charles McMorris and Commander Vincent Murphy that Pearl Harbor is unlikely to be attacked by Japan, see PHPT 36, p. 455.
17. See Rochefort's Daily COMSUMS from Dec. 1 to 6, 1941 in RG 80, PHLO, Box 41, MMRB, Archives II, and author's file.
18. For Yamamoto's radio messages to the Carriers, see COMSUM of December 6, 1941, RG 80, PHLO, Box 41, MMRB, Archives II, also in author's file.
19. See also Homer Kisner's Chronology for Dec. 5, 1941, which contains the long-distance warning; it may be found in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, and in author's file. Beware of copies printed in the Joint Congressional Hearings; they contain typos. Homer Kisner interviews with the author, April 1988 and 1998, transcripts in author's file.
20. Ibid.
21. Duane Whitlock taped audio interview with author, Danville, California, September 30, 1993, transcript and tapes in author's file.
22. According to the Station US papers in Archives II, there were at least three super secret US Navy code systems for radio dispatch of intercepted Japanese communications intelligence in use in late 1941. Kimmel and Hart held keys

- for these: COPEK, CETYH, and TESTM. Admiral King of the Atlantic Fleet held keys to COPEK and CETYH and possibly TESTM. Manila Time, not GMT, was used for the CAST TESTM dispatches sent to Hawaii, according to Duane Whitlock. Messages sent to MacArthur by CAST were fully decrypted, translated, and delivered to the general's headquarters in Manila by naval officer messenger.
24. For roster of Station H personnel as of July 1941, see Station H monthly report in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
 25. For identification and location of the Japanese carriers *Akagi*, *Zuikaku*, *Hiryu* and the battleship *Kirishima*, see TESTM dispatches in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, and in author's files.
 26. See transcript of Duane Whitlock's interview, September 30, 1993, Danville, California, audio tape and transcript in author's file; the author conducted additional telephone interviews with Whitlock at Strawberry Point, Iowa, May and June 1999.
 27. See transcript of Whitlock interview, loc. cit.
 28. See *Intercept Station "C"*, authored and published by the Naval Cryptographic Veterans Association for the roster of Station CAST for December 1941. When Japanese troops overran the Bataan Peninsula and threatened Corregidor in the spring of 1942, the CAST personnel were evacuated by Navy submarines to Melbourne and linked up with codebreakers of the Royal Australian Navy. The unit became Fleet Radio Unit Melbourne, with the acronym FRUMEL. Before evacuating Corregidor, they burned all intelligence records and reportedly destroyed their Purple machine by throwing it into Manila Bay.
 29. For operations of the Purple machine at Station CAST, see author's telephone interview with Captain Duane Whitlock at Strawberry Point, Iowa, May, June 1999, in author's file. For same subject on Purple machine, see telephone interview between author and Lieutenant Commander Robert Doud, Oakdale, California, May and June 1999, notes in author's file. Doud told the author that he operated the Purple machine at CAST. For quote that Station CAST personnel worked from same cryptographic quarters, is from Captain Jack Kaye, Santa Ana, California, e-mail to author, June 1999, author's file. In 1941, Kaye worked as intercept operator at Station CAST, then transferred to Station H in Hawaii in October 1941. Kaye to author, email, ibid.
 30. See the original "most reliable order" in Secret serial 242239, 10:39 P.M., GMT or 5:30 P.M., EST, both Nov. 24, 1941, PHLO, RG 80, Archives II. Order bears McCollum's initials at top: sent to Admiral Hart (CINCAF) for action and information to CINCPAC and the US Navy attachés in Shanghai, Chungking, and Tokyo. Beware of the reprint of the message in PHPT 36, p. 650, which dropped McCollum's initials as originator and has minor typos.
 31. See Kisner interview with author, April 1988, transcript, notes, audio tape, photographs, author's file.
 32. See Presidential Monograph file, PHLO, RG 38, MMRB, Archives II. On the night of December 7 (EST), Station CAST located the *Akagi* in Okinawa and sent the report to Station US. It was an erroneous report, of course, because the *Akagi*, after attacking Pearl Harbor, escaped to the North Pacific. McCollum routed the report to FDR sometime after 11 P.M. EST. There is no record of its delivery to the White House. Captain Duane Whitlock, one of the traffic analysts at Station CAST, said he did not send the erroneous *Akagi*/Okinawa report to Washington and did not recall its existence (interviewed by the author September 30, 1993). The author was unable to locate the erroneous *Akagi* dispatch in President Jimmy Carter's 1979 release of Japanese naval intercepts to Record Group 457 at Archives II. There is no record of Station H intercepting the carrier in the Okinawa region on December 7, 1941, Hawaii Time. Instead, the Station H records show interceptions of the *Akagi*, north of Oahu on December 7. See Station H operator logs for December 8, 1941 (Tokyo Time) RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. The erroneous report: "DF bearing indicates *Akagi* moving south from Empire. Now in Nansei Islands area," was sent by radio dispatch to Admiral Kimmel as an information address. It was dispatched from Station CAST at 3:33 A.M. on December 8, 1941, GMT, which is 5:03 P.M. on December 7, 1941 in Hawaii, nine hours after the attack on Pearl Harbor. The erroneous *Akagi*-bearing report can be found in RG 80, PHLO, Pacific Fleet incoming classified message file, microfiche section, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.

1. See John Toland, *Infamy* (Doubleday, 1982). For accuracy, RDF bearings must be plotted on great circle charts, not Mercator projections. Electronic signals do not follow a Mercator projection. A great circle chart establishes the shortest distance between any two points on the earth's curved surface; see Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 10th edition. Example: the shortest air distance between Chicago and San Francisco is through Laramie, Wyoming, not through Denver, Colorado, as a Mercator map would indicate.
2. See reconstruction of the track chart by Robert Ogg on p. 191 of this book.
3. Robert Ogg, interviewed by the author, 1984–1999; transcripts, notes and correspondence in author's files. Later in the war, Ogg served on the radio communication staff of Admiral Nimitz for the Central and North Pacific campaigns. After the war ended, Ogg entered the US Navy Reserve, and was executive officer of the destroyer USS *Shields*. He is an emeritus trustee of the University of California (UC) Foundation; chairman of the Finance and Audit Committees, Advisory Board University Research Expedition; Member UC Nimitz Lectureship Committee, Member of UC Chancellor's Circle; Honorary Fellow California Academy of Sciences; Life Fellow, Explorers Club. He is a ninth descendant of John Howland of the *Mayflower*. He retired from the Navy Reserve as a lieutenant commander. See also Ogg's oral history, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.
4. According to Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 10th edition, a williwaw is a "violent gust of cold land air, common along mountainous coasts of high latitudes." A good name for a cold strong drink.
5. For Lieutenant Ellsworth Hosmer's direct link to Station US, see FBI report 62–33413, item 766, copy in author's file.
6. "Be on the lookout for carriers": for confirmation, see Edwin Layton's statement: "Intense watch began Nov. 25, 1941," in PHPT 10, p. 4908.
7. For Ogg's statement, "The best of my memory is that this was in the 4 megacycle range" (i.e., the 4,000-kilocycle band) see his oral history interview of May 4–6, 1983, pp. 35, 39, 42, conducted by Commander Irwin G. Newman of the Naval Security Group Command and published by the US Navy as SRH 255 in RG 457, MMRB, Archives II; also in author's file. See also interviews of Ogg by the author, 1984 to 1999, telephone, correspondence, author's file.
8. On those transmissions being identified in Japan's *kana* code, see Ogg's comments in SRH 255, loc. cit., pp. 18, 22, 23, 25.
9. Admiral Greenslade, Commander of the Western Sea Frontier and Commandant of the Twelfth Naval District, held keys to GUPID, a Navy communications intelligence system similar to COPEK, CETYH, and TESTM. For selected dispatches to and from Greenslade in the GUPID system dated November and December 1941, see RG 80, PHLO "reels file," MMRB, Archives II, and author's file. See Gerhard Gesell's comments regarding deletions of Navy code systems from the official records in PHPT 4, p. 1911, and confirmation of their deletion by Commander John F. Baecher, the Navy's liaison officer for the Joint Committee on June 7, 1946 in PHLO file, RG 80, *ibid.*, copy in author's file.
10. For McCullough's sending the intelligence data to the White House via a secure method, see Ogg's comments p. 40, SRH 255, RG 457, MMRB, Archives II.
11. Lieutenant Ellsworth Hosmer's original Navy memorandum and other papers are in the custody of his daughter, Patty Hosmer Rathbone, of Loomis, California. Mrs. Rathbone confirmed that she had custody of her father's documents in a telephone conversation with the author on April 17, 1998, notes in author's file; copies furnished to the author by Ogg, in author's files. After filing his memo, Hosmer transferred to the District's communication office on December 27, 1941. In his memo, Hosmer alludes to a dispute with Lieutenant Commander Eugene Kerrigan over locating the Japanese force north of Hawaii. Commander Kerrigan headed the investigative section of the District's intelligence office. "Kerrigan became enraged when told of the location of the force. He said I was wasting my time and instructed me to keep away," Hosmer wrote. Hosmer filed his sealed statement and papers with Lieutenant Commander Selim Woodworth, Chief Administrative Officer of the intelligence office, according to his daughter, Patty Rathbone.
12. See Robert Ogg interview, in RG 457, SRH 255, loc. cit., for: commercial radio facilities, see pp. 19, 35, 36, 38; Japanese telegraphic *kana* code, which is not a secret code, pp. 18, 22, 23, 25. Telephone interviews of Ogg by the author in 1999, notes, transcriptions in author's file.
13. For Ogg's quote concerning Japanese radio transmissions on 4 megacycles, see SRH 255, *ibid.*, p. 35, "odd

- frequencies,” pp. 35, 39, 42.
14. For the radio direction finder intercept of the *Akagi* using the radio call sign of 8 YU NA, see Station KING, monthly report for November 1941 in RG 181, Commandant 13th Naval District, Secret A-6 files, NA, Seattle, WA, copy author’s file.
 15. For Station H report, “The Carriers are using secret calls on 4963 kcs.,” see H Chronology p. 89 of November 26, 1941 in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author’s file. The three-point gap in kilocycles is infinitesimal. The radio call sign 8 YU NA was a secret call or tactical call for the *Akagi* in November 1941. In communications procedures, whenever the Japanese navy placed the number before the *kana* it signaled a secret radio message originated by the unit. In administrative calls assigned to mobile units, the number followed the *kana*.
 16. See Station ITEM report in COM. 13 Secret A-6 files, RG 181, NA Seattle. Tokyo Radio addressed the vessel as FU ME 8 which was the *Kirishima*’s radio call sign for November 1941, according to Station CAST’s TESTM report, November 1941 in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author’s file. Vandenberg transferred from Station H to Station ITEM in June 1941 when he was relieved by Homer Kisner. Vandenberg was the Navy’s senior radio traffic chief on the West Coast.
 17. See Leslie Grogan’s reconstructed *Lurline* log dated December 10, 1941. The Matson Navigation Company, San Francisco furnished copy to author. Grogan reconstructed the log after the Navy seized the original on December 10, 1941. Grogan did not list or define the “lower marine frequency in the reconstructed log.” Grogan died August 4, 1974.
 18. For quote, “signals were being repeated back,” see *Lurline*’s reconstructed log, loc. cit.
 19. For “bold repetition,” see *Lurline*’s reconstructed log, loc. cit. Grogan reported hearing the blasts aimed at the North Pacific for five days. Theoretically the blasts were among at least 5,000 naval messages transmitted by Japan during the five days. But in President Jimmy Carter’s Japanese intercept release of 1979, only 102 Japanese intercepted messages from this time frame were made public. That left 4898 unreleased which surely must be considered as part of what Grogan called “blasts.” Homer Kisner, the Pacific Fleet’s traffic chief, and his operators intercepted a minimum of 1,000 Japanese radio dispatches per day.
 20. For commercial radio call signs not used for warships, see letter from Commander Fred R. Thomson to author, dated January 29, 1986, p. 1, item d., author’s file. In 1941 Thomson was radioman-in-charge of the Navy’s intercept facility, Station AE, Sitka, Territory of Alaska.
 21. For quote about “a mighty serious situation,” and presenting transcript to Lieutenant Commander Pease, see the *Lurline*’s reconstructed log, loc. cit..
 22. See the *Lurline* log withdrawal slip in RG 181, Twelfth Naval District, Port Director file, NA, San Bruno, CA.
 23. Kathleen O’Connor interview with the author, September 24, 1991, also written confirmation from Ms. O’Connor, June 16, 1999 in author’s file. See photo of her taken by author in the San Bruno National Archives research room with the suspect withdrawal slip, in author’s file.
 24. See Station ITEM intercept report of December 4, 1941, RG 181, A-6 file, NA, Laguna Niguel, CA, copy in author’s file; “Strong signals” heard by Station SAIL, see COM 13 dispatch to OPNAV serial 031825 in PHLO file, RG 80, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author’s file.
 25. For Station H confirming the ITEM report, see Operator Log of H, December 4, 1941, p. 51, as UTU 8571, NR 888 (which is the same NR heard at ITEM. The NR number refers to Japan’s naval radio station serial number), in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives, copies in author’s file.
 26. When he copied the Japanese navy’s communication procedures into his log, Henry Garstka recorded what he heard on the airways. Using the RIP 5 code typewriter he typed that HO MI 3 (Radio Yokosuka) called NU TO 4 (Hawaii radio call sign for the heavy cruiser *Tone*) at 10:20 A.M. and 10:45 A.M. (December 5, 1941, Tokyo Time or 2:50 P.M., and 3:15 P.M. respectively Hawaii Time, December 4, 1941. Since Japan’s navy operated on Tokyo Time, all US Navy Japanese naval intercept logs were recorded in Tokyo Time). Radio Yokosuka asked the *Tone* in *kata kana*: KAN? KAN? (“Do you have messages for me?”). See Henry F. Garstka log entry, Station H for December 5, 1941, Tokyo Time, pp. 93 and 94, RG 38, Station US papers, release of Jan. 1995, Archives II, copy author’s file (parentheses by the author). In May 1999 Garstka, then living in Edgewater Park, NJ, confirmed to the author that he worked at Station H and frequently copied Japanese comments in his log; telephone interview with author, May 1999.
 27. For example of a Japanese UTU log, see Station H Operator Logs, December 3 to 8, 1941, Tokyo Time (the only pre-Pearl Harbor logs so far released) in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, also author’s file.
 28. For Kisner’s “drastic action” quote, see Station H Chronology, p. 2, dated December 4, 1941, RG 38, Station US papers, copy in author’s file. A typeset copy of the Chronology for December 1–6, 1941, is published in PHPT 37, pp. 725 to 728. Radio traffic chief, Homer Kisner analyzed the communication data in the batch on intercepts and concluded that Japan’s navy was preparing for drastic action: “The large number of high-precedence messages and

- general distribution might indicate that the entire Navy is being instructed to be prepared for drastic action.”
29. Garstka did not record any radio response from the cruiser *Tone* in his Station H logbook. See Note 26 supra.
 30. For “The Carriers” remaining in vicinity of Kyushu, see Station H Chronology of December 4, 1941, RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, copy author’s file.
 31. Homer Kisner, interviewed by the author in April 1988 (audiotape at Carlsbad, California) and April 1998 (video interview during Kisner’s visit to Sacramento, California). Transcripts of audio and video interviews, plus correspondence, notes, and telephone interviews between April 1988 and April 1998, are in author’s file.
 32. See Station H Chronology of November 20, 1941 (p. 81 loc. cit.), which associates Japanese warships of Cruiser Division Eight and Destroyer Squadron One with what Kisner called the Carrier Divisions (Kisner’s capitalization). He included different Carrier Commands and Carriers for emphasis. These warships were associated together by Station H from early November onward as they trained together in air operations, refueling at sea drills and moving to the assembly point, Hitokappu Bay during the period of November 20–24, 1941, Tokyo Time. On November 17, Kisner reported “DesRon One seems to be operating with the Carriers and that the Commander Carriers (Admiral Nagumo) was aboard the *Akagi*.” (See p. 79 of H Chronology.) There was one apparent error in Kisner’s analysis. He reported that the battleship *Kirishima* was “believed” to be at the Yokosuka Navy Base (southeast of Tokyo) on November 25, 1941, when actually the warship was at Hitokappu Bay on that date (see p. 88 of the H Chronology). See H Chronology, RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author’s file.
 33. Kisner’s report on “war time basis,” see Station H Chronology, p. 2. December 6, 1941 under General, RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II.
 34. For Kisner’s conclusion, “They are going to jump us,” is in a video interview with the author, April 1998, Sacramento, CA, in author’s file.
 35. For Japanese radio deception, see Captain Sadatoshi Tomioka, quoted in PHPT 1, p. 238.
 36. For Admiral T. B. Inglis’ testimony regarding Japanese radio deception, see PHPT 1, p. 185.
 37. For Edwin Layton’s description of Japanese radio deception, see his book, *And I Was There* (William Morrow, 1985), p. 228.
 38. See Paul Seaward’s intercept of Japanese naval air stations in Station H operator log December 6, 1941, Tokyo Time, p. 123. RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. Seaward wrote in the log: “Note Air Sta’s 9 KE KU, 1 NI KU and others working just below 8040 (kilocycles).” Seaward did not copy any messages from the air stations, according to the log. Seaward, one of the watch supervisors at Station H and an experienced intercept operator, did not suggest deception was involved, but the fact that he did not see fit to copy the messages involving the Air Stations is significant.
 39. See Fred Thomson report, Station AE, December 1941 report, p. 5, under “Radio Deception.” RG 181, NA, Seattle, copy in author’s file.
 40. See Joseph Rochefort’s Oral History, *The Reminiscences of Captain Joseph J. Rochefort* (US Naval Institute, Oral History Office, 1970), p. 157, copy in author’s file.

1. For Admiral Kimmel's quote, "if I had anything," see PHPT 6-2632.
2. For Rochefort's quote, "cheap price," see *The Reminiscences of Captain Joseph J. Rochefort* (US Naval Institute Oral History Division, 1970), p. 163.
3. For Thomas Dyer's quote, "There is not the slightest. . .," see his letter to the author, June 4, 1983, author's file. See also written statement submitted to the Joint Congressional Committee on the Pearl Harbor attack by Captain Laurance Safford, commanding officer of Station US in 1941: "The 5-Num system yielded no information which would arouse even a suspicion of the Pearl Harbor raid either before or afterward." See RG 80, PHLO, Box 49 MMRB, Archives II. Quoted by Edwin Layton in *And I Was There* (William Morrow, 1985), p. 548, note 27.
4. For the weather message sent to the First Air Fleet by Radio Tokyo on November 27, 1941 warning of typhoon conditions in the North Pacific, see RG 457, SRN 116668, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file. Tokyo Radio said the storm's winds reached from 15 meters to 26 meters (34 m.p.h. to 58 m.p.h.) Conversion courtesy Dan Plumlee, Geography Department, University of California, Berkeley.
5. *Kuroshio* translates as Black Current, so-called because its waters carried the black-hulled ships of foreign nations, including those of the United States-Japan Expedition of 1854, commanded by Commodore Matthew Perry. The Perry expedition opened trade between Japan and America. Lieutenant Silas Bent, navigator for Perry, described the *Kuroshio* as 75 km wide with a depth of 900 meters. He said it originated in the East China Sea and formed two branches. The more powerful skirted the east coast of Japan, then turned northeast at about 40° N, 143° E. Its speed of 35-40 miles per day permitted fast sailing time. See Bent's report and his chart of the *Kuro-Siwo* (1857 spelling) in Francis L. Hawks, *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan* (D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1857), p. 495. A black-ship festival is held at Shimoda, Japan, site of the first American trade center, according to the Tourist Industry Bureau, Ministry of Transportation, ed., *Japan The Official Guide* (Japan Travel Bureau, 1962), p. 367.
6. See Iki Kuromoti, written description of his journey to Pearl Harbor aboard the light cruiser HIMJS *Abukuma*, flagship of Destroyer Squadron One. His account is re-produced as part of the Exhibits of the Joint Congressional Committee in PHPT 13, 516 ff. A note on the translation suggests Kuromoti might be the nom de plume of an enlisted man aboard the *Abukuma*. Kuromoti describes the departure from Hitokappu Bay, the fierce storm that washed men overboard, etc. In the western Pacific, fierce ocean storms that are called hurricanes in the eastern Pacific are called typhoons.
7. On the *Akagi*'s transmitter being tuned to 4960 kilocycles, see the interception of the Japanese radio call sign of 8 YU NA (November call sign of *Akagi*) in contact with another Japanese warship in a report by Robert Fox, radioman-in-charge at Station KING, Dutch Harbor Naval Air Station, Territory of Alaska, November 1941 monthly report, p. 3, RG 181, Commandant of Thirteenth Naval District (COM 13) A-6 report, National Archives, Seattle, WA; declassified October 9, 1985 by Donald Piff, Director of National Archives, Seattle, WA, copy in author's file. According to a general alert sent by Station SAIL to the Dutch Harbor RDF intercept station on December 3, 1941, these Japanese radio transmissions were executed in less than ten seconds in an attempt to lessen chance of discovery and interception by British and American cryptographers. See RG 181, NA, Seattle; COM 13 Secret file, Serial 202210, dated 12/3/41.

For identification of 8 YU NA as the *Akagi* (with a question mark), see Station H Chronology of November 28, 1941, secret call list for November 1941, p. 133, copy in author's file. Station H, the intercept facility for Station HYPO, issued a monthly report consisting of at least four sections: (1) a daily Chronology listing important Japanese naval intercepts; (2) identification of secret (sometimes referred to as tactical, meaning that the unit was involved in operations as opposed to purely administrative matters) Japanese call signs and warship addresses for naval units originating radio transmissions; (3) Code Movement reports, with radio direction finder bearings locating Japanese warships and *marus*; (4) individual supervisor reports from each eight hour watch. The November 1941 Station H monthly report totaled 134 numbered pages and was released to the author by the Naval Security Group Command under a FOIA request in 1985. Another crucial and separate part of the Station H records is the operator logs (HOPSLOGS) that recorded every intercepted Japanese naval transmission. About 65 intercept operators shared the work load of eight hours on, sixteen hours off, and kept a running account of the Japanese communication data in the logs. A separate log, called Message Sheets, documented the text of each message. It went on 24 hours a day without letup from July 1 to the attack of December 7, 1941. In this book, these operator logs are abbreviated as

HOPSLOGS. But again beware. The Navy has released only five days of the pre-Pearl Harbor HOPSLOGS: December 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, 1941. Since the logs were kept in Tokyo Time the dates correspond in part to December 3–7, 1941, Hawaii Time. None of the HOPSLOGS prior to December 3, 1941 have been released. None of the estimated hundreds of thousands of Message Sheets that record the Japanese navy's original text have been declassified and released to the public.

The Station H records were transferred to Archives II, College Park, Maryland in 1994 as part of the Station US collection and placed in Record Group 38. A limited release of the Station H records took place in January 1995 at Archives II and those records no longer require a FOIA request. The November and December Station H Monthly Reports can be found in Box 9 of the January 1995 release. But please note: the entire Station US collection which contains the Station H records, is estimated to include over 1,000,000 documents; these are in various stages of declassification and cataloguing. The author found he could examine about 300 documents per day. An examination of the entire collection, working 365 days per year, would cover 109,500 records. At that rate, plan on at least nine years for examining the entire collection.

For further identification of 8 YU NA as the *Akagi*, see two TESTM reports of Station CAST, November 14, 1941, secret serial 141522, and November 27, 1941, secret serial 281511, in RG 38, Station US papers, TESTM file, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file. See also Station H report of hearing carriers transmitting on 4963 kilocycles on November 26, 1941 in HMORPT, p. 89; see Station HYPO Communication Summary (COMSUM) of November 30, 1941 which reports hearing the *Akagi* on tactical radio circuits in contact with several *marus*, in RG 80, PHLO, Box 41, MMRB, Archives II. See Edwin Layton's contrary view (without confirming details) that the *Akagi* was misidentified, in his biography *And I Was There* (William Morrow, 1985), p. 227. Homer Kisner's placement of the HIMJS *Hiryu* relied on radio direction finder bearings submitted by Station CAST. Kisner placed the carrier HIMJS *Hiryu* in Japan's Inland Sea near the city of Kure on November 29, 1941. Kisner apparently based his estimate on CAST's RDF bearing taken on November 26 (Hawaii Time) when the *Hiryu* was about a day out of Hitokappu Bay. CAST did not place the carrier at Kure, but reported the bearing as 30 degrees from Corregidor—a northern bearing line that takes in the offshore waters of Hitokappu Bay (see the Great Circle Chart on p. 191 of this book. Technically the great circle bearing of 30 degrees could also be southward from Corregidor—through the South China Sea and Indian Ocean—an illogical location for the carrier). For the *Hiryu* bearing by CAST, see the TESTM report, secret serial 281511, in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.

There were 31 warships in the First Air Fleet proceeding through the North Pacific, plus two more in the Central Pacific known as the Midway Neutralization Unit (sometimes translated as the Midway Destruction Unit) according to figures prepared by Rear Admiral Sadatoshi Tomioka, Operations Chief, Navy General Staff, cited in Gordon Prange, *At Dawn We Slept* (McGraw Hill, 1981), p. 416.

8. Solar storms affecting radio/telegraph and voice transmissions in the winter of 1941–42 were predicted several months in advance in 1941, in bulletins issued by the United States Department of Commerce, National Bureau of Standards (NBS) entitled *Radio Transmission Handbook* (NBSHB). Each bulletin (and addendum), updating solar storm conditions as predicted by the NBS, was forwarded to all naval commandants and Navy radio facilities, including the intercept stations. See the *Radio Transmission Handbook, Frequencies 1000 to 30,000 KC* (prepared by the National Bureau of Standards, Washington, DC, under the sponsorship of the Communications Section National Defense Research Committee). Selected NBS comments taken from the *Handbook* by the author follow: the range of the radio waves is accelerated over ocean waters because of the greater electrical conductivity of the ocean (p. 15); ionosphere storms are most severe in northern latitudes and decrease in intensity toward the equator (p. 13). High frequency radio waves—above 2000 kcs—are given a boost by the storms (p. 9). Ionosphere is the region 30 to 300 miles above the earth's surface that reflects radio waves (p. 5). See the looseleaf *Handbook*, in RG 181, Box 196506, NA, Laguna Niguel, CA, copy in author's file. The solar storm over the weekend of Nov. 28–Dec. 1, 1941 reached “disaster” proportions on December 1, when the NBS rated the storm at 8 on a scale of 0 to 9. See NSB report in RG 181, COM 14 files, San Bruno, CA for Dec. 1941 to Feb. 1942, copy in author's file. For use of frequencies in the 4960–4980 kilocycle range to overcome radio interference by solar storms (a.k.a., the Dellinger effect), see SRH-355, pp. 273–275, RG 457, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. Solar storm interference varies throughout the northern latitudes, and by time of year, daylight versus night; radio transmission bounce can last from minutes to hours.
9. In naval parlance, “type command” refers to vessels of all same military purposes: battleships are a type; ditto cruisers, carriers, etc. See two Homer Kisner interviews with author April 1988 in Carlsbad, California (audio tape, still photographs, transcript and follow up correspondence), and in April 1999 in Sacramento, California (video tape, still photographs, transcript). Both interview sessions were augmented by telephone conversations and correspondence during a ten year span from 1988 to 1998; transcripts and correspondence are in author's file.
10. For identification of the *Kyokuto Maru* and its close radio association with the Commander Carriers, see

- Communication Summary of October 9, 1941 in RG 80, PHLO, Box 41, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
11. For the *Kyokuto*'s code movement reports obtained by Station H in November 1941, see November 1941, Chronology of Station H, pp. 96, 99, 100, and identification of its secret radio call sign of 4 U I, see p. 128 in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II; also in author's file.
 12. The commanding officer of the *Kyokuto Maru* placed aboard the aircraft carrier HIMJS *Kaga*, see Communication Summary for October 27, 1941, loc. cit. For Admiral Kimmel examining COMSUMS each morning at 8:15 A.M., see Layton testimony at PHPT 10 p. 4833. The *Kaga* served as the temporary flagship of Admiral Nagumo while the *Akagi* was refitting at the Yokosuka naval base.
 13. For Kimmel's question to his intelligence chief Edwin Layton, "Where are the carriers?" see PHPT 36, p. 128. See Layton's book *And I Was There* (William Morrow, 1985), p. 243. Layton's *Akagi* intercept testimony to the Congressional investigation on February 18, 1946: "The fact that *Akagi* was that day (November 30, 1941) exercising with several *marus* was brought to my attention and the admiral noted it also. He asked me what I thought, as I recall it, and I said the *Akagi* was probably talking to some tanker *marus*, *marus* being merchant ships and probably going to get oil." PHPT 10, p. 4836. Layton then testified, "Since the middle of November the association of forces, the tying together of your task forces, the commander of carriers, or carrier division commander, with the exception of Carrier Division 3, were not addressed, were not associated, and apparently were entirely aloof from the whole proceeding," PHPT 10, p. 4837. Layton repeated that neither the carriers, the carrier division commanders, or the carrier commander in chief were ever addressed, "not even once," PHPT 10, p. 4839. Layton on the disappearance of the carriers: "My own personal opinion was that the carriers were remaining in home waters preparing for operations so that they would be in a covering position in case we moved against Japan," PHPT 10, p. 4840.
 14. For an additional statement by Edwin Layton that the Japanese carriers had neither been sent nor originated radio messages since mid-November 1941, see his book *And I Was There*, p. 243: "There was no traffic—or traffic analysis—to or from these carriers or their commanders."
 15. For Joseph Rochefort's testimony that he didn't lose the carriers but found them in a negative sense, see exchange with Congressman John Murphy (D., PA) on February 15, 1946 during the Joint Congressional Investigation, found at PHPT 10, p. 4681. But see his answer to a follow-up question posed by Murphy: "Is it the usual plan, when you have a war warning and you cannot account for carriers, that you prepare for the worst?" Rochefort: "Yes, sir." PHPT 10, p. 4682.
 16. See a letter from Richard A. von Doenhoff to the author NNRM93–RVD, July 9, 1993, in author's file. For the original Communications Summaries (COMSUMS) prepared by Station HYPO in 1941 that were read and initialed by Admiral Kimmel, see RG 80, PHLO, Box 41 (includes the mutilated copies), Archives II, duplicate copy in author's file.
 17. See Stephen E. Ambrose, *Pearl Harbor Revisited* (St. Martin's Press, 1995), pp. 99–100. Ambrose repeated this charge in a *Wall Street Journal* opinion piece on May 27, 1999: "The real problem was that American intelligence was terrible (sound familiar?)" (Parentheses by Ambrose.) Homer Kisner told the author that Stephen Ambrose never contacted him for comment on the Navy's 1941 communications intelligence operations.
 18. Duane Whitlock interviewed by the author in Danville, California, September 1993, audio tape, transcript, notes, in author's file. Follow up telephone calls, notes and correspondence and e-mail in May and June 1999 with Whitlock at Strawberry Point, Iowa, author's file. Author's interview of Homer Kisner, April 1988 (audiotape transcript, still photographs, notes), in author's file. A second interview with Kisner while he was on a family automotive tour, video taped at Sacramento, California, April 1998 (still photographs, notes, and video tape transcript), in author's file.

With the guidance of Captain Homer Kisner, the 1941 radio traffic chief for the Pacific Fleet, and Captain Duane Whitlock, traffic analyst for Station CAST, the author located evidence of the carriers and commands originating and receiving radio messages between November 15 and December 6, 1941. Both Navy captains have impeccable professional reputations. Both were cited for their intercept and cryptographic skills between July 1941 and June 1942 and placed on the Midway Cryptographic Honor Roll by Admiral Chester Nimitz. In 1941–42, both were chief radiomen and later advanced to commissioned officers. As of this writing, both are retired; Kisner lives in California, Whitlock in Iowa. For over fifty years, both these giants in American naval cryptography have been ignored by Congress and every Pearl Harbor investigation, excluded by historians, and the media. Yet they were in on all of the major intelligence events of the Pacific War.

19. See the TESTM reports originated by Station CAST in November and December 1941 and received at Station HYPO initialed by Lieutenant Commander Thomas Huckins and Radioman Rodney Whitten of Station HYPO, in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
20. For the documentation of the 129 Japanese naval intercepts involving the carriers and warships of the First Air Fleet

between November 15 and December 6, 1941, see the author's compilation based on intercepts found in RG 457 in the SRN intercept series; the TESTM reports of Station CAST; and Station H code movement reports in RG 38, MMRB, Archives II, compilation in author's file. The Station CAST TESTM radio direction finder reports involving the carriers were discussed with Captain Duane Whitlock, at Danville, California, in September 1993; notes, transcript, photographs, audiotape interview in author's file. Intercepts, code movement reports were discussed with Captain Homer Kisner, at Carlsbad, California, in April 1988 (notes, taped audio interview, transcript, and photographs in author's file), and at Sacramento in April 1998; notes, video tape, transcript and photographs, in author's file).

The author arranged the 129 intercepts into seven categories and labeled them from A to G for the purpose of analyzing them for this book: (A) Vice Admiral Chuichi Nagumo, commander-in-chief of the First Air Fleet, originated 60 transmissions in his Secret Message Series (SMS) between November 15 and December 7, 1941 (Hawaii Time); see special booklet prepared by the author and labeled "SMS series, Vol. 1," in author's file. It is a compilation of Nagumo's SMS messages based on the SRN series in RG 38 and 457, Archives II, also in author's file; (B) for the 24 messages dispatched to various First Air Fleet vessels, see RG 38 and 457, loc. cit.; (C) for the 20 transmissions originated by six carriers, see RG 38 and 457, loc. cit.; (D) for the twelve messages originated by the Carrier Division Commanders, see RG 38 and 457, loc. cit.; (E) eight warships attached to the First Air Fleet (not carriers) originated 12 messages, see RG 38 and 457, loc. cit.; (F) the Midway Neutralization Unit (HIMJS *Shiriyu* and two destroyers) originated four messages, RG 38 and 457, loc. cit.; and finally (G) there was one message addressed to Carrier Division Four. Entire compilation based on Station US papers, RG 38, 457, Station H code movement reports, Station CAST TESTM files, Archives II, copies in author's file.

21. See article by Koichi Shimada in *The Japanese Navy in World War II*, Raymond O'Connor, ed., (US Naval Institute Press, 1969), p. 34. The correct title of the command was Imperial Navy General Headquarters. According to Joseph Rochefort's cryptographers at Station HYPO, Admiral Nagano held two titles, Chief of the Navy General Staff (NGS) and Chief of the Imperial Navy General Headquarters (IHQ). When Nagano convened his staff on the palace grounds it became IHQ; at the naval ministry, NGS. According to Station H records, Nagano used different radio call signs to distinguish the commands; see RG 457, SRN series, and RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, copies in author's file. There were six messages transmitted to Japanese naval communications officers in the Formosa/South China area by Radio Tokyo on December 4, 1941 (Tokyo Time), according to Station H records. Three were addressed to units of the Eleventh Air Fleet (AF); two are unidentified as this book goes to press; one was addressed to the China Fleet. See Station H operator log (HOPSLOG), December 4, 1941 (Tokyo Time) for radio call signs: HA O 249 (UNID), KI NE 549 (AF), RE HE 849 (AF), SA HA 049 (UNID), SI HA 149 (AF), TA KE 649 (China), in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, author's file. The suffix 49 designated radio officers.
22. For identifications of the radio call signs of the Eleventh Air Fleet immediately prior to the attack, see TESTM dispatch with secret serial 051533 of December 4, 1941 (Tokyo Time) found in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file. The initials RW that appear on the dispatch belong to Rodney Whitten of Rochefort's staff, which confirms that it was received at HYPO.
23. For CU's intercept record of SI HA 149, see the HOPSLOG of December 4, 1941 (Tokyo Time), p. 51, as UTU 8591. CU made the intercept at 3:15 A.M. (or 7:45 A.M., December 3, 1941, Hawaii Time) on 8310 kilocycles.
24. Of Japan's Hawaii force of about 30 fleet submarines (I-boats), eleven were equipped with small float planes. A hangar, catapult, and a service crane for lifting the plane (called an E-14Y by Japan, and Glen by the US Navy) out of the water were installed on the broad afterdeck of each sub. After a flight, the wings of the Glen were dismantled and, along with the fuselage, stored inside the compact hangar. A Glen from the sub *I-25* bombed the Oregon coast near Brookings in September 1942—the only air bombing of the US mainland in World War II. See Dorr Carpenter and Norman Polmar, *Submarines of the Imperial Japanese Navy* (Naval Institute Press, 1986), pp. 5, 6, 7, and 13.
25. For Joseph Rochefort's testimony that he "never received RDF from Samoa," see the Army Pearl Harbor Proceedings, PHPT 28, p. 868. See SECRET file of Lieut. Cmdr. Thomas Huckins, Confidential Serial ADCO14/12-10, p. 3, RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. For the 300 pages of RDF bearings taken by Station VICTOR between July and December 1941, see the index of Station US papers, folder 3270/5, RG 38, MMRB, Archives II; see the Station VICTOR document tracing RDF to Rochefort in RG 181, file A-6, Samoa, found in NA, San Bruno, CA, copies in author's file.
26. For the PSIS report, see file 500-1, Japanese Submarine Operations, Vol. 1, p. 2, RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II. For the intercept report (but not its text) of Admiral Shimizu by Stanley Gramblin, see the Station H operator log for December 4, 1941, Tokyo Time, p. 52; RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
27. Vice Admiral Shigeyoshi Inoue used his radio call sign RI RO ØØ, according to the log entries of Henry Garstka and LF. See operator logs, Station H, pp. 100 (Garstka), 120 (LF), December 6, 1941 Tokyo Time; RG 38, MMRB,

- Archives II, copy in author's file. For the English message text of Admiral Inoue's declaration-of-war message, with omissions, see RG 457, SRN 115368, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
28. For the repeat of Admiral Inoue's war declaration intercept by LF, see Station H operator log, December 6, 1941, p. 120, as RI RO ØØ, NR 951 (Garstka's intercept was NR 952) on 6665 kilocycles at 6:48 P.M. Tokyo Time or 11:18 P.M. December 5, 1941 in Hawaii; see Station US papers, RG 38, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file. The letters NR apparently refer to accounting numbers of Japan's dispatching radio station.
 29. For Rear Admiral Ugaki's premature release of the Imperial Rescript, see the Station H operator log of December 6, 1941 at 11:20 P.M. (Tokyo Time), which is 3:40 A.M. Saturday, December 6 in Hawaii. Station H intercept operator Maynard Albertson (sine SU) recorded Ugaki's message as number 92. Then 55 minutes later, at 12:15 A.M. (on December 7, Tokyo Time, or 4:45 A.M., on December 6, Hawaii Time), Albertson intercepted Admiral Yamamoto's version as number 93. For the intercept details of Emperor Hirohito's Imperial Rescript, jointly issued with Admiral Yamamoto and received in Hawaii during the early dawn hours of December 6, 1941 (Hawaii Time), see Station US papers, Station H operator log, pp. 101 for Ugaki's number 92, and 124 for Admiral Yamamoto's version, in RG 38, Archives II, copy in author's file. Ugaki used his radio call sign of SE TU 758; Yamamoto used YO WI ØØ which is the same call sign he used for the Climb Mount Niitaka dispatch on December 2. For the English version of the Imperial Transcript intercepted by Albertson, see RG 457, SRN series, SRN 115370 (Rescript), 115371 (Yamamoto's introduction), MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file. The Emperor also issued separate Rescripts to the Japanese army and navy ministers and to the citizens of Japan. Transmission details have not been disclosed as this book goes to press.
 30. Emperor Hirohito's Imperial Rescript was received aboard the cruiser HIMJS *Aoba* on December 7, 1941 (Tokyo Time). See JICPOA item 4986, pp. 3, 15, RG 181, National Archives, San Bruno, CA, copy in author's file.
 31. For the the misleading English language version of the Hirohito/Yamamoto Rescript message, see SRN 115371 in RG 457, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file. A notation on SRN 115371 claims that the intercept is available only in captured form and is dated December 7, 1941, implying that the Japanese transmission took place after the attack. The transmission date listed is actually Tokyo Time. The censorship has skewed historians' accounts of Emperor Hirohito's message. According to historian Robert J. C. Butow, the Emperor's "annihilate the enemy" rescript was not issued until more than eight hours after the Pearl Harbor attack. See Robert J. C. Butow, *Tojo and the Coming of the War* (Stanford University Press, 1961), p. 408 n. 5. Of the approximately 1,000 intercepts collected by operators of Station H during the period 8:00 A.M. December 5 to 8:00 A.M. December 6, 1941 (Hawaii Standard Time), only six have been declassified by the National Security Agency (NSA). Since Jesse Randle's intercepts did not enter the pipeline until the morning of December 7, they are not included in this discussion.
 32. On carriers operating with Japanese Cruiser Division Eight and Destroyer Squadron One, see Station H Chronology for November 20, 1941, p. 81, RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
 33. For Kisner quote, "the only time I forecast war," see transcript of Kisner's video interview by the author, Sacramento, CA, on April 24, 1998, in author's file.
 34. For quote by Thomas Dyer, "no warm bodies," see Dyer's letter to the author, June 4, 1983, in author's file.
 35. Confirmation of the decoding and translation of complete Japanese warship movement reports is murky. Captain Al Pelletier, a Station US cryptologist in 1941, wrote that 90 percent of the text of the Japanese navy's ship movement code could be read in Washington prior to December 7, 1941; see *Cryptolog*, Summer 1992, p. 5. Hawaii's Navy cryptographers could also decrypt the code, according to Joseph Rochefort, commander of Station HYPO. Rochefort testified to the Congressional Investigating Committee on February 15, 1946 that his staff could handle and translate the ship movements. See his testimony in PHPT 10, p. 4678. If so, a question still lingers: why didn't Pelletier at Station US and Rochefort at HYPO decrypt and translate the *Shiriyu's* message for Admiral Kimmel? The Pacific Fleet and the sailors of Battleship Row needed to know. There has never been an answer to the Navy's failure to divulge the *Shiriyu's* intercept. The intercept was never introduced before any Pearl Harbor investigation so none of the investigators could get answers. Homer Kisner did not recall the *Shiriyu* report, but did remember obtaining position reports of Japanese war ships between Hawaii and the Empire, and concluded that Japan was "going to jump us"; video interview of Kisner by the author, April 24, 1998, Sacramento, CA, transcript, videotape, still photographs, notes, and correspondence, in author's file. *Shiriyu* filed eight code movement reports in November that appear to have been decrypted at Station H. See Monthly Report of Station H, November 1941, RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file. Captain Minoru Togo of the *Shiriyu* was the son of Admiral Heihachiro Togo, Japan's famed hero and the victor of the Russian fleet battle, May 1905.
 36. On Vice Admiral William Halsey's search in the area of Wake Island, see the Deck Log of the USS *Enterprise*, Halsey's flagship, for December 1 to 7, 1941, RG 24, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file. Flight operation schedules show that Halsey conducted daily morning and evening reconnaissance flights.
 37. See the radio frequency charts issued by the US Department of Commerce, National Bureau of Standards, November

- 1941 to February 1942. The Bureau of Standards radio section suggested using radio frequencies that were capable of reaching radio receivers operating in the open ocean waters of the North Pacific at various hours of the day and night during that time frame. By coincidence, the National Bureau of Standards used the 40° N for the North Pacific open ocean communication baseline—the approximate west to east route used by Japan’s First Air Fleet on its Hawaiian journey. Included among the recommended frequencies were those that ranged from 11,000 to 16,000 kilocycles. A first day communications intelligence student, aware that Radio Tokyo and Radio Ominato were transmitting to warships using the 11,000 to 16,000 kilocycle range, could consult the Bureau’s charts and could approximate—if not pinpoint—the position of the vessels. The frequency charts were seasonal and published by the Bureau throughout 1941; they took into account the solar storm activity that disrupted radio communications in the Northern Hemisphere. For the November 1941 to February 1942 charts, see RG 181, Eleventh Naval District, A-6 radio files, Box 196506, National Archives, Laguna Niguel, California, copy in author’s file. Operators at Station H who heard Tokyo calling the tankers (but no replies were heard) were Roy Lehman, William Eaton, and Charles Southerland. See the Station H Log Book, RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author’s file.
38. For reaction to the so-called United States ultimatum of November 26, 1941, see *The Reminiscences of Joseph Rochefort*, p. 66 ff. See also the comment on the ultimatum by Ensign Kazuo Sakamaki, the Japanese midget sub commander captured as Prisoner of War Number 1 when his sub ran aground on Oahu on December 7: “Your honorable ‘have’ country placed an economic blockade on the ‘have not’ country.” PHLO, RG 80, MMRB, Archives II. On Cordell Hull’s *modus vivendi*, see PHPT 14, p. 1157. FDR’s handwritten note is in the same location at p. 1142.
 39. For Secretary of State Hull’s *modus vivendi*, see PHPT 14, p. 1150; see also discussion on the *modus vivendi* in Harry Elmer Barnes, *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* (Caxton Printers, 1953), p. 344, ff.
 40. For copy of FDR’s handwritten note to Hull, see PHPT 14, p. 1142.
 41. Since the Climb Mount *Niitaka* message was sent to some Japanese naval commands that lacked cryptographic expertise, Admiral Yamamoto couldn’t take a chance on encrypting the message in the complicated Code Book D (5–Num). Smaller commands—picket boats, coastal lookouts, and other smaller units needed to get the word, but didn’t have the sophistication or the trained cryptologists to decipher Code Book D (the 5–Num code). They would have been out in the cold, unable to decipher the D-code messages. So apparently, according to some Japanese historians and Edwin Layton, the intelligence chief for the Pacific Fleet, Admiral Yamamoto decided to use Code Book A—the hidden-word code. From the A code book, he chose “*Niitaka Yama Nobore* 1208”: “Climb Mt. *Niitaka* December 8.” Japan’s foreign ministry, army, and navy each had a special hidden word code for the war’s start. “East Wind Rain,” served the foreign ministry; “The black kite, eagle, and hawk will fly December 8” was the code for the Imperial Army. See the *Niitaka* dispatch reproduced on p. 221 of this book.
 42. Joseph Christie Howard arrived in Hawaii from Station US on March 6, 1941. He had acquired the latest skills on Japanese naval radio communications and code procedures from his Washington, DC instructor Anton Novak, one of the US Navy’s brightest code breakers. Novak is on the Midway Cryptographic Honor Roll. The author’s twelve-year search for Joseph C. Howard in the naval records was difficult. He was carried on the official Navy roster of Station H as James C. Howard. Finally in May 1999 the author located him, living happily with his wife in Kent, Washington. Howard apologized for the name mix up but said it wasn’t his fault; it was the Navy’s. “And they had the guts to ask me for six thousand dollars to change the wording on a plaque at the Naval Security Group Command Headquarters from the misnamed James to Joseph,” Howard said in a telephone interview with the author.
 43. Edwin Layton provided four versions concerning the transmission (or lack thereof) of the *Niitaka* message to the 1945–46 Joint Congressional Committee investigating Pearl Harbor. He began by stating: (1) “I am being honest with you. The message was never transmitted by the Japanese” (to Senator Ferguson [R., MI], on the evening of Feb. 18, 1946. PHPT 10, p. 4906); then he said, “The message was broadcast in plain language” (to Rep. Murphy [D., PA], PHPT 10, p. 4908); then, “Message never heard or intercepted in Hawaii” (to Rep. Murphy PHPT 10, 4909); and then “We did not have the message in Hawaii” (to Rep. Murphy, PHPT 10, 4908). A fifth version appeared in his book: “[The message] was intercepted at Station SAIL and thus not available in Hawaii” (Edwin Layton, *And I Was There*, p. 242). His sixth version emerged at his Carmel, California home, November 29, 1982, when the author interviewed him for this book. The interview went well until the author asked him about these inconsistencies and his failure to pass the *Niitaka* dispatch to his boss, Admiral Kimmel. Layton became visibly angry, quickly rose from his chair, and indicated that the interview was over.
 44. Author’s telephone interviews, correspondence, and notes with Joseph Christie Howard, Kent, Washington, June 1999, in author’s file. Howard said his sine XT which appears on all his 1941 Navy intercepts, was adopted from his grandfather’s shorthand; the latter abbreviated Christie as XT (similar to Xmas).
 45. See: Hiroyuki Agawa, *The Reluctant Admiral* (Naval Institute Press, 1979), p. 244. The *Niitaka* message was drafted aboard Admiral Yamamoto’s flagship, *HIMJS Nagato*, on December 2, 1941, and released for radio

transmission at 1500 (3:00 P.M. Tokyo Time) by his chief of staff, Rear Admiral Matome Ugaki. Yamamoto had been called to Tokyo to receive an Imperial Rescript from Emperor Hirohito. The message was transmitted by the Tokyo Navy Signals Unit, whose call letters were HA FU 6. By not using the *Nagato*'s transmitter, Japan hoped to conceal Yamamoto's identity as the originator of the message. The ruse did not work. His most secret radio call sign, YO WI ØØ, was heard and identified at Stations CAST and H on December 2 and 6. Transmission of the message to the entire Japanese Navy took most of the night hours; see Kanya Miyauchi *Niitaka Yama Nobore 1208* (Tokyo: Rikkyou Shuppan, 1976), p. 19. In his four-volume history of the Pacific War, Takushiro Hattori says the *Niitaka* dispatch was sent in "clear text." See Takushiro Hattori, *Dai-Toa Senso Zenshi* (Complete History of the Greater East Asia War), 4 vols, (Tokyo: Masu Shobo, 1953), pp. 345–349 and 362. On December 2, Tokyo Time, the Imperial Japanese Army also notified its commands of the war's start using the agreed-language (hidden-meaning) code: "The black kite, eagle, and hawk will fly December 8"; see Hattori, loc. cit., pp. 348, 349. Translations for this book were made by Sean and Naemi McPherson, Japanese language translators, University of California at Berkeley.

46. In his correspondence and telephone interview with the author, Howard confirmed that he worked the midnight to eight A.M. watch on Tuesday, December 2, 1941. At the conclusion of the shift he turned over his intercepts to the watch supervisor, Elliott Okins. That was the last he saw of the intercepts until 58 years later, in June 1999 when the author asked him to authenticate the English version of his famed intercept as found in Archives II. Howard instantly recognized his sine that he had copied from his grandfather, but could not recall whether the original message was in plain Japanese or the 5–Num code. "It's been too long. I do recall copying a few Japanese plain language messages in the weeks before Pearl Harbor but I can't confirm this *Niitaka* message was among them." Howard agreed that the message was probably the most historic of World War II, for it catapulted the United States into what had been called a European war. Congress declared war on Japan, December 8, followed with declarations against Germany and Italy on December 11, 1941. Throughout the globe, it was World War II. Howard said the mystery of whether Admiral Yamamoto's start-the-war order was in plain language or in 5–Num code could easily be solved by examining the message sheet on which he typed the original text. He recalled he had worked two of the Underwood code typewriters, called RIP 5's. "One was for my operator log; the other, for the message text, was on a stand with casters that I could roll about for convenience." Telephone interviews of Joseph C. Howard by the author, June 1999, notes in author's file.
47. See author's FOIA requests directed to Admirals Studemann, McConnell, and Stevens as well as FOIAs to National Security Agency and National Archives, in author's file.
48. See author's interviews with Homer Kisner, April 1988 and April 1998, transcript, notes, audio tapes in author's file.
49. See RK's comments in SRN 115376, RG 457, Archives II. Beware of the blacked out version. Item Time, written on the intercept that is reproduced in this book on p. 221 by RK, refers to Japan Time. The ninth letter of the alphabet refers to nine hours subtracted from Greenwich Mean Time, England, hence the minus-nine time. Mount *Niitaka* is on Formosa; its 13,075-foot peak is 500 feet higher than Mount *Fuji* in Japan.
50. In telephone interviews with the author on June 15 and 28, 1999, Howard estimated it took less than five minutes to record Admiral Yamamoto's war start order directed at the United States and her allies in his log book and on the message sheet. He said that if the message was in plain language it was called Romanji by the operators at Station H. "We did not refer to the letters as *kana* in 1941," Howard said. Station CAST obtained a radio direction finder bearing on a Yamamoto radio call sign of YO WI ØØ on December 2. The identical call sign appears on the *Niitaka* message intercepted at Station H and provides circumstantial evidence that the message was available to MacArthur and Hart in Manila, see TESTM file, Station US papers, Archives II, copy in author's file. According to the Station H operator logs, Admiral Yamamoto only used the call sign, YO WI ØØ, twice during the week of December 1 to 6; once for the *Niitaka* message on December 2, the other for a message on December 6. Obviously Station CAST identified Yamamoto's call sign of YO WI ØØ from the *Niitaka* message; this indicates that it was intercepted on Corregidor by one of the operators on duty.

A major historical question is then raised: Did General MacArthur and Admiral Hart receive copies of *Niitaka*? (For MacArthur's access to intercepts obtained by Station CAST, see Note 50 below.) Captain Duane Whitlock who was one of three radio traffic analysts at CAST in December 1941, agreed that if the message was in plain Japanese he or the other analysts/cryptographers would have instantly recognized its impact and would have sounded the alarm, but he could not recall the *Niitaka* message during telephone interviews with the author in May and June 1999, notes in author's file.

Whitlock, a radioman first class in 1941, had no recollection of seeing Admiral Yamamoto's start-the-war order. Later, Whitlock, then stationed in Melbourne, Australia, was part of the American cryptographic team that in 1943 intercepted and decoded an air-flight itinerary for Admiral Yamamoto and directed US Army Air Force fighters to its path in the Solomon Islands. There the admiral's twin-engine bomber was shot down; Yamamoto died

in the crash.

51. See Elliott Okins' report in Station H monthly report under date of December 2, 1941, in RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
52. See Communications Summary for December 2, 1941, p. 2, RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
53. On March 25, 1941, Station CAST was directed to coordinate its intercept activities involving the Japanese army, navy, and diplomatic code systems with General MacArthur's intercept unit, Station SIX on Corregidor. In turn, MacArthur was ordered to use rapid means to furnish copies of all Japanese diplomatic intercepts to Station CAST, whose translators would furnish English translations directly to him. The order by Army Chief of Staff General George Marshall was: "Deliver exact translation of this message to MacArthur." See: OPNAV, released by Admiral Ingersoll, and dispatched in the Navy's GATOF code system as SECRET serial 251500, March 25, 1941, RG 38, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
54. On the conversion of the Del Monte airfields on Mindanao Island to landing strips for B-17 bombers, see the files of the MacArthur Memorial, MacArthur Square, operated by the City of Norfolk, Virginia.
55. On McMorris's "Never" comment, see PHPT 22, p. 526. For McMorris's action plan, see RG 80, PHLO file, MMRB, Archives II, and PHPT 33, p.1348.

1. See Cecil Brown, *Suez to Singapore* (Halcyon House, 1943), p. 284. Kimmel wrote that he obtained news from “the radio and newspapers,” see Husband E. Kimmel, *Admiral Kimmel’s Story*, Henry Regnery Company, 1955), p. 94. See also Admiral Kimmel’s testimony to the 1944 Navy Court of Inquiry: “I got a major part of my diplomatic information from the newspapers,” PHPT 32, p. 237.
2. For contrasting Admiral Kimmel’s statements concerning the lack of long range air search plans and the so-called unavailability of scouting aircraft on the morning of December 7, 1941, see the actual status of the long-range planes that were available to him at Pearl Harbor that morning in PHPT 24, p. 1367. He discusses Hawaiian long range search activities in his book *Admiral Kimmel’s Story*, pp. 14 ff. and 65 ff., but does not explain grounding the 54 planes that were available for long-range reconnaissance on December 7, 1941. Critics have blasted Kimmel for what they see as his perceived failure to place reconnaissance aircraft in the air. But he had an ideal defense to the charge: His orders from Washington were explicit: Stand aside and permit Japan to commit the first overt act of war. See *Admiral Kimmel’s Story*, p. 15 where he intimates that he expected Japan’s air attack would come from the North Pacific: “The type of air attack the Japs actually made was considered the most probable form such an attack would take.”
3. Unlike Japanese military messages which were hidden from Congress, the two Foreign Office messages indicating war with America and Britain on pp. 225–26 were introduced before the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack (JOINT) in 1945–46.
4. General Marshall’s December 7 message was dispatched by Western Union landlines in the United States from Washington to Oakland, California, then by RCA wireless facilities on the headlands of Marin County, north of San Francisco, to Honolulu. It reached RCA’s South King Street office in Honolulu at 7:33 A.M. An attendant telephoned to Short’s headquarters asking for delivery instructions. No one answered the phone, so the message was dispatched by motorcycle messenger to Fort Shafter. The messenger arrived at the US Army’s Fort Shafter at 11:45 A.M. Decoding delays ensued and the message was not delivered directly to General Short until 2:58 P.M. He then sent a copy to Admiral Kimmel, who threw it in a wastebasket: “It is not of the slightest interest to me now.” For delivery time to Fort Shafter in Honolulu, see PHPT 9, p. 4404; see also General Walter Short’s papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, CA.
5. Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo’s memo was dated Tokyo Time. See PHPT 12, p. 238.
6. The “thirteen-part” message was actually one message, broken into thirteen parts by the wireless firms for transmissions purposes; see the thirteen-part message 902 in PHPT 12, pp. 239–245. In 1941, wireless messages were divided into groups of fifty words (or code groups) for ease of transmission, then dispatched over the airwaves. Apparently the thirteen-part message contains 650 words or encoded groups of five letters each. In their testimony given to the 1945–46 Joint Congressional Investigation into Pearl Harbor, neither Kramer nor Schulz fully described the items contained in their presidential deliveries, nor did they clarify whether or not there were military intercepts in the pouch. In 1941 the naval aide’s office was located in the mail room of what is now the Old Executive Office Building, adjacent to the west wing of the White House.
7. See PHPT 12, pp. 239 ff., for a complete English translation of the fourteen-part message. For Francis M. Brotherhood’s testimony on intercepts 380 and 381, see PHPT 33, pp. 843 ff. See also Station SAIL December 1941 report, p. 2, RG 187, A-6 secret file, National Archives, Seattle, copy in author’s file.
8. For Lester Schulz’ testimony to the Joint Congressional Investigating Committee in 1946, see PHPT 10, p. 4663.
9. During the Congressional hearings in 1946, Senator Homer Ferguson praised Lieut. Cmdr. Kramer: “At least we had someone running that night,” see PHPT 9, p. 4043.
10. For the English text of message 381 (Part 14), see PHPT 12, p. 245.
11. See John Beardall, PHPT 11, pp. 5287 ff. Chief White House Usher Howell Crim did not record the Saturday night visit of Lester Schulz. Instead the White House Usher Book records the Roosevelts as hosting a dinner for 34 persons, highlighted by a violin concert by Arthur LeBlanc, which ended at 10:55 P.M. The December 7 Usher Book does not record Beardall’s 10:00 A.M. arrival/delivery. The record begins at 12:30 P.M. listing a visit by the Chinese Ambassador. FDR and Harry Hopkins were served lunch in the Oval Study at 1:15 P.M. which was 7:45 A.M. in Hawaii. The first bomb drops were ten minutes away. White House Usher Books, FDRL, copy in author’s file.
12. Admiral Stark’s version of the midnight telephone call is suspect. During his initial testimony to the Congressional investigation, he denied having a telephone conversation with the President Saturday night: “To the best of my

- knowledge and belief, the President did not call me that night,” PHPT 11, p. 5157. But when his flag secretary contradicted Stark’s account, the admiral admitted his telephone conversation with Roosevelt. Throughout his Congressional Pearl Harbor testimony Stark was evasive and defensive on 343 occasions using such phrases as “I do not know” and “I’m not clear, I’m hazy.” He invoked “I can’t recall” 160 times. The author’s compilations are based on Stark’s testimony before the Joint Congressional Investigating committee on December 31, 1945 and January 2, 3, 4, and 5, 1946, in PHPT 5, p. 2096; April 9, and 11, 1946, PHPT 11, p. 5153. For President Roosevelt’s reported quote, “Relations with Japan are very critical,” see PHPT 11, pp. 5543, 5546, 5557.
13. See testimony of Colonel Rufus Bratton to the Joint Congressional Investigating Committee, February 1946 PHPT 10, p. 4615 ff.
 14. For the Army Pearl Harbor Board’s conclusion regarding General Marshall, see PHPT 3, p. 1469.
 15. See the sworn affidavit of General Walter Bedell Smith dated June 15, 1945 at Frankfurt am Main, and included as part of the Clausen Pearl Harbor Investigation, in PHPT 35, p. 90.
 16. For the Keefe-Murphy quarrel of December 13, 1945, see PHPT 3, p. 1560.
 17. For the Army Pearl Harbor Board testimony of Pvt. George Elliott, see PHPT 27, pp. 517 ff., for Pvt. Joseph Lockard, see loc. cit., p. 526 ff.
 18. For the testimony of Pvt. Joseph McDonald, see PHPT 29, pp. 2121 ff.
 19. For Lieutenant Kermit A. Tyler’s testimony on hearing Hawaiian music over a local radio station about 4:00 A.M. on Sunday December 7, 1941, see his testimony to the Navy Court of Inquiry, August 17, 1944, PHPT 32, p. 344. Tyler’s claim that an unnamed Hawaiian radio station provided a beacon for arriving US mainland aircraft by broadcasting music during the early morning hours is suspect. Both Honolulu radio stations went off the air at their regular closing time of 11:00 P.M. Saturday night. They resumed broadcasts at 6:00 A.M. Sunday morning with public service programming that included church services, according to the technician logs of KGMB and KGU and schedules published in the *Star-Bulletin* on December 6, 1941. See the KGMB and KGU technician logs, Hamilton Library, Manoa Campus, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.
 20. For Lieutenant General Walter Short’s directive placing US Army early warning radar in operation at 4:00 A.M. on Sunday December 7, 1941, see standing operating procedure, US Army Hawaiian Department, dated 5 November 1941, pp. 1–20 in the Walter Short papers, Box 1–2, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, California. See also testimony concerning the hours of operation of the US Army’s Hawaiian early warning radar by Colonel Bernard Thielen to the Joint Committee Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, November 15, 1945, PHPT 1, p. 39.
 21. For Lt. Gen. Walter Short’s “most dangerous time” quote, see the Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.
 22. For Kermit Tyler’s quote “only officer present,” see his testimony to the Roberts Commission, January 1942, PHPT 22, pp. 220 ff., also his testimony to the Army Pearl Harbor Board in 1944, PHPT 27, pp. 566 ff.
 23. For Major Kenneth Berquis’s statement that his mind was not clear on what he did the morning of December 7, 1941, see his testimony to the Roberts Commission, PHPT 22, p. 231 ff.
 24. Lt. General George Grunert’s “cock-eyed” quote followed Kermit Tyler’s testimony concerning the Opana radar debacle. See the Army Pearl Harbor Board Proceedings of August 17, 1944, PHPT 27, pp. 571, 572:
GRUNERT: Then it appears that the organization seemed to be faulty, and its instruction faulty, and there seemed to be a lack of organization and common sense and reason on this. You went up there to do duty as a pursuit officer in the information center. There was nobody to do the work with, because the controller was not there, and the Navy liaison man wasn’t there, and probably some others were missing, so you couldn’t do your duty, as a pursuit officer, because there was nobody to do duty with; and then, at the end of the tour at 7 o’clock, everybody disappeared except the telephone operator and you, and the telephone operator remained there for apparently no reason. You had no particular duty, did you?
TYLER: No sir; we hadn’t.
GRUNERT: It seems all cock-eyed to me and that, on the record, too.
 25. For details on USS *Ward* and USS *Condor* sighting and depth-charging a Japanese midget sub, see PHPT 39, p. 496. For the radio report on the depth charge by USS *Ward*, see PHPT 37, p. 704.
 26. For the testimony of William Outerbridge of USS *Ward*, see PHPT 36, pp. 55 ff.
 27. For the “broken out of bunk” testimony of Lieut. Oliver Underkofler, see PHPT 36, p. 276.
 28. For a discussion of the total loss of the five Japanese midget subs, see PHPT 23, p. 1034.
 29. For the testimony of Lt. Cdr. Harold Kaminski, duty officer of the Fourteenth Naval District, see PHPT 11, p. 5293.
 30. For Admirals Kimmel and Bloch being notified of the submarine report, see PHPT 13, p. 491.

1. For Kimmel and Short's golf date, see PHPT 32, p. 283.
2. Death toll on the *Arizona* was 1,177 persons killed; for the Navy damage report, see PHPT 24, p. 1603.
3. At least seven torpedoes and two bomb hits struck the *West Virginia*, killing Captain Bennion. For damage to the *West Virginia*, see Vice Admiral Homer N. Wallin, *Pearl Harbor: Why, How, Fleet Salvage and Final Appraisal* (USGPO Naval History Division, 1968), p. 233; for death of Bennion, see *ibid.*, p. 155.
4. Some 2,334 persons were killed in Hawaii by the December 7 attack, per the US Naval Chronology World War II (USGPO, 1955), p. 13. A revised US Navy casualty figure was released by Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King in 1946 (but dated April 23, 1944) listing US Navy and Marine Corps losses at 2117 persons killed and 960 persons missing; see Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, *The US Navy At War* (USGPO US Navy Department, 1946), p. 11. There were 68 deaths on Guam, per the report of Captain George J. McMillin (Navy governor of Guam in 1941, taken as a POW by Japan) to the Secretary of the Navy, dated September 11, 1945. McMillin wrote that there were 427 American military and 381 Guamanians involved in the island's defense on December 8, 1941 (Guam Time). For McMillin's letter and enclosures, see Guam file, RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file. For casualties at Wake, see report of Edwin Layton to Admiral Chester Nimitz, dated September 17, 1942 in RG 80 PHLO, MMRB, Archives II. POW deaths are not included here, nor are Philippine casualties.
5. For account of the attack given by Commander Mitsuo Fuchida to Lieutenant Commander James A. Field, Jr., on October 10, 1945, see the transcript in United States Strategic Bombing Survey, *Interrogations of Japanese Officials*, Volume I (USGPO, 1946), p. 122.
6. On Lawrence McCutcheon, see Rich Pedroncelli, "Pearl Harbor, The First to Fall," *Naval History*, (December 1996), p. 56. See also Gordon Prange's interview with Jinichi Goto in *At Dawn We Slept* (McGraw Hill Book Company, 1981), pp. 509, 819. For the attack on the *Maryland*, see PHPT 1, p. 45.
7. For Rear Admiral Walter Anderson's account of December 7, 1941, see Wallin, *Pearl Harbor*, pp. 152 ff.
8. For Chief Boatswain's Mate Lewis W. Adkins, see *ibid.*, pp. 157, 326.
9. For heroic actions of John B. Vaessen, see *ibid.*, pp. 148, 178.
10. For damage details, refloating warships etc., see *ibid.* See also the testimony of Rear Admiral T. B. Inglis and Colonel Bernard Thielen to the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack, in PHPT 1, p. 26 ff.
11. See December 7, 1941 logs of the Honolulu Fire and Police Departments, Hawaiian War Records, Hamilton Library, Manoa Campus, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, copies in author's file. For civilian deaths and injuries, see the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin*, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd extra editions, University of California, Doe Library, newspaper room, Berkeley, California, also copies in author's file. Wallin, *Pearl Harbor*, lists sixteen capital ships with major damage: *USS California*, *West Virginia*, *Pennsylvania*, *Oklahoma*, *Arizona*, *Utah*, *Maryland*, *Tennessee*, *Raleigh*, *Curtiss*, *Oglala*, *Shaw*, *Vestal*, *Honolulu*, *Downes*, and *Cassin*. Under the category of "destroyed or never to fight again": *Arizona*, *Utah*, *Shaw*, and *Oklahoma*. Machinery was removed from the *Downes* and the *Cassin* and installed in new hulls at Mare Island Navy Shipyard, Vallejo, California.
12. For the US Army radar plot indicating Japanese aircraft were tracked north, see testimony of Colonel Bernard Thielen in PHPT 1, pp. 141 ff. For Admiral Nagumo's disclosure that Pacific Fleet aircraft pursued the First Air Fleet, see his report transmitted to Admiral Yamamoto on December 17, 1941 in RG 457, SRN 115372, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
13. For Radioman 1/c Donovan Chase's written comments, see the Station H operator log for December 8, 1941, Tokyo Time, pp. 144 ff., RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II. According to Chase's log, the Japanese pilots transmitted on 6581 kilocycles and used plain Japanese, not navy code. Chase translated Japanese to English in the log. Author interview with Donovan Chase, January 15, 1988, Santa Rosa, California, audio tape and transcript in author's file. At about this time, Airman 1/c Shigenori Nishikaichi, a fighter pilot on the *Hiryu*, crash-landed on Niihau, a privately owned 18-mile-long island off Kauai's west coast. Nishikaichi briefly seized the island but an unarmed resident, Ben Kanahale, grabbed the pilot and threw him against a rock wall. The airman died instantly. See Alan Beekman, *The Niihau Incident* (Heritage Press of Pacific, 1982), pp. 25 ff.
14. See the original copy of the US Army's Opana tracking chart, General Walter Short Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, California. The Opana site was located on Kahuku Point at the northeast corner of Oahu. See the map of Oahu on p. 64 of this book.
15. For reports on the shooting down of a Japanese fighter by two scout planes from the USS *Northampton*, see PHPT 1,

p. 61; PHPT 24, p. 1607; PHPT 37, pp. 955, 1220, 1252.

1. See report in *Chicago Tribune*, December 18, 1941; see report in *The Capital*, December 19, 1941.
2. For Senator Vandenberg's proposal, see an abridged version of a letter written by Vandenberg to FDR on December 15, 1941, Arthur H. Vandenberg Jr., ed. *The Private Papers of Arthur Vandenberg* (Houghton Mifflin, 1953), p. 24; for Vandenberg's Civil War quote excised from the December 15, 1941 letter just cited, see PHPT 24, p. 1298. Vandenberg, briefly an isolationist candidate for president, survived the 1940 New Deal election sweep.
3. See Max Freedman, ed., *Roosevelt and Frankfurter* (Atlantic Little, Brown, 1967), p. 644, entry of January 17, 1942.
4. For the full report entitled *Proceedings of the Roberts Commission*, see PHPTs 22 and 23 (testimony) and 24 (exhibits) printed in the *Report of the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack* (Congress of the United States, 1946). Available at most major libraries.
5. See the United Press story by Joseph L. Myler, that appeared in the *Oakland Tribune* and other major Sunday papers, on January 25, 1942.
6. For condemnation of the Roberts Report by Admiral James Richardson, *On The Treadmill to Pearl Harbor* (Department of the Navy, Navy History Division, 1973), p. 453.
7. Congress "never got the full story," see Max Freedman, ed., *Roosevelt and Frankfurter*, p. 645.
8. For Admiral Leigh Noyes's "destruction order" see PHPT 10, p. 4739; Captain Laurance Safford testified that Admiral Noyes was concerned with spread of rumors and, according to Safford, told him, "If you have got any notes or anything in writing, destroy them because somebody might see them and start something which you don't intend," PHPT 8, p. 3571.
9. See McCollum's memorandum printed in Appendix A of this book.
10. For Fleet Admiral Ernest King's order see CNO Serial 182206, September 17, 1945; RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB, Archives II, copy in author's file.
11. See Proceedings of the Thurmond-Spence hearing, April 27, 1995, tape and official transcript by the United States Senate Armed Services Committee, transcript furnished author by Husband E. Kimmel II, grandson of the Admiral.
12. For Honigman's testimony, see transcript of the Thurmond-Spence probe, April 27, 1995, p. 9 ff., copy in author's file.
13. See the report dated December 15, 1995, issued by Undersecretary of Defense Edwin Dorn, Department of Defense, The Pentagon, copy in author's file. On May 25, 1999, the US Senate in a split vote "cleared" Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and Lieutenant Walter C. Short of dereliction of duty charges. See *New York Times*, p. A-26, May 26, 1999.
14. For John Taylor not listed or reported as a witness, see *ibid*.

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[\[back\]](#) [Roosevelt](#)

F.D.R.

By [Eustace Mullins](#)

One of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's ancestors was Isaac Roosevelt, first director of the New York Trust after the Revolutionary War, when Alexander Hamilton betrayed our young Republic by funding the national debt and placing us in the hands of Jewish financiers in France and Holland.

As a young Harvard lawyer, FDR found himself one of the poorer Roosevelts. Old ex-President Theodore Roosevelt was living in comfort in Oyster Bay, after having made thirty-five million dollars profit in gold from the United States Treasury in one operation for J.P. Morgan Co. (Rothschild) & J. & W. Seligman Co., New York, when he purchased the Panama Canal. When he sued the *New York World* for libel for printing some of the more interesting particulars of this case, the United States Supreme Court unanimously threw out Roosevelt's suit.

His son, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., was to do his bit for the family honor by acting as finger man in the hundred million dollar swindle, the Teapot Dome oil scandals of 1924. Despite the fact that he was publicized as the man who got Harding to sign the oil-land release to Sinclair, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, formerly director of Sinclair Oil Co., was not even called to testify at the Congressional Hearings. In Some unexplained manner, this distinguished American became a General in the United States Army, and, venturing too near the front lines in France during the Second World War, heard a gun go off nearby and fell dead of a heart attack, thus vindicating the fighting tradition of his family.

F.D. Roosevelt was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1915 by the Christian Jew Woodrow Wilson (Wolfsohn), who was determined to fill Washington with his own tribe. In this position, Roosevelt endeared himself to Jewish munitions makers by spending four times the allotted amount for naval armaments, when he and his Zionist friends knew two years before anyone else that we were going into the First World War. Roosevelt's reward came in 1923, when Baruch made him the head of United European Investors, Ltd., which made millions of dollars profit from the mark inflation in Germany. Thus Roosevelt had his first taste of Profiting from the misery of the poor, a sensation dear to the heart of every Hebrew usurer.

Roosevelt then set up his Wall Street law firm of Roosevelt and O'Connor, which did remarkably well, but he was intended by the Sanhedrin for higher things. He was made Governor of New York in 1928, when he helped sabotage the campaign of Al Smith for President in favor of the Rothschild candidate Herbert Hoover, who has an interesting history of suits against him in the law courts of London. Hoover's talent for keeping out of jail is one

of the marvels of the twentieth century, and is documented by no less than five biographies, complete with photostats of court records, in the Library of Congress. This writer is fortunate enough to own two of these rare and fascinating volumes, which he prizes highly in his collection of obscure Americana.

As Governor of New York Roosevelt displayed his passion for justice in the famous case of John Broderick. Broderick, State Superintendent of Banks of New York, was tried for criminal neglect of duty in the infamous Bank of the United States case, when depositors lost many thousands of dollars after the bank failed due to its Jewish officers overspeculating in Central Park West real estate. It was brought out at the trial that Broderick was aware of the serious difficulties of the Bank and did nothing about it. He seemed certain to go to prison, when the White Knight of World Jewry, F.D. Roosevelt, came in person to plead clemency for Broderick. The Judge was forced to bow to a superior political figure, and Broderick went free. Roosevelt flaunted his defiance of the depositors by immediately reinstating Broderick as State Superintendent of Banks. Not satisfied with this, Roosevelt again proved which side of the law he was on by appointing Broderick a Governor of the Federal Reserve Board of the United States, on that unhappy occasion when a misguided people elected this Zionist traitor President. Broderick has retired to a comfortable old age as President of the venerable East River savings Bank of New York City, after a career of public service in the democratic tradition.

The interests which forced Roosevelt's candidacy on the Democratic Party in 1932 have never been made public, but it is significant that they were such a dangerous group of revolutionists that at first even Baruch refused to be associated with the Roosevelt movement. My history of the Council on Foreign Relations proves by extensive documentation that international Jewish bankers elected Roosevelt President for one reason only, the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States, for which Felix Warburg and Otto Kahn of Kuhn, Loeb Co., had struggled so hard throughout the 1920s. Roosevelt's predecessor, Herbert Hoover, had steadily refused to aid the Soviet Union. One of his London promotion schemes before the First World War had been interrupted by the Jewish Communists, and he never forgot it. Roosevelt, on the other hand, was only too happy to recognize and prove his loyalty to the Jewish Communist Government of Russia. He was always willing to do anything to please his friends. In return, of course, it was understood that they should do anything to please him, such as contribute large sums to his multi-million dollar infantile charity racket. The *March of Dimes* which his law partner Basil O'Connor inherited upon Roosevelt's sudden death at its headquarters at Warm Springs, Georgia. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that Roosevelt's mysterious death had nothing to do with world revolution at all, but was merely a gangster's quarrel over the division of the spoils, it being in the spring, when the *Miles of Dimes* were converted into stacks of dollars, after an unusually successful attack upon the purses of our generous people.

Roosevelt fulfilled his debt of gratitude to Jewish Communism by assigning important Government posts in Washington to leading Communist agitators and spies, such as his famous protege Alger Hiss.

One of Roosevelt's first great feats as President was the gigantic gold swindle which he and Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau put through, the Gold Trading Act of 1934, which officially committed our government to support Jewish bankers in their manipulation of the price of gold. After a stiff fight with the Supreme Court, Roosevelt jammed through this bit of treachery, because, as Morgenthau said, "If the Supreme Court had decided against us, we had legislation ready to push through Congress which would have given us the same result." This Morgenthau is the son of the Henry Morgenthau who paid Woodrow Wilson's way into the White House in 1912 so that Wilson could send him as U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, where World Zionists were completing the details of the Communist Revolution in Russia.

Morgenthau was also the author of the infamous Morgenthau Plan to wipe out the German people in 1944, which was broadcast to the German armies and caused the lives of thousands of American boys to be sacrificed because the Germans were warned what would happen after they surrendered. This Plan, so determined in its ruthlessness that it aroused the horror of the civilized world, is typical of Jewish Communist efforts to slaughter whole peoples.

<http://www.yamaguchy.netfirms.com/7897401/mullins/fdr.html>

此れこそ真珠湾攻撃の真相だ





"In politics,
nothing happens by accident.
If it happens,
you can bet
it was planned that way."
F.D.R.

COVER DESIGN BY DAVID K. LOBENBERG

Lobenberg recieved his masters degree in graphic design from the University of California at Los Angeles. Mr. Lobenberg's explosive cover reflects his unique talent in working with the author to graphically depict the essence of global deceit and hypocrisy.

THE WAR LORDS OF WASHINGTON (secrets of Pearl Harbor)

An Interview With Col. Curtis Dall

by Anthony J. Hilder



長崎原爆

This book is dedicated to the innocent men, women and children who were mass-murdered in the most vicious atrocities in the History of Mankind — the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; to the men of Pearl Harbor whose "lives were sacrificed" to set the stage for World War II; and to the "brave men" who gallantly fought and died on "both" sides of the conflict believing that their blood was shed in the pursuit of freedom.

By presenting this document to the Freedom Loving People of Japan, exposing the events which led to World War II, it is our prayer that we can prevent World War III.

Whatever the cost, we will destroy the "conspirators", whose crimes are against humanity . . . for freedom to live they must die. Never in the annals of human history have so few done so much, so often, to hurt so many as the International Bankers and their War Lords of Washington.



PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Over the past two-and-one-half decades, the American people have heard a number of stories concerning the event known to history as Pearl Harbor, which launched American involvement in World War Two.

For one thing, attempts have been made in the past to portray President Franklin Delano Roosevelt as a man who deliberately invited the Japanese attack, so as to allow him to get the United States into war on a solid footing.

Others have said other things.

Some historians have attempted to gloss over the whole affair, portraying Roosevelt's role in the great tragedy as merely that of a well meaning man who accidentally found himself in a very bad position. Still others have alleged that he not only knew full well exactly what the Japanese were doing, but that he, in fact, conspired with them to bring on the Pearl Harbor catastrophe.

A third group insists that Roosevelt and his many pro-Communist advisors wanted to involve America in the war

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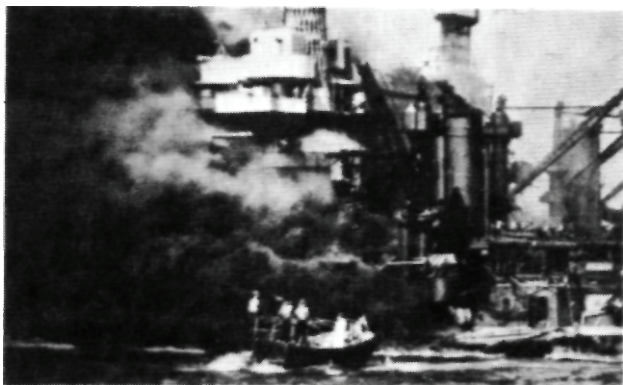
against Germany—so that Russia could grab all of Eastern Europe—but that the Japanese did not know, when they launched their attack on Hawaii, that they were being used as the catalyst.

This book is an attempt to set the record straight, once and for all.

Col. Curtis Dall, interviewed here by National Educator reporter Anthony Hilder, is the former son-in-law of the late President, who was privy to many of the secret maneuvers that went on in the White House and in the State Department at that time. Better than any other living American, Dall is able to put the entire affair into proper perspective—laying the blame where it properly belongs.

Some will disagree with his conclusions—for reasons best known to themselves—but none can deny his facts.

THE PUBLISHER



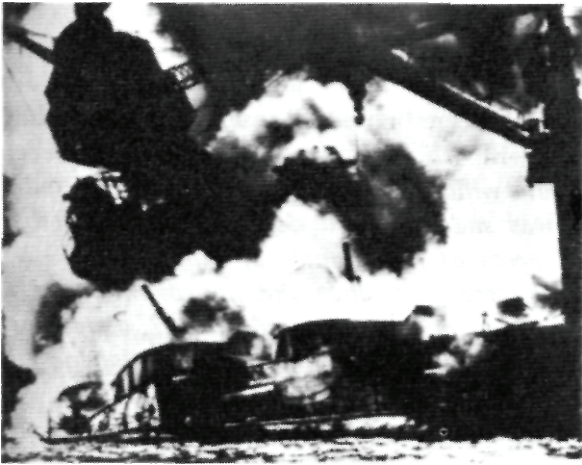
COLONEL DALL'S INTRODUCTION

I welcome this opportunity to bring you the true story of the events which led to the attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. This attack was not only provoked but welcomed by the International Banking Cartelists and their agents working within the higher echelon of government within the United States. It was fully known—well in advance with enough notice to have averted the catastrophe which fell upon the peace-loving people of both our great nations. These same International Banking Cartelists conspire for a world dictatorship through a one-world U.N. type government, with an international police force and a one-world currency . . . not for the emancipation of man but the enslavement of mankind. They seek to downgrade and destroy the great culture and heritage of Japan and America. Under the guise of promoting world peace, they deliberately brought on world war. These same international war conspirators and their agents deliberately delayed the end of World War II so they could set up the fall of China to Mao Tse-Tung. While building your enemy on the Chinese mainland, they surrendered eastern Europe to international communism.

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They deliberately extended the war to allow the Red Russian butchers to take over North Korea—they then sold Japan's Sakhalin Island and your Kurile Islands to the North into slavery, so as to give them a strategic stranglehold at your throat. It was these international war conspirators, closely associated with the Council on Foreign Relations in the United States, that ordered the dropping of the atomic bomb at Hiroshima and Nagasaki which mass-murdered innocent men, women and children and burned babies alive in their cribs. This wanton atrocity was surpassed only by the massacre of Dresden. I will show that the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were ordered after—I repeat, after the Japanese government had made official overtures for peace.

Colonel Curtis B. Dall
Chairman Emeritus
Board of Policy
Liberty Lobby, Washington, D. C.



ADVANCE COMMENTARY

MR. HILDER: It was Monday, December 8, 1941, Japan time, and Sunday, December 7, 1941, American time—7:55 in the morning. At this moment, Pearl Harbor, the U.S. Naval Station on the Hawaiian Islands, was suddenly awakened with the roar of 54 Japanese dive bombers, 45 fighter planes, 40 torpedo bombers, and 50 low-level bombers. At 8:00 a.m. the U.S. Military Band started playing the STAR SPANGLED BANNER, as simultaneously, the first air torpedo hit. At 8:10 a.m., the battleship ARIZONA blew up. It seems the bomb landed alongside the second turret, crashed through the forecastle ... a huge ball of fire and smoke mushroomed 500 feet into the air. By 8:50 a.m., a second wave of 35 fighters, and 135 low-level dive bombers converged on Pearl Harbor.

The attack took the Commanding Officers, Admiral Husband E. Kimmel and General Walter C. Short, and their men and ships, by complete surprise.

On Monday, December 8, at 12:29, President Roosevelt was in the Nation's Capitol Building where all Representatives,

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Senators, Cabinet Members, and Supreme Court Justices of the U.S. had been invited—Roosevelt grasped the podium beginning with this sentence: "Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by Naval and Air Forces of the Empire of Japan. . . . I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December 7, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire,"

Colonel Dall, why do you feel it imperative that the people of Japan hear this message?

COL. DALL: Because it was the Pearl Harbor attack that brought America into the Second World War via a devious backdoor route, as it were, and from the War. America and Japan received nothing but casualties, debt, and loss. While Soviet Russia and their international Socialistic Dictatorship won half of Europe and Asia. We in America got nothing from it except 292,000 dead, 672,000 wounded, and a bill for about 350 billion dollars or about 1 26 trillion yen. As for Japan the near total destruction of the Japanese Empire concluded with the atrocities at Hiroshima and Nagasaki which were unparalleled in the history of the earth. Instead of World Peace, we got World War with various brush-fire wars—like Korea in 1950 and Vietnam since 1961. And now, more souped-up rumblings and power-plays in the Near East. For these reasons. I have concerned myself with Pearl Harbor, and have studied its background and the make-up of the forces that planned it.

MR. HILDER: Aside from the information you obtained within the inner circle of America's high government officials, did your "concern" cause you to investigate beyond Washington in the search for the true story of Pearl Harbor?

COL. DALL: Yes, on February 13, 1967, I was fortunate to have had a long talk with retired Admiral Husband A. Kimmel, the Commanding Officer at Pearl Harbor on that fatal day, December 7, 1941, who invited me to his home in Groton, Connecticut, for this purpose. This occasion was about twenty-six years later.

MR. HILDER: From your talk with Admiral Kimmel, and from your own research, Colonel, what problems must be explored with regard to Pearl Harbor?

COL. DALL: An American must look at that event from two angles. Most Americans will feel that, no matter how explained, or attempted to be explained, it remains, on the part of Japan, a surprise military attack on the United States, in violation of International Law, an attack that left 3303 of our forces dead, and 1272 wounded. These men were not alerted, and were completely unprepared to defend themselves! The second angle is a study to evaluate just what forces in America connived to provoke the attack, and planned it so as to force the United States to declare war against Japan. Such a declaration would have to include Germany and Italy, by the terms of the 1940 Tripartite Treaty. That fact was well understood by our State Department as well as the international bankers.

MR. HILDER: Then, you believe it is a crime of astronomical proportions that this attack was allowed to take place. But can we rightly assume that the Japanese Government did not wish the death of these men and only the destruction of the United States fleet?

COL. DALL: We, Americans, recognize that the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor was not primarily directed at people.

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or at civilian centers, but for our men in uniform it surely was a complete and fatal surprise. When they finally realized that the crashing bombs were from Japanese aircraft, according to Walter Lord: "A seaman on the destroyer MONAGHAN told Boatswain's Mate, Thomas Donahue, 'Hell, I didn't even know they were sore at us!' "

MR. HILDER: Every patriotic American living felt the crushing impact of our great losses, but to believe that there were those in our own government that provoked such an act staggers the imagination. Will you expand upon the second angle?

COL. DALL: As briefly indicated, that second angle presents the reasonable question of just how a surprise of such magnitude was possible. An American recalls Tennyson's line in his "Charge of the Light Brigade" - surely "Someone had blundered." But, what is more, it was far more than what might be termed a blunder—that, instead, it had been duly planned that way.

MR. HILDER: Then you mean, Colonel Dall, that some powerful Americans—and some forces in America—had secretly worked to bring about the Pearl Harbor attack?

COL. DALL: I certainly do! That is just what famous historians like Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes and Professor Charles Callan Tansil and military men like Admiral Robert A. Theobald and Admiral Husband E. Kimmel have also concluded.

MR. HILDER: Would you please give us some specific evidence which these experts cite?

COL. DALL: Yes, indeed! For example, in the best laid plans, someone is quite likely to "spill the beans." That is exactly what the then Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, did in his diary entry for November 25, 1941. SECRETARY STIMSON stated: "The question was how we should maneuver them (the Japanese) into firing the first shot, without allowing too much damage to ourselves. It was a difficult proposition."

MR. HILDER: That's a stunning confession coming from a member of what has been called America's invisible government—the Council on Foreign Relations. Colonel, why would they want to entice or maneuver Japan into firing the first shot?

COL. DALL: Let me say that upon reviewing the description of that fateful conference of November 25, 1941, held at the White House, I find it heart-breaking to perceive that the strategy of my former father-in-law, President Roosevelt, and his close associates, was chiefly concerned with machinations - Not to maintain and preserve the peace but to set up or create "an incident," thereby involving the United States in a war with Japan! This would enable him to enter the war in Europe via the "back-door"! The realization, on his part, that the American people did not want war with Japan, and therefore, he and his backers must have it inflicted upon them at any cost, is most shocking! Hence, the factor of deceit entered the picture, and the necessary act of creating "an incident" to arouse great indignation, and an emotional outburst by the American people, became necessary! This dubious mantle had to be placed adroitly upon the shoulders of Japan. That was what Mr. Stimson referred to when he termed it "a difficult proposition."

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The "proposition" had been made all the more difficult because the leader of the German people did not want a war with America, and refused to fall into the "trap" prepared by President Roosevelt and his ideological and political handlers. For the most part, they constituted some top one-world bankers, and their top pro-Zionist friends, who wanted to see Communist forces firmly controlling Germany, politically and financially, regrettably, for millions and millions of people, however, the "trap" was neatly baited, and Japan fell into it!

MR. HILDER: That answers the question why they wanted to maneuver Japan into the war. But, why did Secretary Stimson say it was "a difficult proposition" to do so?

COL. DALL: It was difficult because Japan and its Foreign Minister, Toyoda, in Washington - and Ambassador Nomura, as well as a Special Emissary Saburo Kurusu were sincerely endeavoring to work out a formula for peace with the United States and Britain. Even our own Ambassador, Joseph C. Grew, in Tokyo, when he forwarded Minister Toyoda's proposals to Secretary Hull, pleaded "(I urge) with all force at (my) command, for the sake of avoiding the obviously growing possibility of an utterly futile war between Japan and the United States, that this Japanese proposal not be turned aside without very prayerful consideration . . . The opportunity is here presented . . . for an act of highest statesmanship . . . with the possible overcoming thereby of apparently insurmountable obstacles for peace hereafter in the Pacific.

MR. HILDER: Was Secretary Hull a member of the Council on Foreign Relations as well?

COL. DALL: Most certainly.

MR. HILDER: What was the nature of these Japanese terms?

COL. DALL: On October 7, Foreign Minister Toyoda had told Ambassador Grew: (Minister Toyoda) "The Japanese Government is willing and prepared to return to the situation prevailing four years ago but it is essential that the Government of the United States of America should understand that to undo virtually at a moment's notice the work of the past four years is an undertaking of tremendous scope."

In effect, Japan re-stated the terms Minister Matsuoka and Prince Konoye had offered Washington in November 1940 through Bishop James E. Walsh, who was released from a Red Chinese prison in July 1970. Professor Tansill states: "Matsuoka asked Bishop James E. Walsh, Superior General of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of Mary knoll, New York . . . to undertake a special mission to Washington in order to impress upon the President the fact that the Japanese Government 'wished to negotiate a peace agreement: An agreement to nullify their participation in the Axis Pact' . . . a guarantee to recall all military forces from China and to restore to China its geographical and political integrity."

Apparently, President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull chose to completely ignore these conciliatory "renunciations of Japan's objectives in China" in November, 1940, and rejected those of October, 1941, with what amounted to a ten-point ultimatum! Four years later, on November 15, 1945, Secretary Stimson, when testifying before a Congressional

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Investigating Committee, describes that top-secret meeting of President Roosevelt on November 25, 1941, at the White House, with Secretaries Stimson, Hull, Knox, General Marshall and Admiral Stark: (SECRETARY STIMSON) "The President said that the Japanese were notorious for making an attack without warning . . . In spite of the risk involved, however, in letting the Japanese fire the first shot, we realized that in order to have the full support of the American people, it was desirable to make sure that the Japanese be the ones to do this ..."

Following that secret top level meeting, Secretary Hull, the next day-November 26, 1941, rejected Japan's conciliatory offer with a ten-point bellicose battery of demands, of which Professor Tansill writes: Both he and the President knew this program would be rejected by Japan. There was no thought of compromise or conciliation. In effect (it ordered:) 'The Government of Japan will withdraw all military, naval, air and police forces from China and from Indochina.'... It was obvious that the next step was war."

I will show, later, that these ultimate points had been outlined for Secretary Hull by Secretary Henry Morgenthau's Assistant, Harry Dexter White, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, who was later proved to be an agent of the Communist Party.

MR. HILDER: Was Morgenthau a member of the Council on Foreign Relations?

COL. DALL: Most definitely! As foreseen by the President and his Cabinet. Emissary Kurusu, on seeing this harsh note, complained to Secretary Hall that this could be interpreted as tantamount to meaning the end." As a consequence, on

December 6, the Japanese secretly sent their reply to Ambassador Nomura. Because our Intelligence had broken the so-called "Purple Code," it intercepted and decoded it. When President Roosevelt had read the first thirteen of its fourteen points, he correctly interpreted them in the words: "This means war!"

Of course, it did! Because, along with others, he had planned it that way.

MR. HILDER: Would you repeat that, Colonel?

COL. DALL: Yes. I said he planned it that way.

HR. HILDER: Was President Roosevelt a member of the Council of Foreign Relations too?

COL. DALL: Yes. At 9:00 a.m. on that Sunday morning, December 7, some four hours before the surprise attack, Admiral Stark got the fourteenth point of the Japanese reply in his office, he exclaimed to General Marshall, who was there with him: (Admiral Stark) "My God! This means war. I must get to Kimmel at once. "

MR. HILDER: If he had gotten the word to Admiral Kimmel, by phone, couldn't the surprise attack have been averted?

COL. DALL: Yes, I believe so! Admiral Robert A. Theobald called the fact that it was not done - "the Final Secret of Pearl Harbor." Some strong power, or pressure, not fully revealed to the American public, prevented Admiral Stark from properly and immediately alerting Admiral Kimmel! Kimmel, himself, told me: "Stark then said to Marshall: 'We

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must radio Kimmel, and alert him.' "Marshall overruled him and replied: Let's not! It might be detected by the Japanese and complicate things. I'll wire him later.' And he finally did just that, by means of regular commercial telegram . . . no urgency, no priority. Two hours, approximately, after all the bombs had fallen, I did receive Marshall's wire. "

MR. HILDER: Was Marshall a member of the Council of Foreign Relations too?

COL. DALL: Most certainly - yes.

MR. HILDER: This act would seem to negate all reason. General Marshall actually vetoed the alert for the reason that "it might be detected by the Japanese and complicate things?" This sounds very strange.

COL. DALL: Very strange, indeed! As previously stated, his reason reveals the calculated and ruthless tactics by which President Roosevelt and his top Council on Foreign Relations advisors and associates maneuvered to get us into World War II, against the strong wishes and desires of the American people.

Admiral Kimmel further explains: "Colonel Dall, this may further surprise you, but I found out later that the Japanese Task Force approaching Pearl Harbor had specific orders that if the American forces at Pearl Harbor became alerted before the attack was launched, their Task Force was to return at once to Japanese waters, without attacking!" This readily explains just what Marshall meant by fearing that a timely alert to Kimmel would complicate things. Admiral Theobald comments further: "With all chance of surprise gone the

decision might well have been to cancel the attack. And the sole reason for not sending word to Hawaii on that Sunday morning. . . Washington refused to send one short message to Hawaii in time to cushion the effects of the Japanese attack! . . . There is only one conceivable reason for it—nothing must be done to prejudice the chances of the attack, even if at the last moment Japan was about to bring war to the United States, and President Roosevelt did not intend that any American action should cause them to change their plans at the last minute."

President Roosevelt had repeatedly assured the American people that he would not send their boys into a war on foreign soil "except in the case of attack." But, it appears he had also promised Prime Minister Churchill to get our country in, somehow! He had told the Prime Minister: I may never declare war. I may make war."

MR. HILDER: Would you repeat that, Colonel?

COL. DALL: Yes. President Roosevelt said: "I may never declare war. I may make war."

Thus, the Pearl Harbor attack, technically, took President Roosevelt off a delicate political hook, in terms of war. A month after this disaster, Churchill told Parliament: The probability since the Atlantic Conference (August 14, 1941) at which I discussed these matters with President Roosevelt, that the United States, even if not herself attacked, would come into the war in the Far East and thus make final victory assured"

Referring to this amazing Churchillian revelation, Senator Arthur H. Vandenburg of Michigan, reacted with the following shocked comment: "In other words, Churchill said

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that when he met Roosevelt the first time-and wrote 'The Atlantic Charter'—he ... got some sort of assurance, evidently satisfactory to him, that the United States would go to war with Japan, regardless of whether Japan attacked us or not. In still other words, we were slated for this war by the President, before Pearl Harbor."

Quite obviously, President Roosevelt and his circle of exploiters, strongly desired the Pearl Harbor attack so as to satisfy Winston Churchill, and other ideological forces, without technically violating his own solemn pledge made to the American people, not to get the Country into the war "except in the case of attack." Hence, after the lend-lease action, the convoying of British ships, the gift of fifty destroyers to the British, even the depth-bombing of German submarines—all extreme, un-neutral provocations—all of which had failed to provoke Hitler to retaliate, President Roosevelt's frustration—and that of his prompters—became rather desperate. His advisor, Harry Hopkins, another member of the Council on Foreign Relations, confessed: Both Stimson and Marshall felt that we couldn't win without getting into the war, but they had no idea how that is going to be accomplished. . . . He (Roosevelt) had said everything 'short of war' that could be said. He had no more tricks left. The 'hat' from which he had pulled so many 'rabbits' was empty."

The final trick left was to provoke and to deliberately insult Japan. Admiral Theobald comments: "The Tripartite Treaty of September, 1940, . . . supplied President Roosevelt with the answer. Under that treaty, war with Japan meant war with Germany and Italy."

Accordingly, President Roosevelt ordered the Pacific Fleet to stay anchored in Pearl Harbor, but removed all the aircraft

carriers so that the battleships, like sitting ducks, would tempt Japan to strike them. No doubt, that is why F.D.R. refused to allow General Marshall to let Admiral Stark alert the Pearl Harbor Commanders to the oncoming attack. Captain Grenfell of the Royal Navy wrote: No reasonably informed person can now believe that Japan made a villainous, unexpected attack on the United States. An attack was not only fully expected, but was actually desired. It is beyond doubt that President Roosevelt wanted to get his country into the war, but for political reasons was most anxious to insure that the first act of hostility came from the other side; for which reason he caused increasing pressure to be put on the Japanese, to a point that no self-respecting nation could endure without resort to arms. Japan was meant, by the American President to attack the United States."

Furthermore, the British Minister of Production, Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, in 1944, aptly summed it up: "Japan was provoked into attacking America at Pearl Harbor. It is a travesty of history to say that America was forced into the war."

Perhaps the most irrefutable proof that President Roosevelt worked to set the stage for the Pearl Harbor attack and knew about it when it was coming, appears in H. Montgomery Hyde's book - "ROOM 3603: THE STORY OF THE BRITISH INTELLIGENCE." This describes, in detail, how William Stephenson, the Chief of the Secret Intelligence Service, operating from Room 3603, on the thirty-sixth floor of a skyscraper in Rockefeller Center, conspired with President Roosevelt and other top U.S. officials, to get the United States, into war with Japan, thereby drawing it into the war with the Axis—both of which the vast majority of Americans strongly opposed. Montgomery Hyde elaborated: "Stephenson had some success in penetrating the Kurusu

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mission with one of his agents who was a British subject and had spent fifty years in Japan . . . This agent made contact with the envoy's (Special Envoy Saburo Kurusu) Secretary, whose name was Yuki and had a series of meetings with him in a Washington apartment which had previously been wired for recording conversations.

"The information obtained from the recordings was transcribed and copies were sent by Stephenson each day to President Roosevelt . . . It supplemented the Japanese diplomatic telegrams between Tokyo and Washington, which had been known to the American authorities for some time. . . .

"On November 27, (1941), the President sent his son, James Roosevelt, to Stephenson with a special message, the purport of which was not yet known either to the British Foreign Office or to the British Embassy in Washington. The same day, Stephenson telegraphed it to London. His telegram read: 'JAPANESE NEGOTIATIONS OFF. SERVICES EXPECT ACTION WITHIN TWO WEEKS' I repeat: the telegram read: 'JAPANESE NEGOTIATIONS OFF. SERVICES EXPECT ACTION WITHIN TWO WEEKS.' "

"As can be imagined, this telegram caused a great stir in London. Confirmation was immediately sought by cable from Lord Halifax in Washington. Lord Halifax happened to be out hunting in Virginia when the cable arrived . . . and he was now obliged to get off his horse and hurry back to the Embassy to cable his reply that he knew nothing of such a report. Another urgent cable was sent from London, this time to Stephenson, informing him that the Prime Minister and the Cabinet would be most interested to know the source of his information. Stephenson answered briefly: 'The

President of the U.S.A.' Two days later, November 29, CORDELL HULL saw Ambassador Halifax and gave him the news, officially." CORDELL HULL stated, and I quote: "The diplomatic part in our relations with Japan is virtually over. The matter will now go to the officials of the Army and Navy. Japan may now move suddenly and with every element of surprise."

How that surprise came, just over a week after this frank interview, is a matter of history.

MR. HILDER: How did President Roosevelt and his Cabinet react to the news of the actual attack on December 7th?

COL. DALL: Again, it is Secretary of War Stimson who destroyed the hypocritical image of shock and grief that President Roosevelt conveyed in his "DAY OF INFAMY" speech! Secretary Stimson admitted: "When the news first came that Japan had attacked us, my first feeling was of relief that the indecision was over and that the crisis had come in a way which would unite all our people. This continued to be my dominant feeling in spite of the news of catastrophies which quickly developed."

To a group of Senators and Congressmen on Pearl Harbor Day, President Roosevelt apparently had uppermost in his mind his pledge not to get the country into war "except in case of attack," exclaimed: (PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT) "Well, we were attacked. There is no question about that. "

Churchill in his "GRAND ALLIANCE," relates that Ambassador Winant and Averell Harriman and the members of the notorious Council on Foreign Relations were with him that evening. Referring to Roosevelt's words, Winant at first

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exclaimed: "Good! Good!" Churchill comments: "My two American friends took the shock with admirable fortitude. . . . In fact, one might almost have thought they had been delivered from a long pain."

That described reaction would be about "par for the course," for Averell Harriman. As for Churchill, himself, he confesses: "(I) went to bed that night to sleep the sleep of the saved and thankful." "No American will think it wrong of me if I proclaim that to have the United States at our side was to me the greatest joy." "It is what I dreamed of aimed at, and hoped for and now it has come to pass."

Apparently, President Roosevelt and his financial backers, along with Churchill and his banker backers, were the ones who, from the very start, had wanted war between America and Japan, between the Allies and Germany, and had duly planned and pushed for it. Germany had not wanted war, Japan had not wanted war, and, above all, the American people had not wanted war! But President Roosevelt and the one-world internationalist money powers wanted war! In fact, some historians find it was Roosevelt, prompted by those one-world financial interests, that induced both the British and the Poles to reject Hitler's reasonable proposal in August of 1939, for rectifying the Danzig and Corridor problems, thus providing Hitler, finally, just as Roosevelt provoked Japan, later on, to use force at Pearl Harbor. I quote the renowned historian, Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, on this matter: "In reality, the responsibility for the Pearl Harbor surprise attack, from the Chicago Bridge speech of Roosevelt on October 5, 1937, to the appearance of the Japanese bombers over Pearl Harbor about 7:55 on December 7, 1941, is crystal clear and cumulative to all those who know the facts whether or not they are willing and

courageous enough to set them forth. . . . The path to war is also straight, save for the switch which began with the economic stangulation of Japan in July, 1941, when it had become very likely that Hitler could not be provoked into an act of war in the Atlantic. Throughout, the architect and maestro of the bellicose design was Franklin Delano Roosevelt."

He was the "Gun" and the others readily supplied the "Ammunition." This came extensively from the "stockpile" of Bernard Baruch and Felix Frankfurter both of whom were members of the Council on Foreign Relations. This is, as I have referred to before, the invisible government of the United States, and it is they who wanted the war, not the American people.

MR. HILDER: Colonel, I'd like you to explain how the average American felt when it happened—Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, who had maneuvered for the surprise attack at Pearl Harbor, didn't speak for English-speaking people, did THEY?

COL. DALL: Naturally, a wave of indignation and patriotic anger, at what they were told was an unprovoked and dastardly attack, initially swept over the American people. This enabled Roosevelt to get our misinformed and emotional Congress to declare war. The people were appalled at the loss of eight capital ships—sunk or seriously damaged, 188 planes destroyed, and were distraught with grief for the loss of 3303 officers and men killed, and 1272 wounded, and for their families! Soon, however, numerous people were asking how it was possible that the Commanders at Pearl

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Harbor-Admiral Kimmel and General Short-were so completely caught by surprise. To muffle and to side-step that pertinent, but very dangerous question, President Roosevelt was forced to divert the search for the proper answer from himself, and his Administration, and create some scapegoat!

Admiral Kimmel subsequently explained the diversionary plan to me, as follows: "After a few days, Justice Owen Roberts arrived at Pearl Harbor with a Commission from Washington, appointed by President Roosevelt, to investigate the situation. In effect, however, to come up with much needed 'scapegoats'-meaning, of course, General Short and myself—so that the eyes of the outraged American people could be duly directed away from Washington, and focused upon individuals (the Commanders in Hawaii) in attempted explanation of that great tragedy. Ten days after the attack, I was relieved of my Command, and, in thirty days, retired."

Naturally, I was shocked by the statements of the Admiral. But I was not surprised to learn that Felix Frankfurter of the Council on Foreign Relations played an important role in arranging for President Roosevelt to appoint Owen Roberts to make a personal report to him on Pearl Harbor. Roberts assumed the role of "hatchet man" and dutifully turned in a "usable" report, which had the approval of Felix Frankfurter. According to Max Freedman, Frankfurter was always quite impenitent about his part in arranging for Mr. Justice Roberts to make a personal report to the President on the immediate events that led to Pearl Harbor, and what happened after the attack began. He was afraid of a vindictive search for scapegoats, diverting the nation 's attention from more important tasks.... He was fearful that Roosevelt's authority might be compromised by a meddlesome

Congressional Committee, as Lincoln had been in the Civil War."

I can understand Frankfurter's fear of a vindictive search being made for "scapegoats"-and that the President's authority might well be compromised by a "meddling Congress."! Justice Roberts lost no time in locating the two scapegoats. Then the Whitewash began to splash!

Concerning the Roberts' so-called "Inquiry," one can readily recall what Senator Robert Taft said, on October 7, 1944, concerning the Nuremberg Trials, when eleven German leaders were sentenced to death: (I quote Senator Taft) "The eleven who have been committed to the gallows have been guilty of making aggressive war. They are guilty because they lost. Under that theory, President Roosevelt could have been executed had the Axis won. . . . The hanging of these eleven will be a blot on the American record which we shall long regret."

Many informed Americans now agree that the Roberts Report was also a "blot." It was, however, at the time a blatant attempt at "whitewash"! It "whitewashed" President Roosevelt, his Administration, and his leading accomplices. It shamelessly put the blame on the deliberately uninformed Commanders, stationed at Pearl Harbor!

Admiral Kimmel stated to me: "The Roberts Report was a shambles, full of glaring inaccuracies to serve one purpose—to make me the 'Goat,' along with General Short; to attempt to avoid the impact of Hull's November 16, 1941 'ultimatum' to the Japanese and the studied enticements extended to them to attack us, at Pearl Harbor. . . . "

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MR. HILDER: Were there any other formal investigations? Did any one of them finally clear Admiral Kimmel and General Short?

COL. DALL: There were eight formal Pearl Harbor Investigations, all witness to a sad proof that, during war, even in our own Republic, prejudice, self-interest, political interest, and special pleading, can block the truth and eliminate fairness. For example, the Joint Congressional Committee, in its 573 pages, tortured facts and logic in order to exonerate the Administration, and find the necessary scapegoats in the persons of Admiral Kimmel and General Short. Only its minority Report dared to criticize President Roosevelt, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, for failing to take "quick and instant executive action" on December 6 and 7. It also criticized Stimson, Knox, Marshall, and Stark "for failure to meet their responsibilities"! "Disappointingly," according to Admiral Theobald, "even the Minority Report falls far short of a full realization of President Roosevelt's connection with the Pearl Harbor disaster."

MR. HILDER: In other words, Admiral Theobald puts the responsibility for the Pearl Harbor disaster on President Roosevelt and his Administration, and mentions that Admiral Kimmel and General Short were set up to be the victims of a frame-up?

COL. DALL: That is right! So do several responsible historians. Their verdict is that President Roosevelt, under pressure from certain high level International Financiers and Churchill, brought America into the war, at any cost, to save Britain and Soviet Russia from certain defeat at the hands of

Germany and finally maneuvered Japan into firing the first shot at Pearl Harbor.

MR. HILDER: Colonel, daring to tell us the truth must have required a sense of deep obligation, as well as courage, on your part, inasmuch as the chief architect of the Pearl Harbor tragedy—for your country and for ours—was your former Father-in-law. Why do you consider it important to release these secrets of Pearl Harbor and make them widely known thirty years after that event?

COL. DALL: Mr. Hilder, I appreciate the delicacy of that particular question. I do so only because of a strong conviction that the best interests of both the Japanese and American people must—I repeat: MUST—be placed above the interest of any individual or minority group! The truth as to how President Roosevelt—the "agent" for the International Monetary Powers, maneuvered Americans into World War II, is of the utmost importance. It is most important that the average person in both nations understand the terrible lessons of that war and its cause. This knowledge will greatly help to guide us all today! Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes wrote: "The great, great crime of our age was the British plotting and launching of the war, and the American support of an entry into that war."

The shortsighted "Unconditional Surrender" concept, the planned sell-out to Stalin, at Yalta, the total disarmament of Germany and Japan, the betrayal of Poland, the Baltic and Balkan states, have not only succeeded in delivering one-third of the world into Communist tyranny, dictated by their backers, but have also exposed the remnant of the free world to a permanent Cold War with the Soviets, and the blackmailing threat of widespread nuclear destruction in a

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third world war. As a result, without the bulwarks of Germany in Europe, and Japan in Asia, the American taxpayer has had to spend more on armaments, annually, than any nation in the history of the world. This country has been, and is still being, pushed into fighting one disastrous bloody war after another—in Korea, in Vietnam—and forced to station troops and maintain military bases all over the world, including Germany and Japan. The leaders of the International Banking Cartel are now trying to "create" another war in the Mid-East at the expense of humanity.

MR. HILDER: In view of those tragic results, what induced President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill to want to plunge the world into war against Germany and to refuse to negotiate peace until both Germany and Japan were totally destroyed and disarmed?

COL. DALL: The rejection of those early negotiations for peace was a moral crime and a low political blow to satisfy the greed of international finance. Some of these could be the descendents of the illuminati. The rejection of peace suggests that the Allied motives were not by any means a noble crusade against National Socialism in Germany, but, in reality, a crafty, selfish, power play, in order to destroy an unwelcome commercial rival. As early as November, 1936, Churchill said to General Robert E. Wood of Chicago, later Chairman of the America First Committee: (Churchill) "Germany is getting too strong, and we must smash her."

I again quote Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes as follows: "This accorded with the sentiments of Churchill's great, good friend, and his chief unofficial contact in the United States, Bernard Baruch. The latter observed to General George C. Marshall in 1938: Bernard Baruch - "We are going to lick that

fellow Hitler. He isn't going to get away with it." When Bernard Baruch speaks of "We," just who does he mean—the powerful European tycoons of International Finance, the Rothschild Complex, or Kuhn, Loeb & Co., the Rockefellers, the Lehman Brothers, Lazard Freres & Co., and Goldman, Sachs & Co., etc., in America? True, Bernard Baruch, as an individual, cut a mighty figure in International-Political finance. It is said that before World War I, he was worth a million dollars, and when it was over, he was worth two hundred million dollars. In World War II, he certainly conspired with Churchill and Roosevelt to bring America into it. Later, he aggressively pressured political Washington to implement Henry Morgenthau, Jr.'s plan for total disarmament and the dismantling of Christian Germany.

MR. HILDER: Was that Plan ever put into effect?

COL. DALL: Secretary Morgenthau, himself, boasts in his ghost-written book, "GERMANY IS OUR PROBLEM," in 1945, that "in the Potsdam Declaration ... the three principal Allies were seeking to carry out the objectives of that policy." (p. xii) William Henry Chamberlin in his authoritative "AMERICA'S SECOND CRUSADE," wrote that "the extremely harsh Joint Chiefs of Staff document number 1067," of the American Military Government of Germany, was "taken almost literally from the original text of the Morgenthau Plan."

MR. HILDER: Was Secretary Henry Morgenthau also interested in President Roosevelt's Japanese policy?

COL. DALL: Yes, he was. In fact, it was Morgenthau who first proposed the policy of strangling Japan, economically.

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He was a well placed "front" for the forces that resorted to every possible means to force President Roosevelt to get America into war. But, it was his clever and devious assistant, Harry Dexter White, later exposed as a high-level Communist agent, who drafted and presented to Secretary of State Hull the outline for the ultimative ten-point note to Japan, dated November 26, 1941. Dr. Barnes writes: "Roosevelt was surrounded with Communist sympathizers and some undoubted Communists, one, a member of his official family at the White House, exerted a powerful influence on Roosevelt and Secretary Hull. Hull's ultimatum of November 26, 1941, which brought the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor, was based in large part directly upon a memorandum handed to him by Harry Dexter White, surely a Communist agent, if not a card-carrying Communist himself."

In short, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., scion of an international banking family, and Harry Dexter White, a top-level Communist agent, also actively worked, planned, and hoped for the ultimate assault on Pearl Harbor. Both, likewise, represented the long-range aims of the major financial complexes, which benefited extensively from World War II. Incidentally, Henry's military record was most distinguished by its virtual nonexistence.

MR. HILDER: Colonel, would you, please, explain this more in detail?

COL. DALL: Certainly! That International Communism—meaning Soviet Russia— benefited, is most obvious. America incurred death, debt and destruction and Britain lost her Empire, while the Bolsheviki of Soviet Russia got half of Germany, and control over half of Europe and Asia. Furthermore, what also came out of the war was the appearance of

the State of Israel and, in place of reasonable reparations to the victors, enormous West German reparations were allotted —then siphoned to Israel. By 1964, this added up to billions of dollars. Hence, Communism and Zionism have greatly profited! Huge indemnities and reparations from World War II have been arranged for the European favorites of politically powerful International banking houses. But in spite of this Japan and Germany have risen to the top in world economic output.

MR. HILDER: The benefit to Zionist objectives seems obvious, but how did the bankers finance International Communism?

COL. DALL: The able writer, Gary Allen, refers to "the five American satellites of the European Rothschild Banking interests." He states: "Most important in the group is Kuhn, Loeb and Company, whose head (Jacob Schiff) invested \$20 million in financing the Russian Revolution in 1917. According to a report. . . to the State Department on March 3, 1932, Kuhn, Loeb and Company also laid out and financed the Soviet's first Five Year Plan ..."

Significantly, one member of this International banking complex, Paul Warburg, became the head of the Federal Reserve Bank's Board of Governors when it was created in 1913. The Federal Reserve bank system is privately owned and controlled.

MR. HILDER: Colonel Dall, I just read an article entitled "SECRET ISSUE" printed on March 26th of this year (1971) by the Los Angeles Herald Examiner where John Chamberlain, in his column, confirmed that another member of the Council on Foreign Relations - the late Tom

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Dewey—ex-Governor of New York—who ran for President on the Republican ticket—also knew the real Pearl Harbor story. In this article, the writer, Chamberlain, states that he had a personal interview with Governor Dewey. He stated: "In 1944 Dewey had known that we cracked the most secret Japanese code sometime prior to Pearl Harbor, and that the White House knew more than fifteen hours before the Japanese attack that hostilities would open somewhere next day in the Pacific. . . . True enough the precise point could not be pinpointed but our forces everywhere in the Pacific could have been alerted. "

If Dewey actually shielded the Roosevelt Administration's act from the American public, is it further proof of your charge that political party affiliation means little when you're under the control of the International Banking Cartel, since both were members of the Council on Foreign Relations?

COL. DALL: That's right. The party affiliation of the International War conspirators means nothing-the results are the same-disaster for the world-if they are allowed to remain in positions of great influence. The International Bankers are in a unique position to profit from war irrespective of which side wins.

MR. HILDER: Then does that explain why America and Britain, at the start of World War II proclaimed the idealistic peace of the Atlantic Charter, but ended that war with the Unconditional Surrender conditions at Yalta and Potsdam aimed at the heart of Germany and Japan?

COL. DALL: That appears to be the case. At the end of World War I, America supported Woodrow Wilson's idealistic Fourteen Points, but, after the guns became silent, concluded it with the ominous Versailles Treaty which, "demanded reparations in the form of money which Germany could never pay." Only by exacting enormous reparations from the vanquished can those few men who financed both sides, the International Bankers, be certain to recover their original stakes, and then gain considerably more!

MR. HILDER: In World War II, weren't the International Bankers in favor of the Morgenthau Plan and huge reparations from Germany and Japan in addition to the massive territorial theft, specifically directed to Soviet Communists?

COL. DALL: Indeed they were! As previously stated: Harry Dexter White, a Communist agent, drafted the so-called Morgenthau Plan.

Friends and associates, both here and abroad, comprising what might be called the Rothschild complex, pressed for a vindictive peace which left a vacuum for Soviet Russia to self-servingly fill, where once a strong Germany had been. My friend Walter Trohan, for many years a top Washington correspondent for the CHICAGO TRIBUNE, in an article entitled: "THREE MEN CALLED A GOVERNMENT" on May 28, 1950, wrote: "A person with highest State Department connections, identified these three figures as the secret government of the United States. (Supreme Court Justice) Frankfurter . . . the most powerful man in the government, reaching into the White House with his proteges. (Governor of New York) Herbert Lehman . . . a powerful Wall Street Force . . . Henry Morgenthau, Jr. . . ."

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All three of these men were closely associated with the complex of International Financiers, all three pressured President Roosevelt to get the United States into the war with Japan, all three demanded a vindictive peace against Germany and Japan, which largely benefited Communism and Zionism and their bankers, of course. It created the State of Israel and enabled Soviet Russia to master half of Europe and of Asia.

MR. HILDER: Aside from the Morgenthau Plan, was there any particular action aided by these men which damaged America and aided the Soviet Socialists?

COL. DALL: Yes. we must never forget that the cruel Anglo-American bombing of Dresden, an open city, was an unparalleled act of genocide merely to impress Joe Stalin. A top U.S. military authority told me personally that 385,000 men, women, and children were ruthlessly slaughtered at Dresden. Plus allowing the Soviet Communists to plunder, rape and lay siege to Berlin. Then the incredible "OPERATION" termed "KEELHAUL" delivered to Stalin's butchers over a million Russian freedom fighters for mass extermination in Soviet slave camps. They had fought with Germany against the tyrants who had dominated their country and had surrendered to the Anglo-Americans thinking they would be saved from the death camps. It was General Dwight D. Eisenhower who ordered their forceful repatriation for certain death.

Another one of the outrageous betrayals of American interests was Secretary Morgenthau's plan of giving to Soviet Russia four airplane loads of our money plates, including all accessories, such as paper and our special ink. with no strings attached. Major Racey Jordan, in his book "FROM MAJOR

RACEY JORDAN'S DIARY," describes in one chapter, "How Russians Got U.S. Treasury Plates." He states: "The U.S. Treasury . . . was shipping engraving plates and other materials to Russia, so that they could print the same occupation money* for Germans as the United States was printing. . . . The sum of money which we lost in redeeming the marks which the Russians rolled off their presses, with no accountability whatever, appears to have been \$250,000,000!"

The AMERICAN MERCURY. June, 1957, in an article entitled: "Spook Money Haunts U.S. Treasury," revealed: "Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury, with Harry Dexter White, Under-Secretary, and Harold Glasser. all in charge of the U.S. Treasury, gave the Russian Government money-plates, complete with plane loads of special ink, and four plane loads of special paper for printing our occupation money in Germany, to pay two-years' salary to Russian soldiers.

MR. HILDER: If that's so, then the war was immensely profitable for the Communists, their Banker backers and their Leftist friends. Are there estimates of the amount of so-called "refugee money"** that has been brought into the United States?

COL. DALL: Yes. The AMERICAN MERCURY also writes in that connection: " . . . i t is estimated the known

* Occupation money-or script was issued to servicemen in lieu of U.S. Dollars. The Russians were not given plates or paper to print U.S. Dollars.

** Refugee money is different from occupation money. Refugee money was currency and valuables displaced persons (refugees) managed to bring to the U.S.

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movement of such money into the U.S. amounts to about \$19 billion (\$19,000,000,000) of which more than \$3 billion came from Canada, and \$1,800,000,000 through Swiss banks!"

It is said that some of this money went into acquiring stakes in numerous hotels, publishing, radio, and television companies. This will explain, in part, why most of our U.S. communications media tends to be slanted Left, and are often overly sympathetic to the aims of Fabian Socialism and International Bolshevism. For example, in the current "undeclared" Vietnam war, there is much harping on alleged South Vietnamese and American atrocities. The "managed" news media rarely mentions the massacre of nearly 100,000 innocent men, women and children by the Soviet Cong and the North Vietnamese.

As to World War II, they rarely reported the Soviet-Russian atrocities like the mass murder of 12 thousand Polish officers in the Katyn Forest Massacre where the Leftists dumped these men in one huge common grave. Yet, our "managed" media never tires of alluding to, and even enlarging upon, alleged Japanese and German atrocities. Our government worked around the clock to develop "race hatred" against the Japanese.

MR. HILDER: According to your quotation from Major Racey Jordan's DIARY, estimating that possibly 250,000,000 dollars' worth of this Morgenthau "spook money" was immediately circulated in Germany, is it not possible then that some of this, too, went to Socialists, or Red agents, to buy control of the German communications media?

COL. DALL: Yes, I am reliably informed that the occupation authorities issued special licenses, without which no media could be operated, and these, almost without exception, were granted to Socialists, Leftists, crypto-Communists. or non-ethnic Germans; never to conservative or actively anti-communistic Germans. The saturation of "spook money" from the Morgenthau plates, given to the Soviet Russians, most probably played a significant role in the acquisition and early operations of the German communications media. In the Soviet Zone. Ulbricht's sector, the Communists control all the media; in West Germany, the liberal, socialistic, and one-world elements are dominant, while an independent, conservative press is only slowly establishing itself. Radio and television programs are still more representative of "foreign," rather than German interests.

MR. HILDER: Would that explain why some financial and political circles in America were anxious to bring America into World War II, even if it had to be by the devious "backdoor" route?

COL. DALL: That is the bitter and terrible truth. What we Americans got out of the catastrophe was a huge war debt, a quarter million casualties, and the awesome realization of a possible atomic war. The same ideological set of planners who gave the money-plates to Soviet Russia also betrayed the secrets of the atom bomb to Moscow. Among them was Henry Morgenthau's assistant. Harry Dexter White, mentioned before. who. when exposed. suddenly disappeared, allegedly having died. Two accomplices. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, on June 19. 1953. were executed as Communist spies but only after great damage had been done!

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MR. HILDER: Is there reasonable hope that, in spite of all this, the U.S. and the Free World, including Japan, can save themselves from a Communist take-over, and will also be able, eventually, to liberate Cuba, Central and Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia, from a one-world Communist tyranny?

COL. DALL: Yes—but only with the most dedicated efforts to expose this International Banking conspiracy on a **WORLD SCALE!**



MR. HILDER: Is there any evidence that President Truman knew Japan was ready to surrender before he had the first atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima on August 6th, 1945. (Soviet Russia on August 8th broke its five year neutrality pact with Japan by declaring war.)

COL. DALL: It has long been known that as early as June 29, 1945, Japan approached Moscow to ask its good offices towards negotiating peace with Washington. But Stalin,

hoping to get in on the loot by a last minute declaration of war on Japan, kept stalling Japanese emissaries off. But now also more and more evidence is coming to light that Japan did not rely only on Moscow but also sought contact with the U.S. on its own.

MR. HILDER: What is some of this evidence?

COL. DALL: Helmut Suendermann, the respected German author and editor of *Das Morgenthau Tagebuch* (The Morgenthau Journals) (Druffel Verlag. 1970). summarizes such evidence in an article entitled. "Die amerikanisch-sowjetische Japan-Verschwoerung" (The American-Soviet Conspiracy against Japan. *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, August 14. 1970). In this he writes that Allan W. Dulles, also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, had as early as May, 1945, taken up contact with Japanese intermediaries in Switzerland. On May 30. 1945. Harry Hopkins. President Truman's special emissary, telegraphed President Truman that Japan has lost and knows it. On May 28. 1945. Former President Hoover presented Truman a Memorandum urging negotiating peace with Japan. More pointedly. Joseph C. Grew, who was U.S. Ambassador to Japan, before the Pearl Harbor attack, as early as mid-May began to urge President Truman that if he assured the Japanese that Unconditional Surrender would not imperil their Emperor, they would make peace. Admiral William D. Leahy urged the same idea upon President Truman. President Truman answered with pretexts for delay. First he wanted to await the fall of Okinawa, then in Mid-June, he told Grew matters would have to wait until the Potsdam conference.

MR. HILDER: What was the situation at the start of the Potsdam Conference on July 1 7?

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COL. DALL: This was three weeks before President Truman dropped the first atom bomb on the innocent civilian population and Soviet Russia got into the war with Japan for the spoils. We must not forget that Truman was also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations as was my father-in-law, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Historian Suendermann reports: "In Potsdam Truman could immediately see how right all those were who urged offering Japan peace. Here the American Secret Service confirmed Tokyo's requests to Moscow in behalf of the Emperor to intercede for peace with Washington . . . Not the least doubt remained that the Japanese were ready to surrender and accept any hard conditions. One word of the President would have sufficed to end the Asian war even before the first Potsdam session began. But this word the President did not pronounce...."

Instead, he ordered the first atom bomb in history to be dropped on Hiroshima on August 6th. One day before on August 9th. he ordered the second dropped on Nagasaki, Stalin attacked Japan in the rear. One consequence of this was that the Communists got North Korea and America paid dearly, in the Korean War five years later, to prevent the Reds from getting all of Korea and possibly Japan. For many years many of us thought that President Truman was just a simple well-meaning, gutless individual who was too weak to hold his own in conferences with the Soviet Communist backers. But unfortunately, more and more evidence indicates that he deliberately wanted to build Soviet Russia, just as President Roosevelt did.

MR. HILDER: Is there more evidence?

COL. DALL: Plenty. In an article in the Santa Ana Register

on August 2nd, 1969, entitled "SOILED CHAPTER OF HISTORY," this California newspaper states: "... after the German surrender in the spring of 1945, Japanese diplomats and intelligence agents, in Sweden, in Switzerland, in Portugal and in other neutral countries, were frantically trying to establish peace contacts with the U.S. Government, and that in Mid-July, 1945—before the Potsdam ultimatum to Japan—Per Jacobsson, of Sweden, reported to the late Allen Dulles, who later became CIA chief, that he was "personally convinced," after talks with Japanese diplomats that "these approaches (for peace) are serious. " Allen Dulles was also a member of our "invisible government"—the secretive Council on Foreign Relations.

MR. HILDER: Are there any other publications stating this?

COL DALL: Yes. On July 5th, 1969, the Rocky Mountain News carried an article by R. H. Shackford entitled, "PAPERS INDICATE JAPAN SOUGHT PEACE BEFORE U.S. DROPPED ATOM BOMBS." The papers he referred to are released 1945 Diplomatic Documents of the U.S. State Department on the Far East.

MR. HILDER: Are these items still suppressed?

COL. DALL: Yes, like most of the data on these atrocities, the high ranking Council on Foreign Relations officials influencing American education have "managed" an historical blackout of these crimes against humanity.

Shackford states in his article: "Long before the bombs were dropped on Japan, Japanese diplomats all over the world were trying to establish contacts to talk about peace—Pope Pius XII being the first to turn down a Japanese overture that

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he mediate-but that, due to a U.S. government 'hang-up' on 'unconditional surrender' all early feelers by the Japanese came to naught. " He goes on to state: "As late as 1945, four months after Japan's surrender, acting Secretary of State, Dean Acheson (who was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations) categorically denied in a published letter to a Congressman that the U.S. had received any "official" Japanese peace offers earlier in the year."

MR. HILDER: Then you mean the Japanese government was even willing to accept unconditional surrender before Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

COL. DALL: Exactly. The American Historian Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes says that by January 1945 the Japanese were convinced that they had lost the war and had sent peace overtures to General MacArthur which were almost identical to the final settlement. MacArthur urged Roosevelt to start immediate negotiations, but to exclude the Russians. The President rejected MacArthur's humane and patriotic suggestions.

Barnes got the story from my friend the American Newsmen, Walter Trohan, who exposed the whole foul treachery on the Sunday after V-J Day, August 19, 1945. Trohan got the story and the facts directly from Admiral Leahy, over whose desk passed the communications between my former father-in-law and General MacArthur. The story was personally confirmed by ex-President Herbert Hoover in 1951, who asked MacArthur if it was true. MacArthur confirmed it in every detail. Recently, the story was again revealed in The American Mercury magazine, its Fall, 1970, issue.

MR. HILDER: President Truman stated: "The need for such a fateful decision (the atomic bombing) of course, would never have arisen had we not been shot in the back by Japan at Pearl Harbor in December 1941," This was his justification for Hiroshima and Nagasaki. . . . How do you judge President Truman's attitude?

COL. DALL: Much the same as Hiroshima's City Council. They put it very well, and I quote: "Had your decision been based on the Imperial Japanese Navy's surprise attack on your country's combatants and military facilities (at Pearl Harbor) "why could you not choose a military base for the target? You committed the outrage of massacring 200,000 noncombatants as revenge, and you are still trying to justify it."



MR. HILDER: Wasn't President Nixon also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations as well as General Eisenhower, who ordered General Patton to hold back so the Soviet troops could plunder Berlin?

COL. DALL: That is a most important point considering Nixon's flirtation with Red China. It is said that Nixon has over seventy members of the Council on Foreign Relations in his administration. Nixon ignores the fact that Red China has exterminated 66,400,000 of its own people in mass genocide. This is the largest massacre of human beings in the history of the world and is documented by the Free Chinese

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Government in Taiwan. Nixon ignores the fact that the Communists still have our prisoners of war from Korea enslaved. Nixon further ignores the fact that all of Eastern Europe is still enslaved and the Soviets have murdered in death camps and starved upwards of 45 million additional people since the "one world" Bankers brought them to power in 1917.

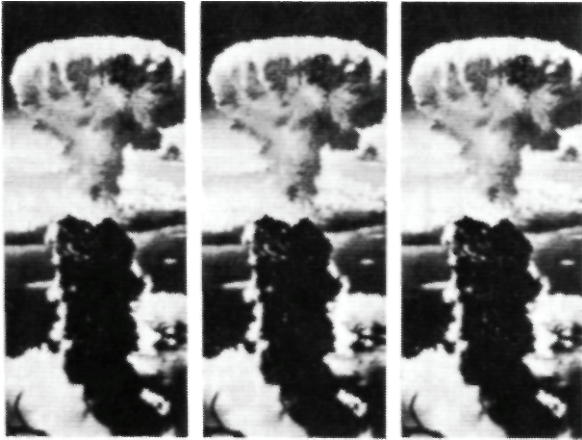
MR. HILDER: Why did these International Cartelists wish to mass murder innocent men, women and babies after the war was virtually over?

COL. DALL: For several reasons: First, the International Financial Powers that caused the war were determined to completely crush Japan and Germany so they could take over the gigantic industries of these two great nations. That evidence is very clear. The Japanese people should take a very close look today at the foreign ownership of some of its largest companies in international trade and shipping. I repeat- a very close look. Secondly, I believe it was to panic the nations of the world into accepting a one-world super-government, allegedly to end all wars. The "One World" money powers, operating through the United Nations (a major promotion of the Council on Foreign Relations) foisted the idea that the bomb could kill everyone (like in Hiroshima and Nagasaki) if they didn't bow to their self-serving demands.

MR. HILDER: And one last question—How do you feel about the U.N.?

COL. DALL: I believe the U.N. is most dangerous to the freedom of the world and to individual liberty. In fact it is more dangerous than atomic bombs and must be scrapped.

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COLONEL DALL'S CLOSING

The birth of world peace will be heralded only by the death of world government. The International Banking Cartelists and their agents, operating through the Council on Foreign Relations in the United States and the Royal Institute of International Affairs in England and other such organizations throughout the world profit from poverty and the slaughter of much of the earth's peace-loving population. For freedom to rise, they must fall. The war was brought about by their design—not by the peoples of Japan and the United States, but by a small group of wealthy men who controlled the governments of our nations. We can gain and attain peace only when we are mentally, physically and spiritually armed against, the power of the international bankers and their agents who profit by creating war. We must prepare to win or prepare to die.

Only by disclosing the secrets behind the last war, with your help and dedicated efforts, can we prevent a future war. I ask now that we join hands for the preservation of mankind.

ROOSEVELT IS FRUSTRATED IN EUROPE

by

FREDERIC R. SANBORN

No matter how well we are supported by neutrality legislation, we must remember that no laws can be provided to cover every contingency, for it is impossible to imagine how every future event may shape itself. In spite of every possible forethought, international relations involve of necessity a vast uncharted area. In that area safe sailing will depend on the knowledge and the experience and the wisdom of those who direct our foreign policy. Peace will depend on their day-to-day decisions.

At this late date, with the wisdom which is so easy after the event and so difficult before the event, we find it possible to trace the tragic series of small decisions which led Europe into the Great War in 1914 and eventually engulfed us and many other nations.

We can keep out of war if those who watch and decide have a sufficiently detailed understanding of international affairs to make certain that the small decisions of each day do not lead toward war, and if, at the same time, they possess the courage to say "No" to those who selfishly or unwisely would let us go to war.

—FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, speech at Chautauqua, New York, August 14, 1936.

Governments . . . do not always take rational decisions. Sometimes they take mad decisions, or one set of people get control who compel all others to obey and aid them in folly.

—WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, *The Grand Alliance*, p. 603.

Frederic R. Sanborn was born on February 14, 1899. He received the A.B. degree with high honors from Columbia University in 1919. Two years later he was awarded the degree of A.M., with a major in international law and diplomacy, by Columbia University, and the degree of LL.B. by the Columbia University Law School in the same year. While at Columbia, he studied international law and diplomacy under the leading American authority in the field, John Bassett Moore. He then went to England for further study at Oxford University, where he specialized in legal history and international law under the guidance of the eminent legal historian, Sir William Holdsworth. He received his Ph.D. degree in law from Oxford in 1924. Even before he finished his legal studies at Oxford he was awarded a Carnegie Fellowship in International Law in 1923 for further study and research at the Sorbonne. But he declined this grant in order to return to New York and

establish his law practice. He is now a member of Putney, Twombly, Hall & Skidmore, one of the oldest law firms in New York City.

In addition to his increasingly important law practice, Dr. Sanborn taught law in the postgraduate department of the Brooklyn Law School of St. Lawrence University from 1927 to 1938, and international law in the postgraduate department of St. John's University School of Law from 1928 to 1930.

Dr. Sanborn's interest in international law and diplomacy led him to prepare his book on the *Origins of the Early English Maritime and Commercial Law*, sponsored by the American Historical Association and published by The Century Company in 1930, and his important analytical volume, *Design for War ; A Study of Secret Power Politics, 1937-1941*, published by the Devin-Adair Company in 1951. The latter is one of the most important books yet to appear on the diplomacy which led the United States into war in December, 1941. It is characterized by both careful scholarship and commendable restraint in statements and generalizations. It will remain one of the impressive monuments of American historiography following the second World War.

I. INTRODUCTORY CONSIDERATIONS AND HYPOTHESES : THE ABANDONMENT OF AMERICAN NEUTRALITY

It is difficult to rise from a contemplative study of the history of American power politics during the last fifteen years without experiencing a profound feeling of melancholy. When one has meditated upon the myriads of deaths, the human suffering, the destruction, the waste—human, economic, and of opportunity—which have ensued from the decisions erroneously made by those who were in power during those tragic years, and when one contemplates the bleak

vistas which now lie before all of us as the remorseless consequence of those erroneous decisions, one is tempted to echo the epitome of the Roman emperors—*nihil non commiserunt stupri, saevitiae, impietatis*.

Mr. Roosevelt's share in making those decisions was considerable, and, so far as the people of the United States were concerned, it was preponderant. Many of Mr. Roosevelt's acts and negotiations were secret, sometimes so secret that even the Secretary of State was not informed about them,[\(1\)](#) and in consequence Mr. Roosevelt acted for the most part without consultation or counselling from others. His policies were therefore very largely personal, and his adulators were at least true in their aim when they praised him for the authorship of the policies which were nominally called American.

And so, similarly, now that the time has come to take an audit of the great balance sheet of history, the debits must stand largely against the same man to whom the credits were once awarded.

Largely, but not entirely, for a reason which requires some brief elaboration. Like almost every one else, Mr. Roosevelt was the child of his own times, and of the *Zeitgeist*. In consequence of this we must refer to certain misdirected developments in the sphere of international law in the late twenties and in the thirties. A natural revulsion against war had followed the first World War, and this feeling was partly expressed in the Kellogg-Briand Treaty of Paris by which war was renounced by many nations as an instrument of national policy. The collateral concept of collective security found sincere advocates, and there developed along with it the concept of an aggressor nation. In this discussion space does not permit the elaborating upon or the criticizing of these concepts, but one must add that as their natural consequence it was urged by a considerable number of domestic writers and teachers that the traditional cornerstone of American foreign policy, the doctrine of neutrality, had now become obsolete ; it was ignoble and should be abandoned in favor of collective warfare against an aggressor. Such views did not lack able

criticism, but, notwithstanding, they prevailed in quantity, if not in quality, in certain academic and other spheres. They were the academic ancestors of what later was called interventionism, and it seems not unlikely that they contributed to weakening Mr. Roosevelt's waning belief in neutrality.

Notwithstanding these palliatory observations it still remains true that the credit or the blame for American power politics must remain largely with Mr. Roosevelt. As the years have passed by, and as the unfortunate results of his policies have become too visibly apparent either to be denied or concealed, the defenders of the wisdom of his policies have been compelled to shift over from unqualified praise to mildly critical apology. And in going over to the defensive there has been an interesting shift in the position of their battle lines.

Their first line of defense has always rested and still rests upon a foundation blended of faith, emotion, and hypothesis.

The justification of Mr. Roosevelt's admittedly unneutral policy toward Germany which was originally offered for public consumption was to claim the necessity of self-defense against an almost immediately anticipated attack. But when the immediately anticipated attack did not eventuate, a more satisfactory and more indefinite hypothesis became requisite. Some sincere but uninformed people have faith in the revised justification to this very day.

The revised hypothesis was amplified into a claim of the necessity of an anticipatory self-defense, and it had variant versions as propounded at different times. In one form the story ran that Hitlerite Germany was planning to attack the United States in a military way at some unspecified future date. In another variant the military attack was to be made by a conspiratorial combination of Fascist nations⁽²⁾ after they had first conquered the rest of the world. In yet another variant the attack was not to be military at all, but rather a kind of economic strangulation of America by embargo or boycott.

The variants of this second justification were more useful, propagandawise, than was the first hypothesis. The new hypotheses were more indefinite ; they ranged more widely in futurity, and they aroused more emotional response in those who believed in them on faith.

Looking as they did to a far more distant future these revised hypotheses were quite incapable of contemporaneous disproof. Consequently it was impossible for skeptics to contest them at the time of utterance, and therefore Mr. Roosevelt's intended course of action could not be prevented or hindered by any rational argument based upon known facts. Moreover there was always the happy chance, from Mr. Roosevelt's point of view, that even though such hypothetical justifications were not true when made, they might come true at some later date in consequence of his repeated unneutral and hostile activities.

With the passage of the years the texture of these widely propagandized fears is seen to be a shabby fustian. Tons and tons—quite literally—of the German archives, and of their top-secret plans, memoranda, and correspondence fell into the hands of the victors at the end of the war. These documents were winnowed and studied with care for months and months by dozens of investigators in a meticulous search for every shred of evidence which could be presented at the Nuremberg trials. After a lengthy and minute ransacking it transpired that nowhere in these papers was there to be found any evidence of any German plans to attack the United States. Quite to the contrary, the embarrassing fact developed from the secret papers that for many months prior to Pearl Harbor Chancellor Hitler was doing all that he could to avoid conflict with the United States !

This incontrovertible fact has shaken the faith of some, although not all, of the true believers. The more rational amongst those whose faith in the old hypotheses has diminished have now evolved a new hypothesis, that America could not have stood by as a passive neutral, and let Britain, France, and much of Western Europe fall into the power of Nazi

tyrants. This new hypothesis is emotionally seductive, like the abandoned hypotheses, and from the viewpoint of its propounders it has the merit of excessive oversimplification.

Merely in order to list a few of these oversimplifications, one might ask (1) To what extent did Mr. Roosevelt overurge Britain or France to adopt various courses of conduct which would tend to war ? (2) To what extent did Mr. Roosevelt's own maladroit diplomacy contribute to avoidable participation in the war by certain countries ? (3) Did Mr. Roosevelt have in mind only limited political objectives, which could have been more swiftly attained, such as the downfall of the Nazi government, or vaster objectives requiring a prolonged war, such as the total destruction of Germany ? (4) Did not Mr. Roosevelt overestimate the danger to Western Europe to be anticipated from Fascist tyranny, while underestimating the potential menace of Communist tyranny ? (5) In this connection, how accurate—or inaccurate—was Mr. Roosevelt's estimate of the probability of a conflict in the near future between tyrant and tyrant, Hitler versus Stalin, in which the evil power of both might have been sapped ? Many similar questions will occur to the informed reader as he considers the shortcomings of the last hypothesis. But perhaps the most potent objection to this hypothesis is one which could be validly posed to the conduct of much of our power politics of recent years : Mr. Roosevelt's policy was based upon a supposed friendship, and not upon the national interest of America. In power politics there are no friendships ; there are only interests. Much American disillusionment has arisen and will continue to arise from ignorance or disregard of such an elementary principle. George Washington said, in his Farewell Address to the people of the United States :

Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations ; Cultivate peace and harmony with all. . .

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and

passionate attachments for others, should be excluded ; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The Nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. . . . The peace often . . . of Nations has been the victim.

. . . Sympathy for the favorite Nations, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. . . .

But Mr. Roosevelt, and also Mr. Hull,[\(3\)](#) consistently violated these true and simple precepts which had been expressed for many decades in the traditional American policy of neutrality. Instead, Mr. Roosevelt elected to play the game of secret politics in our foreign affairs. “The wisdom of any foreign policy can generally be determined only by its results.”[\(4\)](#) judged by this canon Mr. Roosevelt’s foreign policy was not successful, and if this much is acknowledged then even the latest apology of his defenders fails.

Indeed, one is tempted to ask, how could the traditional American policy of neutrality have produced results which could have been any worse ?

In 1914 Mr. Wilson had appealed to all Americans for neutrality even in their personal thoughts, uttering “. . . a solemn word of warning . . . against that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which might spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides.”[\(5\)](#) Whatever Mr. Wilson did later, his appeal was in the highest tradition of George Washington and of the established pattern of American diplomacy. Mr. Roosevelt knew what neutrality was, “in the highest sense—not to help one fellow more than the other.”[\(6\)](#) But Mr. Roosevelt issued no Wilsonian appeal to the American people, perhaps because he felt that it was unnecessary. Many months later he

acknowledged this fact : “There can be no question that the people of the United States in 1939 were determined to remain neutral in fact and in deed. . . .”(7) Right up to Pearl Harbor this sentiment of the American people themselves did not change, as one of Mr. Roosevelt’s recent apologists has acknowledged : “. . . It was the first war in American history in which the general disillusionment preceded the firing of the first shot. It has been called, from the American point of view, ‘the most unpopular war in history.’ . . .”(8) And the apologist then offers his own brief theory as to why this feeling existed. It would seem more probable that the “general disillusionment” of which he speaks was due to quite different causes.

As a whole, the American people had never accepted the new scholastic theory of more or less “collective” warfare against an alleged aggressor. Perhaps the people’s intuitive common sense had already suggested to them that in any future “collective” action the other nations would expect America to assume almost the entire burden involved. Perhaps they esteemed the wise advice of George Washington more highly than the new theory. But apart from such conjectures it is clear that they believed in our established policy of neutrality. Semantic propagandists have tried to belittle that doctrine by calling it what they hoped would be a smearing name—“isolationism.” Name calling is not intelligent or rational and this device of propaganda did not deceive the majority of the American people who continued to be “isolationist” in their desire to remain neutral and to live in peace, as every poll of public opinion conclusively showed. Their “general disillusionment” was, in fact, due to their ultimate realization that Mr. Roosevelt in some unperceived way, and at some unknown time, had abandoned his professed policies of neutrality and peace and had secretly adopted a design for war.

The turning point is probably to be found in the “quarantine the aggressors” speech which Mr. Roosevelt delivered at Chicago on October 5, 1937.(9) Prior to that time Mr. Roosevelt’s public declarations had been very clearly isolationist.(10) After that time a change becomes apparent. But at the outset Mr. Roosevelt apparently

contemplated only action which would have aided China against Japan,[\(11\)](#) rather than any intervention in Europe.

Yet the one ultimately led to the other. In the aftermath of the Chicago speech Mr. Roosevelt found himself in closer touch with high British personalities,[\(12\)](#) and these relationships continued to develop rather quickly, with the British naturally being more interested in the affairs of Europe, into a policy of active although unacknowledged co-operation with Britain which was in effect before January, 1938.[\(13\)](#) It was in December, 1937, that Admiral Royal E. Ingersoll, then director of the Navy's War Plans Division, was sent to Britain by Mr. Roosevelt to discuss possible Anglo-American cooperation in case of war.[\(14\)](#) Out of these meetings some kind of an understanding or agreement developed. It was also in 1937 that the studies were commenced for the highly secret Industrial Mobilization Plan,[\(15\)](#) which contemplated that no less than twenty thousand factories should be earmarked for the production of war materials. Space hardly permits a detailed narration of the further steps which commenced in 1938 and looked toward the preparation in quantities of the necessary war materials. Likewise, only brief mention can be made of Mr. Roosevelt's political maneuvers, ultimately successful, but only by a narrow margin,[\(16\)](#) to oppose Congressman Louis Ludlow's proposal that there should be a national referendum vote as a prerequisite to a declaration of war.

Immediately after the German annexation of Austria, Mr. Hull[\(17\)](#) made a speech on March 17, 1938, in which he advocated "collaboration" along "parallel lines" in order to prevent the spread of the "contagious scourge of treaty breaking and armed violence." These propaganda efforts were continued during the spring and summer by Mr. Roosevelt and by others. By April, 1938, Mr. Emil Ludwig, whose biography of Mr. Roosevelt was almost official, knew enough about his plans to be able to state that, if there was a war in Europe, America "would probably supply the European democracies with everything except troops."[\(18\)](#)

In late June, 1938, Mr. Roosevelt publicly announced⁽¹⁹⁾ that the Navy, long concentrated in the Pacific, would in due course be concentrated in the Atlantic. In August secret negotiations, which have never been sufficiently investigated, were commenced with British representatives. For public consumption it was stated on November 17, 1938, that only trade agreements were being signed, but there were many hints cast out of underlying and unrevealed political commitments.⁽²⁰⁾ It seems certain that by that time Mr. Roosevelt and his associates were already secretly deep in the power politics of Europe, and a showdown had come earlier than they had anticipated, because of the events which culminated at Munich on September 30, 1938.

In early August even minor British officials knew that “at present Great Britain can count on close co-operation with [the] United States.”⁽²¹⁾ The American naval attaché at Lisbon, said to be a personal friend of Mr. Roosevelt, stated at that time that the possibilities for speedy aid to Great Britain and France were being studied in America, and that this aid would include many airplanes.⁽²²⁾ Evidently there had been some diplomatic leakage as to this information, because on September 9, 1938, Mr. Roosevelt found it necessary to deny that the United States was allied with European powers in a stop-Hitler movement.⁽²³⁾ It is interesting to speculate upon his reasons for omitting his denial from his published papers at a later date.

II. ROOSEVELT AND MUNICH

And now it becomes necessary to narrate the melancholy story of Munich. Even among historians it does not seem to be generally known that Mr. Roosevelt must bear a portion of the responsibility which has been attributed entirely but erroneously to Mr. Chamberlain. When the summer of 1938 began, Chancellor Hitler was preparing to press new

demands upon Czechoslovakia, but he was careful to note that he intended to avoid war : “ *However, I will decide to take action against Czechoslovakia only if I am firmly convinced as in the case of the occupation of the demilitarized zone and the entry into Austria that France will not march and therefore England will not intervene.*”[\(24\)](#)

As the situation became intensified in late August, Mr. Churchill, although not in office, wrote to Lord Halifax[\(25\)](#) and suggested that Britain, France, and Russia should address a joint note to Germany intimating that an invasion of Czechoslovakia “would raise capital issues for all three powers.” And Mr. Churchill also advised that Mr. Roosevelt should be induced “to do his utmost” in approaching Chancellor Hitler only, and in urging upon him a friendly settlement. In the outcome, the only deviation from Mr. Churchill’s plan was in its last item.

As September lengthened the situation became more acute, but on the whole the tendency was for Britain, France, and Russia to stand more firmly together. On September 12, 1938, Foreign Minister Bonnet repeated the latter part of Mr. Churchill’s suggestions, and urged that Ambassador Wilson at Berlin be instructed to make representations to Germany only.[\(26\)](#) Mr. Chamberlain had gone to see the German Chancellor on September 15 at Berchtesgaden and again on September 22 at Godesberg, but his tendency, and that of the British cabinet, toward appeasement after the first interview was checked by the more exorbitant demands made at the second meeting.

On the night of September 23, 1938, general mobilization was ordered in Czechoslovakia, and the next day Prague informed London that the German demands were absolutely and unconditionally unacceptable. On September 24 Ambassador Kennedy telephoned from London to Mr. Hull. He reported that while the British cabinet was split, some of its members were of the opinion that Britain would have to fight.[\(27\)](#) On September 25 the American Minister to Prague telegraphed Mr. Hull a request from President Benes to Mr. Roosevelt that he should urge Britain and France not to desert Czechoslovakia.[\(28\)](#) Meanwhile France

was at last preparing to perform its treaty obligations to Czechoslovakia, and partial mobilization was ordered.(29) Similarly Britain, on September 26, had announced its decision to assist France if France would stand by Czechoslovakia, and the mobilization of the British fleet was ordered on September 27 for the following day. Russia notified Prague(30) that she would honor the obligations of the 1935 treaty, and arranged with Rumania (which, with Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, formed the Little Entente) for the passage of her troops. Russia had already delivered three hundred war planes to Czechoslovakia,(31) and in addition several squadrons of Soviet planes were on the Czechoslovak airfields.(32) In consequence Lord Halifax, still on September 26, 1938, issued this statement : “If, in spite of the efforts made by the British Prime Minister, a German attack is made upon Czechoslovakia, the immediate result must be that France will be bound to come to her assistance, and Great Britain and Russia will certainly stand by France.”(33)

Here was a momentary climax of power. It was a turning point of history, for there was bitter controversy in the opposite camp. The German people were at this moment, September 27, 1938, devoid of enthusiasm either for Chancellor Hitler or for the prospective conflict.(34) The German generals were convinced that Germany would be defeated and were preparing a *Putsch*(35) to depose Chancellor Hitler. The Chancellor wavered and, on the night of the twenty-seventh/twenty-eighth, the German radio broadcast an official denial that Germany intended to mobilize. Later, on the morning of the twenty-eighth, a similar statement was issued by the official German news agency.(36) The era of appeasement had apparently ended, and it seemed as if Great Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, and Russia had called Chancellor Hitler’s bluff just in the nick of time.

At this critical moment Mr. Roosevelt intervened and wrecked the entire situation. For some time he had been eager “to make personal appeals to the heads of the European Governments concerned.” There had been a conflict in the State Department : “Welles kept pushing the President

on, while I [Mr. Hull] kept advising him to go Slow.”[\(37\)](#) Mr. Roosevelt decided to go ahead, and on September 26, 1938, he sent identical messages not only to Chancellor Hitler, but also to the President of Czechoslovakia, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and to the Premier of France, asking that the negotiations might continue to settle the questions at issue, and that war might be avoided. The inner meaning of Mr. Roosevelt’s intervention could not have been misunderstood by any informed person. Mr. Roosevelt had earlier been requested to apply his pressure only against Germany, but now he was applying it against Germany’s opponents too. It was thus clear that Mr. Roosevelt was not only opposing their military preparations to go to war against Germany : he was also lending the support of his influence to those who, in the divided counsels of the British and French governments, were opposed to war—to those who have since been called the appeasers.

After all, there was nothing to negotiate except Chancellor Hitler’s demand for Czechoslovakian territory, for no country was then demanding any territory from Germany. The military preparations of Czechoslovakia, which Mr. Roosevelt’s message equated with those of Germany, were purely defensive, so that this was hardly quarantining the aggressor.

Mr. Roosevelt possessed the power as President to declare American neutrality, and by embargoing the shipment of munitions of war to both belligerents to deny them the aid of America’s vast productive and financial power. Even If Britain and France had not been divided in their counsels they would hardly have dared to antagonize Mr. Roosevelt under such critical circumstances. Quite unexpectedly the appeasers found themselves in the drivers’ seat, and Chancellor Hitler’s bluff gained an unanticipated supporter. Messrs. Chamberlain, Daladier, and Benes cabled back “their complete accord with the President’s views and their willingness to negotiate for peace” on September 26, 1938.[\(38\)](#) Mr. Chamberlain’s request to broadcast a message—no doubt

of explanation—to the American people on the following night, September 27, 1938 was denied by Mr. Roosevelt.(39)

Nor was this all. Chancellor Hitler's reply, which was received in America on the night of September 26, was inconclusive. Consequently, Mr. Roosevelt thought it expedient to find additional support for his proposal. Circular instructions were therefore sent on September 27 to American diplomats in other countries, requesting them to ask the governments to which they were accredited "to send comparable appeals to *Germany and Czechoslovakia*"(40) (emphasis supplied); nineteen other governments (seventeen being in Latin America) obliged. Also on September 27 Mr. Roosevelt besought Premier Mussolini to urge the use of negotiations, and to Chancellor Hitler Mr. Roosevelt sent a further message urging that a conference be called. So the stage was inescapably set for Munich by Mr. Roosevelt's personal actions and maneuvers, and Mr. Chamberlain received a full award of general opprobrium in which, if justified, Mr. Roosevelt deserved a considerable share.

Mr. Roosevelt's reasons for this grievous blunder must remain conjectural until all of the secret diplomatic discussions and approaches are revealed. Meanwhile we have some clues, all of which point in the same direction, namely, that Mr. Roosevelt did not regard Munich as any final settlement with Hitler but believed that it might lead to war at no distant period. Hence, he continued his plans for a vast armament program, with emphasis on airplanes, which would help to provide Britain and France with the sinews of war and make the United States ready for possible involvement in the impending struggle.

Colonel Charles Lindbergh had reported before September 24, 1938, both to our State Department and to the British, that Germany was easily capable of combating the combined air force of all other European countries.(41) Ambassador Kennedy had not been too confident as to whether the French and the British were in good shape to fight.(42) Most revealing is the account given by General Arnold.(43) On

September 28, 1938, Mr. Roosevelt called a meeting, which “was plainly a bolt from the blue,” to discuss aircraft production and air power in general. Mr. Roosevelt

came straight out for air power. Airplanes—now—and lots of them ! . . . A new regiment of field artillery . . . he said sharply, would not scare Hitler one blankety-blank-blank bit ! What he wanted was airplanes ! Airplanes were the war implements that would have an influence on Hitler’s activities !

The total air power of Britain, France, Germany, and Italy was estimated, and Mr. Roosevelt said that he wanted to create the capacity to manufacture 20,000 military planes a year, with the actual production of 10,000 planes (the approximate estimated combined total strength of Germany and Italy) a year as the immediate goal. The tremendous expansion of the Air Corps made General Arnold feel that it had “achieved its Magna Carta.” It was not wholly unexpected to him ; about a fortnight earlier Mr. Roosevelt had sent Mr. Hopkins to make a secret survey of our capacity to build military aircraft because Mr. Roosevelt “was sure then that we were going to get into war and he believed that air power would win it.”[\(44\)](#) As something of a by-product of this activity General Marshall was secretly supplied with diverted relief funds in order to procure machinery to manufacture ammunition.[\(45\)](#)

Another important clue is that in 1940 Mr. Kennedy delivered a speech in which he stated that “if Mr. Chamberlain had had five thousand first-line planes at home when he conferred at Munich we would have truly seen ‘peace in our time.’ ”[\(46\)](#)

All of this procedure makes it evident that Mr. Roosevelt did not believe that the Munich settlement meant permanent peace or even “peace in our time,” but apparently was convinced that it would lead to war in the not distant future.

All of these clues lead in the same direction, and unless and until they are superseded by better evidence their implication would seem clear. Mr. Roosevelt apparently believed, in the autumn of 1938, that the air power of Britain and France was dangerously insufficient, and that those nations ought not to assume the risks of war with Germany at that time. In consequence he intervened at a critical moment in a delicate and almost balanced situation. The result of his intervention was tantamount to compelling the Allies to agree to grant Chancellor Hitler's demands, instead of resisting them by war.

Mr. Roosevelt's intervention was therefore equivalent in its result to appeasement, so that, in the phraseology current in those times, Mr. Roosevelt was, in effect, the most decisive appeaser.*

* EDITOR'S NOTE.—As is evident from the closing paragraphs of Professor Tansill's preceding chapter, Dr. Sanborn's interpretation of President Roosevelt's motives for appeasement in the Munich crisis is open to serious challenge. To imply that Mr. Roosevelt could have believed that France and Britain were in better condition to battle against Hitler in August, 1939, than in September, 1938, is veritably to charge him with incredible ignorance, if not sheer mental defect. With the Russian and Czech armies ready to aid France and Britain in September, 1938, it is unthinkable that an attack by these four powers on Germany in the fall of 1938 would not have resulted in a quick and crushing defeat of Germany. As Langer and Gleason point out, as late as September, 1939, Hitler had available for the attack on Poland only three partly mechanized divisions and not one fully motorized division. One liberal journalist, much in personal favor with Mr. Roosevelt in 1938, even ventured the opinion at the time of Munich that the Czech army alone could defeat Hitler. Now we know that France and Britain, combined, had more tanks and war planes than Hitler possessed in September, 1938. Mr. Roosevelt must have known this at the time unless guilty of near-criminal neglect and incompetence.

The only explanation for Mr. Roosevelt's intervention in the Munich episode which would seem to accord with facts, logic, and reason is that he felt that a military attack on Hitler in September, 1938, would lead to so rapid a termination of the war (in the defeat of Germany) that he would not have time to involve this country in the great conflict. By the end of August, 1939, with the Czech army immobilized and Russia aligned with Germany, it looked like a long war, well suited to Mr. Roosevelt's interventionist program. We now know that the powerful German generals opposed to Hitler had given top-level British statesmen and diplomats definite and reliable information before the Munich crisis that an army revolt would take place in Germany against Hitler if he risked war in the autumn of 1938.

Having submitted this rejoinder, the editor re-emphasizes his respect for Dr. Sanborn as a conscientious and learned scholar. His views should be stated without restraint and are entitled to respect. In any event, Dr. Sanborn, Professor Tansill, and the editor are in full agreement upon the main point, namely, that President Roosevelt exercised a decisive influence in leading Britain and France to appease rather than forcibly to resist Hitler at the time of the Munich crisis.

III. THE AFTERMATH OF MUNICH

This intervention was, of course, not neutrality. It was also a resounding defeat in the sphere of power politics, and Mr. Roosevelt was never a man to forgive or forget such a defeat. It was not long before he began to attempt to move forward once more against Chancellor Hitler.

By mid-November, 1938, both the American ambassador to Germany and the German ambassador to the United States had been recalled. The feelings of officials in Washington were rising portentously high against Germany : it was like 1916–17.[\(47\)](#) Ambassadors Bullitt, Kennedy,

and Phillips were also brought back from their posts for post-mortem conferences, and it was secretly agreed that the time had come to stop Germany and to assist Britain and France.[\(48\)](#) Mr. Morgenthau now managed to intrude himself into the military aircraft production program and commenced making the arrangements to give away our newest aircraft to foreign countries. Early in December, 1938, a French mission came secretly to the United States in order to inspect our newest attack bomber, and Mr. Morgenthau arranged for the necessary clearances.[\(49\)](#)

The secrets of power politics are rarely hidden for long from the insiders. It is only the people themselves who are not permitted to know what is being secretly planned and what is secretly done. Word of the American plans no doubt percolated through to Premier Mussolini in due course, and at the commencement of 1939 his thinking changed ; he then considered that a clash with the Western democracies was inevitable, and he decided to try to transform the Anti-Comintern agreement into an alliance.[\(50\)](#) The “American lack of political sense”[\(51\)](#) in international affairs may well have affected that fateful decision.

In a chapter limited by space we cannot pause to trace the development of Mr. Roosevelt’s propaganda in his “methods short of war” annual message to the Congress on January 4, 1939, or in his special message on defense in early January, 1939. But the trend of his thinking at this time is clear. On January 23, 1939, a bomber crashed and an injured member of the French mission was pulled from the flaming wreck.[\(52\)](#) This suddenly revealed to the American public the presence of secret military missions. In the ensuing furore Mr. Roosevelt called the Senate Military Affairs Committee to the White House, swore them to secrecy, and said that our frontier in the battle of the democracies against Fascism was on the Rhine,[\(53\)](#) or (according to another version) in France.[\(54\)](#) This, too, leaked, and the furore became greater.

The percipient reader will have noted already that while Mr. Roosevelt referred to Fascism he made no mention of the peril of Communism.

That obvious omission was contemporaneously noted by the Polish ambassador to the United States in a dispatch which showed brilliant insight upon that particular topic. On January 16, 1939, the Polish ambassador reported to Warsaw that he had had a long talk with Ambassador Bullitt, who was about to return to his post in Paris. Mr. Bullitt stated that Mr. Roosevelt's policies included rearmament "at an accelerated speed"; "that France and Britain must put [an] end to any sort of compromise with the totalitarian countries," and that "They have the moral assurance that the United States will leave the policy of isolation and be prepared to intervene actively on the side of Britain and France in case of war. America is ready to place its whole wealth of money and raw materials at their disposal." [\(55\)](#)

Several weeks later the Polish ambassador to France reported as to another conversation with Mr. Bullitt, from which he concluded "... that the policy of President Roosevelt will henceforth take the course of supporting France's resistance, to check German-Italian pressure, and to weaken British compromise tendencies." [\(56\)](#)

On March 14, 1939, Chancellor Hitler had called in the Czechoslovak President and Foreign Minister and had forced them to agree to a German protectorate and to occupation by German troops. This came as a great surprise : even Mussolini did not know it had been planned. It left him feeling flat-footed and ridiculous, [\(57\)](#) and in consequence he determined to seize Albania. Apparently American diplomats were unaware of this strained relationship between Hitler and Mussolini, and instead of capitalizing upon such divergencies they maladroitly brought the parties together by scolding messages [\(58\)](#) and by attempts to constitute a "democratic bloc." [\(59\)](#)

From Paris Mr. Bullitt wrote to Mr. Roosevelt on March 23, 1939, [\(60\)](#) urging that "some nation in Europe" should stand up to Germany "quickly," and the next day he had a conversation with the Polish ambassador. The Pole expressed the opinion, among others, that British foreign policy was "... not only concerned with the defense of these

states which find themselves menaced by the new methods of German policy, but also with an ideological conflict with Hitlerism, and that the ultimate aim in the pursuit of its actions is not peace but to bring about the downfall of Germany.”(61) The Pole also objected that neither Britain nor France were taking sufficiently firm military measures at that time, and that in consequence their proposals to Poland were highly dangerous to that country. Mr. Bullitt then inquired whether Poland “would accept a common alliance in the event that France and England proposed it.” The Polish ambassador replied guardedly and in substance that it would depend upon how much power Britain was prepared to use to back up the guarantee.

Mr. Bullitt then telephoned Mr. Kennedy at London on March 25, 1939,(62) and instructed him to call on Mr. Chamberlain and repeat the conversation. Ambassador Kennedy did so on March 26, 1939,(63) and telephoned his report to Mr. Bullitt at Paris. The Polish ambassador at Paris expressed doubt as to how far Britain would go and expressed to Mr. Bullitt the “. . . hope that the United States possesses means by which it can exercise efficacious pressure on England. He added that he would seriously consider assembling these means.” Someone—we may assume that it was Mr. Bullitt—was telephoning to Mr. Roosevelt at this time,(64) and the upshot of all this maneuvering was that, on March 31, 1939, Mr. Chamberlain stated to the House of Commons that Great Britain and France would fight if Germany invaded Poland. Some light is cast upon this decision by the contemporary report of the Polish ambassador in London as to Mr. Kennedy’s conversation with Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Kennedy, it was said, “. . . emphasized that America’s sympathies for England in case of a conflict would depend to a great extent upon the determination with which England would take care of European states threatened by Germany.”(65)

Meanwhile, in late March, Lord Halifax had approached Mr. Kennedy, saying that the British commitments in Europe were so substantial that a previous promise made to Australia to send a fleet to Singapore could not be kept;(66) would America oblige ? Ambassador Bullitt supported

this request from France on April 11, 1939, stating that France would refuse to join Britain in taking action to resist Germany if the British Mediterranean Fleet was sent to Singapore.[\(67\)](#) Mr. Roosevelt took the requested prompt action ; on April 15, 1939, the American fleet was ordered into the Pacific.[\(68\)](#)

On May 17, 1939, Ambassador Phillips delivered a warning to Count Ciano, stressing one point, “. . . that the American people . . . intend unanimously to concern themselves in European affairs, and it would be folly to think that they would remain aloof in the event of a conflict.”[\(69\)](#) Ambassador Davies is supposed to have made a somewhat comparable assertion to Stalin,[\(70\)](#) but the limited scope of this chapter forbids any attempt to trace the involved paths of the tortuous negotiations conducted almost simultaneously by Soviet Russia with both Britain and Germany, which eventuated in the public and secret treaties of August 23, 1939, between Germany and Russia, and which were the immediate prelude to the outbreak of the second World War.

Meanwhile, in the United States, Mr. Roosevelt was unsuccessfully attempting to abolish the restraints which the Neutrality Act laid on him. King George VI and Queen Elizabeth had visited him in early June, 1939, but the nature of the conversations which were held at that time are still secret. That Mr. Roosevelt's purposes had not changed is shown by the despairing and prophetic summary which Professor Raymond Moley wrote during the summer of 1939, in the course of which he observed that the administration was “up to its neck in the game of power politics,” and he also stated that “the evidence has all pointed to our active and tireless participation in the game . . .”[\(71\)](#)

At a much later date it was revealed that during the summer of 1939 Mr. Bullitt was frequently urging upon Mr. Roosevelt the opinion that the Germans would not fight about Poland if they were faced down.[\(72\)](#) Mr. Roosevelt asked Mr. Clarence Dillon to get in secret touch with the British, to urge that Mr. Chamberlain should have greater firmness in

dealing with Germany, and Mr. Dillon spoke to this effect to Lord Lothian. Mr. Roosevelt also delivered similar messages to Mr. Kennedy over the transatlantic telephone during the summer of 1939. Mr. Kennedy's view was that the British did not have enough to fight with, and that any conflict between Germany and Britain was superfluous because Germany would later attack Soviet Russia. And Mr. Kennedy later reported that Mr. Chamberlain had said that America and the world Jews had forced Britain into the war.

Indeed, as it has a bearing upon Mr. Roosevelt's aggressive purposes, it should be noted that at a secret conference at Tokyo on May 23, 1939, between Baron Hiranuma and Mr. Eugene H. Dooman, the counselor of the American Embassy, the Japanese Prime Minister suggested that he might sound out Germany and Italy, if Mr. Roosevelt was prepared to approach Britain and France, in order to hold a conference to try to solve the troubles of Europe.[\(73\)](#) Mr. Hull viewed this approach as "amazing," and brought it to Mr. Roosevelt's personal attention.[\(74\)](#) But a reply was delayed for the better part of three months, by which time circumstances had changed, and a great opportunity which had been neglected was wasted—or evaded.

American preparations for war were proceeding silently and secretly. On June 23, 1939, a secret barter agreement was made with Britain;[\(75\)](#) "a good deal of money" was spent to buy various war materials;[\(76\)](#) nineteen new merchant ships were launched by August 9 ; contracts were about to be let for one hundred more;[\(77\)](#) and on August 10 a War Resources Board was created.[\(78\)](#)

IV. AMERICAN POLICY AND THE OUTBREAK OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The diplomatic confusion and maneuverings which preceded the outbreak of the second World War can only be touched upon briefly here. But this much should be pointed out. The Russo-German treaties of August 23, 1939, were not only unpopular in Europe ; they met with a hostile Japanese response, and Italy at the last moment refused to fight,⁽⁷⁹⁾ so that on August 25 Chancellor Hitler cancelled the mobilization orders.⁽⁸⁰⁾ It therefore seems to be a legitimate hypothesis to suppose that if American diplomacy had previously been more friendly and affirmative toward Japan and toward Italy, and if the German generals and others who were so earnestly opposed to the Chancellor had been encouraged and supported, the focusing of all this combined strength and opposition might then have led to his immediate downfall. Instead, as we all know, the final result of this political confusion and diplomatic ineptitude was war, after the failure of sincere last-minute Italian efforts to reach a peaceful settlement.⁽⁸¹⁾ Two days after the invasion of Poland, Britain declared war on Germany, and France reluctantly followed the British lead a few hours later.

Very shortly thereafter Mr. Roosevelt decided to ignore the regular procedure of transmitting diplomatic communications through ambassadors and Secretaries of State. Mr. Churchill has stated that on September 11, 1939, Mr. Roosevelt had requested him to send him personal sealed communications through the diplomatic pouches,⁽⁸²⁾ and that there were about two thousand,⁽⁸³⁾ or seventeen hundred,⁽⁸⁴⁾ of these exchanges. The most important business between Britain and America was ultimately transacted through this personal and secret correspondence, and almost all of it has been kept secret to this day.

Meanwhile Mr. Roosevelt held press conferences, made a fireside chat to the nation, and issued various proclamations, including a neutrality proclamation. At all times his protestations of a desire to keep America at peace were strong and profuse. This was the appearance ; the reality was otherwise.

A deceitfully named “neutrality patrol” of American waters was initiated by or before September 22, 1939,(85) but it was not long before American naval vessels were unneutrally directing and escorting British warships to capture German prizes.(86) Wholly contrary to the established rules of international law a so-called neutral zone was extended anywhere from three hundred to one thousand miles out to sea(87) in order to benefit Britain against Germany. Later, on October 18, 1939, the submarines of all the belligerents, except Russia, were forbidden to enter American ports, except in case of *force majeure*.(88)

Secret preparations were made for American entry into the war.(89) By necessary implication Mr. Roosevelt had lost some of his earlier faith in the overwhelming effect of air power, because plans for the draft were being worked on in September, and by early October they were essentially in the form in which they were enacted about a year later.(90) Wartime taxation was being studied, as was some form of war risk insurance.

Meanwhile Soviet Russia joined in the attack on Poland, and Polish resistance collapsed. Foreign diplomats thought that peace was quite possible, but Mr. Roosevelt was strongly opposed to a negotiated peace.(91) The German attempt to make peace failed, and the period of the “phony” war began.

Mr. Roosevelt had called a special session of Congress for September 21, 1939, in order to amend the Neutrality Act,(92) and, after assuring the country that it was “a shameless and dishonest fake” to assert that any “person in any responsible place . . . in Washington . . . has ever suggested in any shape, manner or form the remotest possibility of sending the boys of American mothers to fight on the battlefields of Europe,” and that the United States “is neutral and does not intend to get involved in war,”(93) he managed to get the cash-and-carry amendments through on November 3, 1939.(94) British and French purchasing commissions were already here, awaiting the passage of the amendments in order to open up. In Mr. Morgenthau’s opinion(95) they did not arm

speedily enough, but in about a year it transpired that they had ordered arms far in excess of their capacity to pay for them.

We must hasten over the German surrender of the three little Baltic states to Russia at the end of September, 1939, and the invasion of Finland on November 29, 1939. Likewise space limitations forbid more than a passing reference to Mr. Myron C. Taylor's mission to the Vatican in February, 1940, and Mr. Sumner Welles's trip to Italy, France, Germany, and Great Britain in February and March, 1940. Peace negotiations were in the air, but Mr. Roosevelt, still opposing a negotiated peace, refused to let Mr. Welles participate in them.[\(96\)](#) By March 19, 1940, Mr. Roosevelt was allowing our advanced types of aircraft to be sold to Britain and to France,[\(97\)](#) while starving the American Army and Navy of them for many months to come. General Arnold often refers[\(98\)](#) plaintively but timidly to this problem, which was finally so acute that Secretary Knox wrote in his secret report to Mr. Roosevelt, soon after the Pearl Harbor disaster :

Of course, the best means of defense against air attack consists of fighter planes. Lack of an adequate number of this type of aircraft available to the Army for the defense of the Island is due to the diversion of this type before the outbreak of the war to the British, the Chinese, the Dutch and the Russians.[\(99\)](#)

Prior to the attack on Denmark and Norway Mr. Roosevelt had arranged for loans to those countries.[\(100\)](#) During May, 1940, along with Mr. Churchill and M. Reynaud, he tried often but secretly[\(101\)](#) to keep Italy from entering the war, at first by covert threats, which made Mussolini feel compelled to act quickly, and later by promises of territorial accessions in the Mediterranean area which Mr. Roosevelt offered personally to guarantee. When these secret promises failed, Mr. Roosevelt returned to his original policy of threats, which became much more specific and included a thinly veiled statement of American military intervention.

On May 10, 1940, Germany had opened her attack upon the Low Countries and France, and Mr. Churchill had become Prime Minister. On May 15, 1940, Mr. Churchill cabled Mr. Roosevelt⁽¹⁰²⁾ a long list of requests for tangible aerial, naval, material, and diplomatic help, asking for almost everything except an expeditionary force, and including the abandonment of American neutrality. None of these requests was explicitly refused by Mr. Roosevelt, although he temporized as to granting several of them. The very next day, May 16, Mr. Roosevelt asked the Congress for additional appropriations “for National Defense,”⁽¹⁰³⁾ the first in a 1940 series. And on May 17, 1940, Mr. Roosevelt ordered the remaining older destroyers to be recommissioned.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ It was his first step toward the destroyer deal, but it was not swift enough to please Mr. Churchill, whose demands soon became importunate and were coupled with intimations that under some circumstances the British Fleet might be surrendered to Germany. One cannot give even a résumé of the correspondence and subsequent negotiations here;⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ it ultimately resulted in the destroyer-bases deal of September 3, 1940.

On May 28, 1940, King Leopold III surrendered the Belgian armies, and next day the evacuation through Dunkirk began. On June 1, Mr. Roosevelt ordered the Army and the Navy to investigate the quantity of arms which could be transferred to Britain, and on June 3 General Marshall authorized sending to Britain half a million rifles, 80,000 machine guns, 900 field guns, and much in the way of other munitions.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ On June 5, 1940, the Attorney General rendered an opinion that 600,000 rifles and 2,500 field guns, with ammunition, might be sold to Britain as “surplus.” From time to time thereafter more and more weapons were sent, so much more that in early 1941 Mr. Churchill gaily cabled brief thanks to Mr. Hopkins for a “packet” containing a mere quarter of a million rifles and half a billion rounds of ammunition.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

On June 10, 1940, Italy declared war against France, and on the same day Mr. Roosevelt delivered the speech at the commencement of the

University of Virginia in which he said, “the hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbor.”[\(108\)](#) France resisted Italy with far more ease than Germany, and M. Reynaud was now asking Mr. Roosevelt urgently for help.[\(109\)](#) So was Mr. Churchill, who also asked Mr. Roosevelt that hope be held out to France. In France, as resistance began to fail, Mr. Churchill held out the possibility even of an American declaration of war.[\(110\)](#) Mr. Roosevelt, on June 13, 1940, cabled M. Reynaud, promising much more material aid and urging that French resistance should continue,[\(111\)](#) but he refused to permit his cable to be made public.[\(112\)](#)

So France sought an armistice, and almost immediately Mr. Roosevelt began to threaten the French in various ways in order to force them to get their navy out of the way of the Germans before signing an armistice.[\(113\)](#) For many months thereafter these threats were renewed from time to time.[\(114\)](#)

V. AMERICAN AID TO BRITAIN “ SHORT OF WAR ”

On June 20, 1940, Mr. Woodring was ousted as Secretary of War because he had refused to strip the nation of its defenses in order to aid the Allies ; he was replaced by Mr. Stimson, a confirmed interventionist and an advocate of peacetime conscription. On that same day the draft act was introduced in the Senate, because, if enlistments in the Army are any criterion of public opinion, the country was still overwhelmingly opposed to Mr. Roosevelt’s policies. The Army’s recruiting was a failure;[\(115\)](#) only nine thousand men had enlisted after a six weeks’ drive.

On July 2, 1940, Mr. Roosevelt by proclamation prohibited the export of munitions of war and many other goods, except under license. This

measure, he later expressly acknowledged,(116) was to promote “the policy of helping Great Britain”; by necessary implication it was intended to prevent any exports to Germany and to Italy. It was about at this time that a naval and military mission was sent to Britain. Nominally it was an exploratory mission,(117) but out of it the secret joint Anglo-American staff plans of January, 1941, ensued.

On July 19, 1940, Chancellor Hitler appealed to Great Britain to make peace.(118) His offer was serious, and competent observers believed that Britain would have been tempted to accept it, had it not been for Mr. Roosevelt’s opposition.(119) Russo-German relations were already deteriorating, and German plans to attack Russia were in the earliest stage of their formation.(120) Chancellor Hitler wanted, and expected to obtain, peace with Britain. When peace was rejected hasty plans to attack Britain were initiated in July,(121) disputed between the German navy and the German army in August, and abandoned in September(122) in order to concentrate upon the Russian adventure.(123)

In the United States Mr. Roosevelt was busily occupied in finding a way to circumvent the Congress(124) and consummate the destroyer deal, in undertaking the defense of Canada, in helping Mr. Churchill with a variety of relatively minor diplomatic intrigues, and, most particularly, in winning the third-term election by giving more profuse and more sweeping promises “again and again and again” to maintain “peace during the next four years”(125) and “to keep our people out of foreign wars.”(126) Along with these activities Mr. Roosevelt deceived the Congress into authorizing, in late August, that the National Guard be ordered into active service for “training efficiency.”(127) He also managed to secure the passage of the first peacetime conscription act by September 16, 1940,(128) but it was limited to twelve months of “training” and the draftees could not be sent outside of the Western Hemisphere.

Once the election was won “on which our fate . . . depended,”[\(129\)](#) Mr. Churchill had further demands to make. It took him over three weeks to compose a letter, almost ten pages long when printed,[\(130\)](#) which was delivered to Mr. Roosevelt on December 9, 1940. The requests were more formidable and contemplated the continuance of the war for at least two more years ; this was the genesis of lend-lease.

By December 12, 1940,[\(131\)](#) joint staff conversations with the British had been secretly commenced in London, Manila, and Washington. They continued through the early part of 1941, and out of them the American-British-Dutch war plans were developed. The first war plan was against Germany ; the second war plan was against Japan, and Mr. Roosevelt approved both of these plans “except officially,”[\(132\)](#) as Admiral Stark put it. Continued secrecy still prevents a positive statement as to the constitution of a formal alliance at this time, but the distinction between a formal alliance and a gentleman’s agreement which had been established and approved, “except officially,” seems trifling.[\(133\)](#) What is of vastly greater concern is that neither the American people nor the Congress were allowed to know the truth. The vital implications of these joint staff conferences in regard to the involvement of the United States in the war were fully sensed by Admiral Stark. At the close of the conferences he wrote to his fleet commanders that “The question as to our entry into the war now seems to be when, and not whether.”[\(133a\)](#)

In early January, 1941, Mr. Hopkins had flown to London to confer with Mr. Churchill. Mr. Hopkins’ laconic report, “I told of my mission,”[\(134\)](#) is expanded in Mr. Churchill’s version of it to a more sweeping undertaking :

The President is determined that we shall win the war together. Make no mistake about it.

He has sent me here to tell you that at all costs and by all means he will carry you through, no matter what happens to him—there is nothing that he will not do so far as he has human power.[\(135\)](#)

Meanwhile Mr. Roosevelt had asked the Congress for lend-lease, and on January 10, 1941, the bill, drafted in the offices of Mr. Stimson and of Mr. Morgenthau,(136) was introduced. Space forbids an extended account of all the political maneuvering which accomplished it.(137) One can only state three matters in a summary way : first, that vague terror stories about an invasion crisis facing Britain—in the event, a quite false and synthetic crisis—were employed as one of the propaganda devices to secure its enactment ; second, that in consequence of its passage on March 9, 1941, the Congress surrendered the war-making power to Mr. Roosevelt, and enabled him to make war, declared or undeclared, anywhere in the world ; and third, that lend-lease, like most of Mr. Roosevelt's other measures, was wholly unneutral and contrary to the elementary rules of international law.

In mid-January, 1941, another and more fateful thread was woven into the pattern. The American State Department, at Mr. Roosevelt's specific instruction, warned(138) the Russian ambassador, Mr. Constantine Oumansky,(139) of the contemplated German attack, and these warnings were later repeated.(140) By early February, 1941, the eastern movement of the German troops was well known.(141) Everything pointed toward an extension of the war by a German attack on Russia, but Anglo-American power politics succeeded in delaying it for five weeks.(142) The great cost of the sacrifice, made in order to obtain this small delay for Soviet Russia's benefit, was the loss of Yugoslavia, Greece, and Crete, the crippling of the British Mediterranean Fleet,(143) and the British defeat in Libya.(144) In the diplomatic intrigues in Greece and in Yugoslavia Americans(145) played a substantial and quite successful part in opposing Germany. Later, as the time approached for the commencement of the attack on Russia, Mr. Churchill meditated upon what his policy should be and concluded that he should "give all encouragement and any help we can spare." He cabled this to Mr. Roosevelt,(146) who replied in the sense of *carte blanche*—he would publicly endorse "any announcement that the Prime Minister might make welcoming Russia as an ally."

In the autumn of 1938 the French military experts had expressed [\(147\)](#) to Mr. Bullitt the view that “. . . the war would last at least six years and would . . . end in the complete destruction of Europe, and with communism reigning in all States. Undoubtedly, at the conclusion, the benefits would be taken by Russia.” So far as can be ascertained neither Mr. Roosevelt nor Mr. Churchill had such prudent misgivings in June, 1941. Or, if they did, their strong antipathy toward Germany prevented them from acting with the cold and detached realism which is so necessary in the successful practice of power politics.

After the passage of the Lend-Lease Act Mr. Roosevelt seemed to view the United States as being in the European war “except officially.” [\(148\)](#) But in the light of the many campaign promises which he had made, and also of the explicit pledge contained in the Democratic party’s platform, he felt that he could not enter the war officially unless and until he could persuade the nation that there had been an “attack” by Germany. Until that time came he would engage in a secret and undeclared war, [\(149\)](#) hoping to drive the Germans into shooting first. [\(150\)](#)

It was on March 6, 1941, that Mr. Roosevelt expressed a portion of his purposes to the Polish ambassador, saying, “. . . we Americans will have to buy this war as such. Let us hope at the price of Lend-Lease only. But who can say what price we may ultimately have to pay ?” [\(151\)](#)

In March, 1941, American officers went to Britain to select naval bases for use in convoying, [\(152\)](#) and air fields, and as soon as they had been selected the construction work began. Damaged British warships were to be repaired in American navy yards. In April two million tons of shipping were obtained and sent through the Red Sea in order to aid the British campaigns in the Mediterranean area, and a large supply base was secretly set up at Basra. [\(153\)](#) Also in that month the movements of American war vessels were coordinated with those of the British and arrangements were made for secret intercommunication. [\(154\)](#) And finally it was on April 18, 1941, that Mr. Roosevelt extended out to 26° West—over two thousand miles from New York—the claimed boundary

of the Western Hemisphere(155)—wherein American warships would aid the British. The order providing for this action was issued on April 24, 1941.(156) In March, 1941, American army planes began patrolling the North Atlantic, out of Newfoundland,(157) against German submarines ; in April, 1941, Greenland was occupied;(158) in May, 1941, plans were made,(159) and later abandoned, to seize the Azores and Martinique. Meanwhile Mr. Roosevelt debated whether to order American submarines to attack and sink the German battleship *Bismarck*.(160) In June Mr. Roosevelt agreed with Mr. Churchill to relieve the British troops in Iceland,(161) and this was done on July 7, 1941. It was also in June, 1941, that Mr. Roosevelt ordered the closing of all the German and Italian consulates in the United States.

In the middle of May Mr. Roosevelt had announced publicly that twenty-four cargo ships were about to depart for the Red Sea in spite of the German proclamation of a war zone in that area.(162) These vessels had to sail between Africa and South America, and in that general area the *Robin Moor* was sunk a few days later. Mr. Roosevelt had successfully provoked an incident, and in a message to the Congress he called it an “act of piracy,” and “the act of an international outlaw,”(163) but the American public declined to be aroused.

Meanwhile the German Führer was taking no chances over the creation of any incident. He had long since prohibited unrestricted submarine warfare and the sinking of passenger ships;(164) he had also strictly forbidden any injury to friendly nations’ vessels or to those of the United States, outside of the war zone closely adjacent to the British Isles.(165) When the so-called neutrality patrol in the “neutrality zone” was established, Chancellor Hitler secretly ordered all German warships to avoid any incidents in it.(166) When Mr. Roosevelt extended the boundaries of the Western Hemisphere much further to the east, the Führer still continued to prohibit the creation of any incidents.(167) Nevertheless Mr. Roosevelt was still hoping in early June that he could “drive the Germans into shooting first.”(168)

Late June and July, 1941, were largely concerned with the aftermath of the German attack on Russia. Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Hopkins, and others rushed in to swamp Russia with offers of American aid. Theirs seems to have been the extremely simple policy of giving unlimited and unconditional aid not only to the true enemies of Germany but also to that nation's former accomplices.(169) Mr. Churchill could at least speak tartly(170) of the Communists' view "that they were conferring a great favour on us by fighting in their own country for their own lives," but when Mr. Hopkins went to Russia "in return for the offer of such aid he asked nothing."(171) Fulfillment of the Russian demands was given a first priority by Mr. Roosevelt over everything else,(172) and materials and equipment were diverted to Russia in late 1941 over the opposition and in spite of strong protests from the Armed Forces.(173)

The diminution of American supplies to Britain in consequence of this prospective diversion was only one of the reasons which led Mr. Churchill to seek the Atlantic Conference meeting which was held about mid-August, 1941.(174) Mr. Churchill had frequently attempted to bring the United States into the war as a belligerent. The British had hoped for this in June, 1940 ; they had expected it a few days after the third-term election was won ;(175) they had looked for it again about the first of May,(176) and Mr. Churchill sought to obtain it at the conference.(177) There is some reason to believe that the American Chiefs of Staff felt that their forces were not as yet ready for war and that they dissuaded Mr. Roosevelt from taking drastic action immediately.(178)

However, the Atlantic Charter, in providing for Anglo-American co-operation in "the policing of the world" during a transitional period following the close of the second World War, assumed by a tacit but inescapable implication that the United States would presently become involved in the war. This implication is fortified by the preponderance of the top military and naval staff personnel who were present. What was, on their agenda has never been fully disclosed, but it included war plans generally(179) and specific discussions about expeditions to seize

the Azores, the Canaries, and the Cape Verde Islands.(180) The activities of the American navy were to be extended in the North Atlantic,(181) and Mr. Roosevelt repeated to Mr. Churchill his predilection for an undeclared war, saying, “I may never declare war ; I may make war. If I were to ask Congress to declare war, they might argue about it for three months.”(182) There was also a long discussion of Far Eastern affairs, which falls outside the scope of this chapter.

VI. THE “ SHOOTING WAR ” BEGINS

Within a fortnight after the termination of the Atlantic Conference—on August 25, 1941—Mr. Roosevelt gave secret orders to the Atlantic Fleet to attack and destroy German and Italian “hostile forces”; this was the putting into effect of War Plan 51.(183) Ten days later, on September 4, 1941, there was an incident between an American destroyer, the *Greer*, and a German submarine. If the *Greer* obeyed her secret orders she necessarily attacked the submarine, but it was stated for public consumption that she was attacked. This was doubted at the time. The Navy Department, it should be noted, refused to furnish the log of the *Greer* to the Senate,(184) and thus establish whether the official claim was the truth.

Mr. Roosevelt capitalized on this incident in a fireside chat delivered on September 11, 1941.(185) He claimed it was an attack, “piracy legally and morally,” and that the Nazis were “international outlaws.” And he said,

. . . When you see a rattlesnake poised to strike, you do not wait until he has struck before you crush him.

These Nazi submarines and raiders are the rattlesnakes of the Atlantic. . . .

. . . From now on, if German or Italian vessels of war enter the waters the protection of which is necessary for American defense, they will do so at their own peril.

This was the shoot-on-sight speech, and it publicly announced a small portion of the substance of War Plan 51, which was already secretly in effect. Mr. Churchill mentioned in a “most secret” letter to General Smuts⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ that the American people had been kept quite ignorant of “the vast area to which it is to be applied.” Here, indeed, was undeclared war. On September 13 Mr. Roosevelt ordered the Atlantic Fleet to escort convoys in which there were no American vessels.⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ It was also at about this time that Mr. Roosevelt agreed to furnish Mr. Churchill with “our best transport ships”—twelve liners and twenty cargo vessels, manned by American crews—to transport two British divisions to the Middle East.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ At an earlier date fifty American tankers⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ had been transferred to Britain, and four to Russia, which led to a gasoline shortage and a curfew in the eastern United States.

Another incident occurred on October 17, 1941, when an American destroyer, the *Kearny*, dropped depth charges on a German submarine,⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ which replied to the attack by torpedoing the *Kearny*. Ten days later Mr. Roosevelt, who again claimed that this was an unprovoked German attack, delivered a “scare-mongering election-eve”⁽¹⁹¹⁾ type of speech in which he claimed that “. . . the shooting has started, and history has recorded who fired the first shot.”⁽¹⁹²⁾ Then, in a passage the importance of which seems to have been overlooked at that time, he guardedly hinted that the Republic was bound by his secret commitments, saying significantly, “Very simply and very bluntly—we are *pledged* to pull our own oar in the destruction of Hitlerism.” (Emphasis supplied.) Mr. Roosevelt claimed to have news of a German plan to abolish all religions in Germany, and throughout the world—“if Hitler wins.” Also he claimed to have a map proving the German

intention to conquer Latin America and redistrict it into five vassal states—but at his next press conference(193) he made excuses and refused to reveal it.

On October 31, 1941, an older destroyer, the *Reuben James*, was torpedoed about seven hundred miles eastward of Newfoundland,(194) and more lives were lost. The American public's reaction to it was expressed by Admiral Stark in a confidential letter to Admiral Kimmel at Pearl Harbor : “Believe it or not, the *Reuben James* set recruiting back about 15%.”(195) This illustrates the continuance of public opposition to involvement in the war. In mid-August the length of service required under the draft act had been extended, in violation of the obligations of good faith toward the draftees. The administration had had to use all of its political and patronage powers to force this extension, and, even so, the vote in the House was 203 to 202.(196) From New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, across the Midwest and out to the Northwest, every single state (except Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Montana, which split fifty-fifty) voted two to one, or by larger majorities, against the extension of the draft act.(197) Public opinion was, of course, far more preponderantly against involvement in the war than this vote showed.

By the time that October, 1941, had ended, Mr. Roosevelt's undeclared war in the Atlantic had become a reality and was in full swing. But this was not enough. The war powers could not be exercised under our Constitution until there was a formal and declared war, and of that there was no immediate prospect. As Count Ciano had noted, when at the German General Headquarters, “. . . The Germans have firmly decided to do nothing which will accelerate or cause America's entry into the war. . . .”(198) Because of this German attitude Mr. Roosevelt, as of the end of October, 1941, had no further ideas how to get into a formal and declared war : “. . . He had said everything ‘short of war’ that could be said. He had no more tricks left. The hat from which he had pulled so many rabbits was empty. . . .”(199) The only thing that he could think of to do was to continue to stall,(200) for the front door to war in Europe

appeared to be firmly barred. Germany and Italy seemed resolved to decline the progressively increasing challenges of Mr. Roosevelt's unneutral actions and policies.

But there were back doors as well as front doors. There was always the uneasy state of affairs in the Far East. On the one hand a peaceful solution of the Japanese problem would have released much American power for use in Europe. Moreover, it seemed incredible—at least to Mr. Churchill(201)—that Japan would commit political suicide by going to war with the United States and Britain. On the other hand, if this view was correct and if certain American diplomatic officials were not mistaken in believing that Japan could be quickly defeated, perhaps a Japanese war would solve Mr. Roosevelt's problems without involving too much delay in his purpose to conquer Germany. Maybe the longest way round was the shortest way home.

It was complicated. Either way there were pros and cons. But Mr. Roosevelt was a complicated man, too, not a simple one. His intentions were complex and his “plans were never thoroughly thought out.”(202) Therefore it may be true that there was a complex ambivalence, not thoroughly thought out, in Mr. Roosevelt's attitude toward the expedience of peace or war with Japan. It is quite possible that he did not fully commit himself to the latter choice until late in November, 1941. By his own express declarations we know that he deliberately temporized. Temporizing is sometimes merely a way to postpone making a decision, but it may also be a method of awaiting a favorable opportunity to put into effect a decision already made.

By November 25, 1941, Mr. Roosevelt and his cabinet(203) were debating how to “maneuver [the Japanese] into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves.” On December 1, 1941, Mr. Roosevelt very secretly issued the needless order to send the Cockleshell Warships(204) to their appointed positions for destruction. But other and mightier events were in motion : before an entire week had passed Mr. Churchill(205) could go to bed and sleep

“the sleep of the saved and thankful. . . . So we had won after all ! . . . Britain would live . . . and the Empire would live. . . . United we could subdue everybody else in the world. . . . We might not even have to die as individuals.”

So may it be ! But designs, least of all designs for war, do not always eventuate as their planners intend. The design for the war which began at Pearl Harbor was a zigzag growth rooted in secrecy, unneutrality, misrepresentation, and deceit. Morally speaking, such a tree could not have been expected to bear good fruit, and it did not.

As it eventuated, Japan was not an easy conquest ; she was the last enemy to surrender to us. And always a malign miasma seemed to haunt that air. It was against Japan that we dropped the atom bombs and thus revealed their existence to the world—needlessly, as it transpired. And needlessly, as it also transpired, the secret deals and agreements were made with Russia at Yalta. Thus Russia came into Manchuria, China, and North Korea. The end of that story is a tale yet to be told. Perhaps future historians will some day trace there the origins of the third world war, but if they do so, they will not be entirely correct. The roots run more deeply than that. They run back to Mr. Roosevelt’s abandonment of neutrality ; they involve his diplomatic maladroitness, and they involve his lack of ability to think out his plans thoroughly. Not least, there remains Mr. Roosevelt’s penchant for secrecy and for the deceit of his own people as well as of others. Perhaps it may be true—perhaps it may yet be generally agreed—that even in the conduct of foreign affairs honesty is the best policy.

FOOTNOTES—CHAPTER 3

1. Cordell Hull, *Memoirs*, (2 vols.; New York : The Macmillan Company, 1948), I, 790. It was later believed that Mr. Roosevelt’s telephone calls, at least to Ambassador Bullitt, were

intercepted by the Germans. See *Hearings Before the Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbor Attack*, 79 Cong., 2 sess. (39 parts; Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946) Part III, p. 1213. (The *Hearings* will hereinafter be designated *Pearl Harbor Attack*.)

2. For a condensed résumé of facts proving the absence of any planned conspiracy, see Frederic R. Sanborn, *Design For War* (New York : Devin-Adair Company, 1951), p. 58, 60, 173, 268. Cf. H.L. Trefousse, *Germany and American Neutrality* (New York : Bookman Associates, 1951), p. 150. Even the judgment at the Nuremberg trials admits that no “single conspiracy” could be proven : 6 Federal Rules Decisions, pp. 111-12. See also *The United States at War* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), pp. 507-8.

3. *Peace and War : United States Foreign Policy, 1931-1941*, Department of State, Publication 1853 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942) , p. 47.

4. Sumner Welles, *The Time for Decision* (New York : Harper & Brothers, 1944), p. 288.

5. Charles Cheney Hyde, *International Law Chiefly as Interpreted and Applied by the United States* (Boston : Little, Brown & Company, 1922), II, 765.

6. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* ; edited by Samuel I. Rosenman (13 vols.; New York : The Macmillan Company, 1941), VII, 249-58 : interview of April 20, 1938.

7. *Ibid.*, VIII, xxxviii-xxxix.

8. Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins, An Intimate History* (New York : Harper & Brothers, 1948), p. 438.

9. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, VI, 406-11.

10. For a résumé, see Sanborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-19.

11. John T. Flynn, *Country Squire in the White House* (New York : Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1940), p. 103 ; cf. William D. Leahy, *I Was There* (New York : Whittlesey House, 1950), p. 64.

12. Winston S. Churchill, *The Gathering Storm*, (Boston : Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948), p. 247 ; Hull, *op. cit.*, I, 549, 573.

13. Raymond Moley, *After Seven Years* (New York : Harper & Brothers, 1939) p. 379. See Hull, *op. cit.*, I, 684, which acknowledges the existence of this point of view.

14. *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part IX, pp. 4272-76.

15. *New York Times*, October 24, 1947, p. 1, cols. 2-3.

16. Hull, *op. cit.*, 1, 563-64.
17. *Ibid.*, 1, 576-77 ; *Peace and War*, pp. 54-55.
18. Emil Ludwig, *Roosevelt* (New York : The Viking Press, 1938), p. 272.
19. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, VII, 413.
20. *New York Times*, November 18, 1938, pp. 1, 12, 13.
21. *The German White Paper* ; full text of the Polish documents issued by the Berlin Foreign Office ; with a foreword by C. Hartley Grattan (New York : Howell, Soskin & Co., 1940), p. 15. This condition was equally well known to the Germans at that time ; see *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), III, 281.
22. *German White Paper*, p. 16.
23. Adolf Hitler, *My New Order* ; edited with commentary by Raoul de Roussy de Sales (New York : Reynal & Hitchcock, 1941), p. 504.
24. *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, I, 525.
25. Churchill, *The Gathering Storm*, p. 293.
26. Hull, *op. cit.*, I, 589.
27. *Ibid.*, I, 590.
28. *Ibid.*, I, 590-91.
29. Churchill, *The Gathering Storm*, p. 310.
30. Waverly Root, *The Secret History of the War* (2 vols.; New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945), I, 6, 10. Exactly this hostile combination had been foreseen by the Germans about a month previously ; see also *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, III, 280.
31. Louis Fischer, *Men and Politics, An Autobiography* (New York : Duell, Sloan & Peace, 1941), p. 556.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 570.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 570 ; see also Churchill, *The Gathering Storm*, p. 309.
34. William L. Shirer, *Berlin Diary* (New York : Alfred A. Knopf, 1941), pp. 142-43 ; see also Hans Bernd Gisevius, *To the Bitter End* (Boston : Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947) p. 324.

35. Gisevius, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-26 ; see also Churchill, *The Gathering Storm*, pp. 311-14.
36. Churchill, *The Gathering Storm*, p. 314.
37. Hull, *op. cit.*, I, 591.
38. *Ibid.*, I, 592.
39. *Ibid.*, I, 593.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*, I, 590.
42. *Ibid.*, I, 592-93.
43. H.H. Arnold, *Global Mission* (New York : Harper & Brothers, 1949), pp. 177-79.
44. Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
46. Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 564.
47. *German White Paper*, pp. 19-21.
48. Moley, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-80.
49. Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
50. *The Ciano Diaries, 1939-1943* ; [his] complete unabridged diaries ; edited by Hugh Gibson ; introduction by Sumner Welles (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1946), p. 3.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
52. Arnold, *op. cit.*, 185.
53. Sanborn, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
54. *German White Paper*, p. 44.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
57. *The Ciano Diaries*, pp. 42-44.

58. Sanborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-60.
59. *The Ciano Diaries*, p. 49.
60. Trefousse, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
61. *German White Paper*, pp. 51-54.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*
64. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, VIII, 185-86.
65. *German White Paper*, p. 59.
66. Hull, *op. cit.*, I, 630.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*
69. *The Ciano Diaries*, p. 83.
70. *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, VI, 890.
71. Moley, *op. cit.*, p. 382.
72. Walter Millis (ed.), *The Forrestal Diaries* (New York : The Viking Press, 1951), pp. 121-22.
73. *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part XX, p. 4139.
74. *Ibid.*, Part XX, p. 4168. Nine years later Mr. Hull claimed that he was “more than skeptical” of this proposal ; see *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull*, I, 631. But no suggestion of skepticism appears in his 1939 memorandum to Mr. Roosevelt.
75. *Peace and War*, p. 61 ; *International Transactions of the U.S.*, etc., p. 27 ; Hull, *op. cit.*, I, 625.
76. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, VIII, 568.
77. *Ibid.*, VIII, 438.
78. *The United States at War* (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 16.
79. Sanborn, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

80. Ulrich von Hassell, *The Von Hassell Diaries, 1938-1944* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1947), p. 63.
81. *The Ciano Diaries*, pp. 129-30, 132, 134, 136 ; *The Von Hassell Diaries*, p. 73.
82. Churchill, *The Gathering Storm*, p. 440.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 441.
84. Churchill, *Their Finest Hour*, p. 23.
85. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, VIII, 525-27.
86. *Fuehrer Conferences on Matters Dealing with the German Navy* (Washington, D.C.: Navy Department, Office of Naval Intelligence, 1947), II, 48 ; Trefousse, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
87. Hull, *op. cit.*, I, 689-91.
88. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, VIII, 552-54.
89. *The United States at War*, pp. 21-22.
90. Sanborn, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
91. Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
92. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, VIII, 512-22.
93. *Ibid.*, VIII, 554-57.
94. *Ibid.*, VIII, 524.
95. "The Morgenthau Diaries," *Collier's*, CXX (October 18, 1947) 72.
96. *The Ciano Diaries*, p. 222 ; cf. Welles, *op. cit.*, pp. 135, 139.
97. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, IX, pp. 104-8.
98. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 190, 193, 196-98, 203, 215, 241, 245, 251, 256, 258, 264-67.
99. *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part XXIV, p. 1753. This report is not dated, but from other evidence it would seem that it should be dated about December 15, 1941.
100. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, IX, 51. 101.
101. Sanborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-10.

102. Churchill, *Their Finest Hour*, pp. 24-25.
103. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, IX, 198-205.
104. *Ibid.*, IX, 213.
105. See Sanborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 117, 129, 135, 140-42, 170-71, 179-84 ; Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-35 ; cf. pp. 230, 232.
106. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., *Lend-Lease, Weapon for Victory* (New York : The Macmillan Company, 1944), pp. 24-25. "The subterfuge was obvious . . ." wrote Mr. Stimson. See Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, *On Active Service in Peace and War* (New York : Harper & Brothers, 1948), p. 356. See also Hull, *op. cit.*, I, 775.
107. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance* (Boston : Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950), p. 127 ; cf. 732, 741.
108. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, IX, 259-64.
109. Hull, *op. cit.*, I, 767-75.
110. Churchill, *Their Finest Hour*, pp. 179-81.
111. *Peace and War*, pp. 74-75 ; Churchill, *Their Finest Hour*, pp. 183-84 ; Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, p. 145. Mr. Sherwood's version differs from Mr. Churchill's ; which one is *not* paraphrased ?
112. Churchill, *Their Finest Hour*, p. 187.
113. *Peace and War*, p. 76.
114. Leahy, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
115. *Life*, IX, No. 1 (July 1, 1940), 7.
116. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, IX, 281.
117. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, p. 137.
118. Adolf Hitler, *My New Order*, pp. 809-38 ; especially pp. 836-38.
119. Shirer, *op. cit.*, pp. 453, 457-59, 550-52, 561 ; *The Ciano Diaries*, p. 227 ; cf. Hull, *op. cit.*, I, 844-45.
120. Shirer, *op. cit.*, pp. 450, 550 ; *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, V, 741.

121. *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, III, 399-400.
122. *The Ciano Diaries*, p. 296.
123. *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, III, 406-7 ; see also the *Fuehrer Conferences*, II, 22-23.
124. Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
125. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, IX, 541-43.
126. *Ibid.*, IX, 530-39.
127. *Ibid.*, IX, 313-14.
128. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 428.
129. Churchill, *Their Finest Hour*, p. 187.
130. *Ibid.*, pp. 558-67.
131. *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part XIV, p. 984 ; Part XX, pp. 4075-76 : Sherwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-73.
132. *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part V, p. 2391 ; Part III, pp. 994-97.
133. Compare Mr. Sherwood's simile of a common-law marriage, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, p. 270. Note General Arnold's observation, *Global Mission*, p. 244—"we were forming a very close alliance with the British."
- 133a. On April 3, 1941 ; *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part XVII, p. 2463.
134. Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 238.
135. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, p. 23.
136. "The Morgenthau Diaries," *Collier's*, CXX (October 18, 1947), 74 ; Hull, *op. cit.*, I, 873 ; Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 228.
137. For a fuller account, see Sanborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 701-33.
138. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Pius XII, *Wartime Correspondence* ; with an introduction and explanatory notes by Myron C. Taylor (New York : The Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 49 ; Victor Kravchenko, *I Chose Freedom ; the Personal and Political Life of a Soviet Official* (New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), pp. 352, 363 ; Hull, *op. cit.*, II, 967-68.

139. For Mr. Oumansky's background, see W.G. Krivitsky, *In Stalin's Secret Service* (New York : Harper & Brothers, 1939), pp. 37-38. Mr. Hull (*Memoirs*, I, 743, 807, 809 ; II, 971) dryly appraised the Russian ambassador as "a walking insult when at his worst"—"sarcasm poured from the Ambassador like wheat from a thresher"—he "thought that firmness meant rudeness."
140. Hull, *op. cit.*, II, 968, 973 ; Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, p. 367. Mr. Root's account of the Russian preparations, *The Secret History of the War*, I, 499-519 seems to be predicated upon General Stalin's intention of attacking Germany at a slightly later date, *op. cit.*, p. 510.
141. *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, V, 740 ; Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, p. 26.
142. *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, V, 740 ; Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, p. 192.
143. *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part IX, pp. 4299-300.
144. Cf. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, pp. 104, 110, 205.
145. Sanborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-55.
146. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, p. 369.
147. *German White Paper*, p. 20.
148. See the views of Admiral Stark, *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part XVII, pp. 2462-63 ; and of General Arnold, *Global Mission*, p. 259.
149. *New York Times*, May 17, 1941, p. 1, col. 8, continued on p. 4, col. 2 ; Blair Bolles, *Foreign Policy Reports*, August 1, 1945, p. 145.
150. Sanborn, *op. cit.*, p. 265.
151. Jan Ciechanowski, *Defeat in Victory* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1947), pp. 1, 5-6. One is tempted to recall Mr. H.L. Mencken's hard saying (*Life*, XXI, No. 6 [August 5, 1946], 46) about Mr. Roosevelt's error in "pulling ashore the corpse of the British Empire."
152. Trefousse, *op. cit.*, p. 88 ; Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, p. 138.
153. Churchill, *ibid.*, pp. 254, 754.
154. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
155. Sherwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-92, 310 ; Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, pp. 140-45.
156. *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part V, p. 2793 ; Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, pp. 144-45, 244.

157. Elliott Roosevelt, *As He Saw It* (New York : Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), pp. 14-15.
158. Ernest J. King, *Our Navy at War*, p. 6 ; cf. *Peace and War*, pp. 99-100 ; Hull, *op. cit.*, II, 935-39 ; note I, 754-58.
159. *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part V, p. 2113 ; Part XVI, pp. 2168-70 ; Part III, pp. 1077, 1436-37 ; Part XV, p. 1631.
160. Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 295.
161. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, pp. 149-50 ; Hull, *op. cit.*, II, 947 ; cf. Sanborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-12.
162. *New York Times*, May 17, 1941, p. 1, Col. 8 ; Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, pp. 282-83.
163. *New York Times*, June 6, 1941, p. I, col. 8 ; text on p. 6, cols. 4-6.
164. Trefousse, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-37.
165. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
166. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41, 61, 85-87.
167. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.
168. Sanborn, *op. cit.*, p. 265.
169. *New York Times*, May 28, 1941, p. 2, cols. 2-8 ; Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 298.
170. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, p. 388.
171. William C. Bullitt, *The Great Globe Itself* (New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), p. 11.
172. Stettinius, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
173. *The United States at War*, p. 82.
174. Elliott Roosevelt, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 33.
175. *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part XIV, p. 972 ; Part XVI, pp. 2448-50.
176. Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
177. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, p. 593 ; Elliott Roosevelt, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-30, 41.

178. *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part XVI, pp. 2182-83.
179. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 249, 255.
180. *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part XIV, pp. 1275-1278 ; Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, pp. 437-38.
181. Churchill, *ibid.*, pp. 441, 517.
182. *Ibid.*, p. 593.
183. *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part XIV, pp. 1400-1401 ; Part V, pp. 2294-96.
184. *Ibid.*, Part XVI, p. 2210.
185. *New York Times*, September 12, 1941, p. 1, cols. 6-7 ; text on p. 4, cols. 2-5.
186. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, p. 517.
187. *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part V, p. 2295.
188. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, pp. 492-93. Note Admiral Stark's regrets, *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part XVI, p. 2221.
189. *Newsweek*, August 18, 1941, p. 14.
190. Trefousse, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
191. Mr. Lindley's characterization in *Newsweek*, November 10, 1941, p. 21.
192. *New York Times* October 28, 1941, p. 1, col. 1 ; text on p. 4, cols. 2-6.
193. *Ibid.*, October 29, 1941, p. 1, cols. 2-3.
194. Admiral King, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
195. *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part XVI, p. 2224.
196. *The United States at War*, p. 72.
197. *Newsweek*, August 25, 1941, pp. 16-17.
198. *The Ciano Diaries*, p. 398.
199. Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 383 ; cf. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, p. 539.

200. Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 420.
201. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, p. 603.
202. Frances Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew* (New York : The Viking Press, Inc., 1946), p. 163.
203. *Pearl Harbor Attack*, Part XI, p. 5433 ; Part XX, pp. 4113-14.
204. Sanborn, *op. cit.*, pp. 515-18.
205. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance*, pp. 606-8.

IT'S UP TO US

by

JAMES P. WARBURG

*"If we could first know where we are and
whither we are tending, we could better
judge what to do, and how to do it."*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN



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FIRST EDITION

Manufactured in the United States of America

To Our Own Awakening

Foreword

By March 1934 it had become evident that in the minds of most people recovery under the New Deal was neither adequate nor assured.

No amount of statistical evidence of recovery and no amount of ballyhoo could hide the fact that the people as a whole, while in many respects encouraged, were still profoundly dissatisfied, wanted something more out of the New Deal than they had got so far, and were puzzled to know just what it was that they wanted.

It was equally evident that Senators and Representatives were no less puzzled than the people. Hardly a day passed in Congress without some new radical proposal being put forward. Most of them died. A few were enacted. To say that proposals for silver legislation, for paying a bonus to war veterans, for paying off depositors in closed banks, and such-like were political maneuvers designed to catch votes in the autumn elections is only to state the same thing in a different way. Unless the candidates for re-election believed that the people wanted such action, they would scarcely hope to get votes by advocating it.

By March 1934 it was becoming clear that there were,

broadly speaking, three ways open to the Administration:

1. It could pursue further the course of inflation, upon which it had already embarked, in the belief that our basic trouble was monetary and could therefore be cured by monetary means.

2. It could pursue further the march towards an authoritarian state, upon which it had likewise embarked, in the belief that a certain amount of government planning and regimentation was necessary to recovery. And

3. It could call a halt in both of the above-stated procedures and execute an about-face in the direction of abandoning further inflation and monetary experimentation, and abandoning the idea that government initiative should partially or wholly supplant private initiative. Such an about-face would have involved various positive and negative actions, both designed towards the major objective of stimulating private enterprise.

During recent months it has become increasingly evident that the New Deal so far has involved a mixture of the first two courses—a mixture which is in many respects similar to a man who tries to walk east on one foot and west on the other. That is why we have witnessed recently such violent attacks upon those who would pursue the course of planned economy and regimentation, launched by the advocates of further inflation. The inflationists—such as the Committee for the Nation—have come to realize that they have little or

nothing in common with that element in the New Deal which produced the agricultural program, the N.R.A., or the Securities Act. Conversely, the regimenters have come to see in the inflationists the arch enemies of their program. A few months ago it was impossible to make people realize that there was a fundamental inconsistency between the Administration's monetary policy and its industrial and agricultural measures. Today that inconsistency is recognized by an ever-increasing number of people.

It has been my purpose throughout the last year to point out, if I could, the necessity for adopting the third course which I have just indicated; that is, a course which clearly abandons both the idea of further inflation and the idea of further development along the lines of planned economy.

In order to make a complete case for the adoption of such a course it is necessary to do three things:

1. To show that monetary manipulation will not accomplish what is claimed for it.
2. To show that a planned economy will not lead to the desired end. And
3. To define clearly what the third course is and why it is desirable.

Last March I finished a book, which was published in May, the purpose of which was to tackle the first of the three objectives just stated. In this book I tried to reduce to plain everyday language what our money mechanism

is, what functions it can and cannot be expected to perform, where it has broken down and should be improved, and what are the basic fallacies that seem to me to underlie the Administration's monetary thinking.

When I wrote the book I had great misgivings as to whether much could be accomplished by so doing—not because I doubted, as many do, the interest of the average man and woman in these matters, but because I greatly distrusted my own ability to present the case with sufficient clarity and simplicity. The interest aroused by *The Money Muddle* and the generous reception accorded it by the public and by the press throughout the country have encouraged me to try my hand at a second and more difficult venture; namely, to show that a planned economy is undesirable, and to outline the elements of a course that does seem to me desirable as an alternative to the present conflicting tendencies.

Obviously this is a difficult task, and it is one which I approach with the full realization that it is a task which can be accomplished by no one person. The most I can hope is that I may stimulate the constructive thinking of others who may be better qualified and whose vision may carry further than mine.

In my first book I consciously exposed myself to the charge of over-simplification for the sake of clarity. The criticism for which I was prepared on this score was far more kindly than I had anticipated. I shall expose myself to the same charge again, for, if I can make any contri-

FOREWORD

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bution to present thought, it is not as a profound scholar, but rather as one who seeks to think practically and to express his thoughts in plain language.

New York City

July 4, 1934

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CHAPTER I

East on One Foot, West on the Other

The New Deal is trying to create a calf with five legs.

This is not because there are people in Washington who are trying to foist one thing or another upon the country—there are such people, but they checkmate each other and more or less cancel out each other's efforts. It is because we, the American people, have demanded of our Government a calf with five legs. And it is because our Government is not following any one definite policy, except the policy of trying to give every one at least a little of what he wants—or what it thinks he wants.

In a sense that is just what a democratic government is supposed to do, and therefore it is so important that we should make up our minds what it is that we want, and—more important still—whether we want what we are getting.

In another sense, however, even a democratic government is supposed to lead rather than follow, at least to the extent of formulating out of the composite desires of the people a single consistent purpose and policy.

In this respect it seems to me that the New Deal has

not as yet been very successful. It has listened to a great number of conflicting desires and theories. It has attempted to give as much satisfaction as possible to all. It has furnished spiritual inspiration, a will to win, and a hope for a more abundant life in the future. But it has failed so far to weave out of the composite desires of the people any clear concept of what the goal is for which we are striving, or how we are to attain it.

Through his own confidence and courage President Roosevelt has united the people in a common desire to achieve recovery and to prevent by measures of reform the recurrence of recent painful experience. But he has defined neither "recovery" nor "reform."

"Recovery" means to get back something that you have had and lost. When you "recover" your health, you throw off illness and regain your previous condition of well-being. But, most emphatically, the New Deal does not want "recovery" in that sense. We are not only to get well, but to get well in such a way that we shall not be taken sick again.

Now it seems to me that there are two ways of going about such a purpose: either you say: "First I must get well—that is, recover—and then I shall see what I can do to live more sensibly so as to avoid getting ill again," or you say: "If I don't reform while I feel sick, I'll never get around to doing it once I feel all right again."

The New Deal has chosen the second method. It may be wise in so doing. But the danger of the second method

is that you have to perform your operations on a patient weakened by long illness, and that you must constantly administer drugs to keep him alive while you are taking out and putting back his organs.

It may well be that, if we were to bend all our efforts towards "recovery," leaving "reform" to a later date, we should again become smug and stupidly satisfied with outworn systems and codes of social and economic behavior. One look at our hybrid and superannuated banking system affords convincing grounds for that fear. I for one have no quarrel with the New Deal for attempting the difficult task of bringing about recovery and reform simultaneously. Nor have I any quarrel with the basic intentions—if I understand them correctly—of most of the New Deal reforms.

But reform should, I think, be calmly and unemotionally conceived in order to be effective, even though history shows that it rarely is so conceived. In spite of historical precedent one cannot help regretting the hasty and experimental nature of the New Deal reforms and the atmosphere of somewhat fanatical punitive righteousness in which they have been incubated. One cannot help feeling that a measure of basic and permanent economic importance should be subjected to every possible test of criticism, and that it should never be rushed through the legislative machinery as an emergency action.

To reform is to re-make, and it stands to reason that an

economic structure cannot be re-made in a spirit of hastily putting out a fire, lynching the fellow that started it—or is supposed to have started it—and then passing a law to prohibit the use of matches.

That, to a certain extent, is what the New Deal reforms have been like. But that is not where the greatest danger lies.

In time, hasty and ill-considered action can and will be rectified. We have already seen one such case of partial rectification in the amendment of the Securities Act of 1933.

The greatest danger, as I see it, lies in the inconsistencies and the generally unrealized implications of the so-called recovery measures.

It has been said that, faced with the actuality of "want in the midst of plenty," the New Deal set out to solve this vexing problem "by removing the plenty." That is what the agricultural program amounts to.

And, within the framework of this general agricultural policy, we are spending millions to raise farm prices by curtailing production, while at the same time we are spending other millions in reclaiming waste land for agricultural purposes, making seed and crop loans to farmers, and on other methods of improving and stimulating production of agricultural products.

I have dealt with our monetary policies in my previous book. Boiled down, they amount to an attempt to raise prices and "lighten the burden of debt" by debasing the

purchasing power of the dollar—an attempt to redistribute wealth by destroying it. For the benefit of the reader who has not read *The Money Muddle* I have put in the Appendix, page 181, a few categorical statements in support of this general conclusion.

Again, the industrial recovery program, as expressed in the workings of the N.R.A., is in many respects flatly contradictory to the agricultural program, and likewise at cross purposes with the monetary policy. In fact, the National Recovery Act has now been recognized as a measure which is not a recovery measure at all, but a measure of reform.

Starting out as a measure of relief to spread work and relieve the dole, the N.R.A. became enlarged to a recovery measure in an effort to distribute purchasing power through increased wages and to relieve the disaster of competition through suspension of the anti-trust laws. As it subsequently developed, the N.R.A. became a threat of a permanent bureaucratic and Government-controlled program, cutting straight across our Constitution and laws as an instrument of reform.

As a recovery measure the N.R.A. has failed to accomplish its primary purpose—that is, to produce industrial re-employment on a large scale; it has improved conditions in a few industries, chiefly those which manufacture goods for immediate consumption, such as food or textiles; it has failed completely to stimulate the activity of the durable goods industries (such as building

industries or machinery), in which we have the greatest part of our unemployment problem. On the other hand it has largely offset, by raising the prices of manufactured goods, the temporary advantage gained by the farmer through the monetary and agricultural programs. And it has obstructed recovery by adding to the elements of monetary uncertainty the threat of labor troubles and Government interference with business management. These latter elements of uncertainty arise from the reform features of the N.R.A.

As a measure of reform, dealing with an attempt to establish more equitable relations between industry, labor, and the consumer, the N.R.A. must be considered good or bad according to one's general philosophy of government and economy. Certainly it is a step towards planned economy. If we want a planned economy, well and good. If not, the sooner we do away with N.R.A. the better.

But that is perhaps getting ahead of our story.

We have been dealing here with the inconsistencies of the recovery program, which are important, but not nearly so important as the unrealized implications of some of these measures. Inconsistencies will in time iron themselves out, although the process may be a costly one. But the hidden tendencies of the New Deal—tendencies which I, for one, believe are largely involuntary—will not iron themselves out. On the contrary, they will, unless realized and counteracted, take root more

and more deeply in our political, economic, and social structure.

Last spring, when I had just finished my first book, a group of us were sitting around talking along these lines. One of the group was Mr. Edwin Balmer, the editor of the *Redbook Magazine*.

Mr. Balmer asked me whether I intended to go on from where *The Money Muddle* left off. I said that I wanted to go on to discuss what seemed to me the basic question confronting the American people, but that I was not at all sure I could.

"And what," he said, "is the basic question?"

"A choice," I replied, "between freedom and an attempt at security."

That, as you can imagine, led to a discussion of what was meant by "freedom," what was meant by "security," whether there was any such thing as either, and so forth. Eventually it led to my writing a piece for Mr. Balmer's magazine, which appeared in the July issue, and which had certain repercussions, on account of which I shall include it here.

As you will see, it deals with the unrealized implications of the New Deal.

CHAPTER II

Choose Your Ism Now

(Redbook, July 1934)

If you were to choose one hundred men at random out of a crowd watching a baseball game anywhere in the United States, and if you were to ask these one hundred men the simple question:

"Do you want to change our form of government, and have Socialism or Fascism or Communism?"

Probably ninety-nine out of those hundred men would answer: "No." Ninety-five probably would make it an emphatic "NO!"

But if you were to ask those same hundred men:

1. "Do you think the Government should take over the railroads?"

2. "Do you think the Government should take over the banking business?"

3. "Do you think the Government should fix wages and take care of the unemployed?"

A very much larger number—perhaps half—would answer: "Yes." They would not realize that if the Government were to do these things permanently, it would mean the adoption of one of the very "isms" to which most of them had expressed their opposition.

If this is true—and I think it is—it means, in plain English, that a large part of our population wants the substance of a thing, the label of which it denies.

Millions of people who would deny indignantly that they were Socialists, or Fascists, or Communists, would vote in favor of any number of alterations in our economic system—alterations which could only be made at the expense of giving up the basic ideas of democracy upon which this nation was founded, and upon which it has prospered—for, in spite of recent misfortunes, we *have* prospered.

It seems to me that there we have the nub of our whole present-day problem.

And now, for a little while, can't we sit down together and quietly discuss this matter? I know, in the clamor of voices, it is difficult to know what to believe; but it ought not to be difficult to understand, if we will be a little less emotional and really look at what is happening.

People must realize that there are certain things they cannot have under our present system of economy and government—and stop clamoring for them—or they must decide that what they want is a change in favor of a different system, an altogether different system, in which they would have to give up much of the freedom of effort, of speech, of thought, of education, and of faith which has been their heritage since the days of the Revolution.

That seems to me the basic question which must be

answered. Instead of attempting to answer it, we are at present acting in some respects as if we had decided to abandon our present system, while in other respects we continue to affirm our desire to maintain it. Before pointing out the things that we are doing today, which seem to me to imply an abandonment of the established order, let me attempt to define briefly what I conceive the established order to be.

Our philosophy of government is based on Aristotle's definition of freedom, which was made over two thousand years ago. "*Freedom*," he said, "*is to govern and to be governed.*"

The latter half of the definition, "*to be governed*," has been neglected in the recent past; we have erred on the side of giving too much liberty to the individual. The danger now seems to be that we may neglect the first half—namely, "*to govern*." We have considered that the freedom of the individual meant his right to govern himself, and have neglected the parallel necessity for his being governed in the interest of other individuals. Now, in our revulsion from one extreme, we are flirting with a change that lays stress upon government planning and regimentation to an extent where the individual will "*be governed*," but where he himself will do precious little "*governing*."

Our philosophy of economics seems to me to be based upon the same principle of freedom as our philosophy of government: men are to be free to make capital out

of work and enterprise, without encroaching upon the similar right of others. That is what a capitalistic system is. In such a system it follows inevitably that, starting from scratch, the intelligent and industrious worker fares better than he who is stupid or lazy. It follows inevitably that the child of hard workers does not start from scratch with the child of lazy parents. In all likelihood the child of hard-working and industrious parents will have an inherited advantage in education, health, and spiritual background. In addition, there may be an actual accumulation of inherited capital.

Up to that point very few people find any fault with a capitalistic system.

The trouble begins when a man who is extraordinarily intelligent or exceptionally strong takes advantage of the relative weakness of others to give himself a position of undue power, and exercises that power for his own selfish ends. Perhaps you will say that if a man is "intelligent," he will not use his power for his own selfish ends. That is true; but I do not mean that sort of intelligence. I am speaking here merely of a man who is equipped by nature or environment with an exceptional degree of physical or intellectual strength.

The trouble continues and gets worse when such a man dies and leaves his power, in the shape of accumulated wealth or position, to a son who has neither the exceptional intelligence nor the strength to justify his having it, but who nevertheless seeks to use his inherited

power for his own advantage. Then we have an obvious injustice—but not a defect in the capitalistic philosophy. We have a defect in the system used to carry out the philosophy. To my mind, it is simply the neglect of the second half of the definition; such a man needs “*to be governed*” more and “*to govern*” less. . . .

The essence of our present order is that men work, or take risks, or go without things they want, in order to acquire, in the end, something more than they had before. The thing they seek to acquire may be purely material—such as food for themselves and their families, a pair of shoes, or an easy-chair; it may be intellectual—such as a chance to acquire an education or to travel; it may be psychological—such as a sense of achievement to satisfy the creative impulse; it may be any one of many combinations of motive and desire; but the thing that makes men work is the hope of satisfying that desire. It is desire—which is not necessarily material—that makes the wheels go round in our present order.

When the desire to eat becomes the fear of not being able to eat, work tends to lose its voluntary quality and becomes toil.

Thus, so long as we have a capitalistic system, anything that dims the hope of reward reduces the willingness of men to work, reduces their willingness to suffer privation, and reduces their willingness to run risks. Anything that adds to the hope of reasonable gain stimulates effortful activity.

That seems to me the basis of our economic order. It follows that anything we do to obscure the hope of reward is an action tending towards the abandonment of our present system. We have, it seems to me, done several things that will, if continued, spell an abandonment of our present order and necessitate the adoption of one of the "isms":

1. We are pursuing a monetary policy which makes the future character and value of money a matter of conjecture rather than certainty. We have embarked upon a theory of depreciating the currency in order to raise prices, without defining how far we are prepared to go in this direction, and without any clearly stated objective. Our Government has indicated a belief in its ability to manage the price-level by means of arbitrarily raising and lowering the value of money.

When people begin to wonder about money, they wonder about the future value of wages and salaries, and they wonder whether it will be possible to make any profits. That reduces their willingness to work or take risks, and removes one of the main incentives towards saving.

2. We have been so shocked by our past experience with the investment market that in our anxiety to prevent its abuse we have practically destroyed it. That means that we have destroyed the mechanism by which in the past savings have found their way into employment in supplying the capital needs of business. As a

result, business will have to go to the Government for capital, or else cut down its productive activity. If it goes to the Government for capital, we have Government in business, which is State Capitalism—one of the “isms.” If business cuts down its productive activity, our standard of living will be reduced.

3. We have begun to regulate industry to such an extent that it takes a soothsayer to forecast whether a given industry will be making sufficient profits next year to pay wages, let alone dividends.

4. We have begun to practice birth-control on the soil—paying agricultural producers to produce less, not to produce something else. If we keep on with that theory, we shall end up a long way from the basic idea of our present order.

5. We are embarked upon a program of Government expenditure which will impose a burden of taxation on future generations that can only be carried if Government expenditure is very soon supplanted by private expenditure. If the Government is to become the one great employer, we shall have abandoned our present order. If the Government is not to become the one great employer, private enterprise will have to be reborn; and it seems to me that private enterprise cannot be reborn in an atmosphere of Government regulation, and upon a basis of Government financing of capital requirements.

6. We are educating the individual and the banker and the farmer and the business corporation to take all

troubles to Washington and lay them on the lap of the Government, instead of trying to solve them at home. That seems to me a philosophy based upon asking the Government to support us, as opposed to the philosophy of our supporting self-government.

These, I believe, are some of the things we are doing in the direction of a new "ism," without ever having faced the basic question of whether we really desire to abandon the system founded by our forefathers, in order to try a new experiment.

It is perfectly true that the system by which we sought to carry out our traditional philosophy is in need of overhauling; but it does not follow that our basic philosophy must be changed.

To meet abuse of the capitalistic philosophy, we have, among other things, graduated income-taxes, collective bargaining for labor, and laws against "combinations in restraint of trade." None of these devices is perfect. Our tax laws are partially ineffective—largely because of tax-exempt securities; our collective bargaining is partially ineffective—largely because neither employers nor labor leaders have learned that in the long run a policy of fairness is the only policy that pays, in wages or dividends; our anti-trust laws are partially ineffective—largely because they are too literal, and stand in the way of good as well as bad "combinations."

In fact, all our laws are too literal, and are taken too literally. As a nation we are amazingly skilful at circum-

venting the spirit of our own rules while obeying the letter of them. And our courts have fostered this national habit. We go on the principle that anything not expressly prohibited is right, without stopping to consider whether we mean "right" for others to do to us, or only "right" for us to do to others. In that respect we are a very young nation.

We are very young also in another respect. If we pinch our fingers in a door, we fly into a rage—not at ourselves, but at the door, and then hurt our toes horribly in trying to kick down the door. Such a feeling is, of course, perfectly natural and human, but it is childish. The unfortunate thing about such childish feelings is that they constitute the easiest emotions upon which a demagogue can play. And we have our share of demagogues.

In our present state of civilization few men produce directly the things they want. Most of us can only attain our desires by exchanging our work for the work of others. We are all more or less specialized producers; and what we try to do is to produce something which a lot of other people want, because then we shall have no difficulty in disposing of our product.

The more human beings are able to produce for each other the things they desire, the more all men in the aggregate are able to satisfy their desires. In other words, the more productive activity increases, the higher will be the general standard of living—unless something goes wrong.

What usually goes wrong is a war, which completely throws out of balance the mechanism of demand and supply. A war stimulates overproduction of some things, kills the demand for others, changes the channels of trade, and changes the occupations and desires of people. Workmen become soldiers; women take the places of men at factory benches; and the whole machinery of production is changed to meet the emergency of national defense.

The result of war is untold destruction of property, and at the end the necessity for again readjusting our lives, desires, and occupations to peace. It is inevitable that for a time there will be too much production of some things and too little of others; that means a dislocated price-level, a dislocated wage-level, and general uncertainty whether there will be any reasonable reward for work.

When that happens, people begin to talk about the "breakdown of the capitalistic system." That is talking loosely.

What actually has happened—it has happened to us as well as to the rest of the world since the recent war—is that the stabilizer of the capitalistic system has got stuck. The mechanism of demand and supply, as expressed in prices and their effect upon production, has broken down. Normally, when prices of certain things fall, production of those things is cut down automatically. After a great upheaval this normal process is inter-

fered with by the social consequences which it involves. The adjustment has become too hard to make, because it would involve throwing too many people out of one kind of work and into another.

Without wishing to be dogmatic, it seems to me that the answer is twofold:

1. We have outgrown and can no longer afford the senseless debauch of war. We have reached a stage of civilization where it is just as impossible to have our system function if from time to time nations are going to fall upon each other with intent to do physical violence as it is impossible for life in a community to go on if from time to time people were to decide to plunder each others' houses and murder the police.

2. Our demand-and-supply mechanism has become too rigid and too insensitive, so that rising or falling prices do not translate themselves quickly enough into increased or decreased production.

This is because our units of production are, broadly speaking, too large; our people are too incapable of doing more than one special thing; it has become too difficult to stop growing wheat and to grow spinach instead, or to stop making more shirts and make more shoes. Under our present-day specialized individual activity, it has become difficult to stop doing whatever one is doing and do something else. We go on making too many of the things whose falling prices long since have warned us to stop. Then, because we have been making these

things at a loss, we go bankrupt—and are unable to make any of them. That is where we get into trouble.

In order to make our demand-and-supply mechanism again more sensitive to price-changes, it is perfectly true that we need more intelligent planning applied to our economic order; but it does not follow that such planning must be done by a central governmental authority, or that it cannot be done by the individual elements that compose the economic community.

So far as I know, we have not reached any decision to abandon the capitalistic system. Nevertheless, as I have pointed out, we are acting in many respects as if we had reached such a decision. Such things we must stop doing if we do not wish to go in for some form of planned economy, whether it be Communism, or Socialism, or Fascism.

On the other hand, if we are going in for a new order—an order in which the Government is to do the thinking, and the planning, and the paying—two things seem to me to be worthy of serious consideration:

1. It is relatively easy to give a government omnipotence. I know of no way to give it the omniscience it would require to make such omnipotence of any value—especially if it is a government that must submit itself once every few years to popular election. A government which depends for its existence upon popularity cannot, to my mind, be expected to pursue the clear, straight road of economic planning that any of the “isms” de-

mand. It seems to me inevitable that if we are to abandon our economic order, we must be prepared to abandon our present form of government. Otherwise we shall have a "planned economy," the plan of which changes whenever a popular election approaches.

2. If the Government is to do the spending, there is only one way for it to get the money—by taxing the people. People can pay no taxes if they have no incomes. If the hope of reward for work or enterprise is to be removed as an incentive, something else will have to take its place, or we shall all be reduced to a dead level of common slavery. That "something else" *could* be a common will for mutual service without reward other than the greatest good for the greatest number.

But are we ready for that?

If we are, well and good. Let us then at least see our objective and strive for it.

If we are not ready for it, then let us stop wrecking what is left of the old order, and rebuild as best we can.

Let us face facts and not waste time with dreams.

Let us see if we cannot "*be governed*" without forgetting how "*to govern*" ourselves—without lying down and asking the Government, elected by us from among our own number, to accomplish feats of legerdemain that not one of us thinks he can perform himself.

Let us choose our "ism" and stick to it!

Senator Pittman Answers

If I were trying to make a reputation as an author, I should certainly hesitate to include in this book two articles that had been previously published in a magazine. For one thing, it looks like a lazy man's device, and, for another, it disturbs somewhat the unity of a book. But I am not attempting to establish a literary reputation. My efforts may quite properly be classified as pamphleteering, for I am concerned with only one thing; namely, to drive home a message. For this reason I shall not hesitate to lay myself open to criticism along the lines of literary tradition.

The article "Choose Your Ism Now," which I have just reproduced in the preceding chapter, was answered in the succeeding issue of the same magazine; it is the origin of this answer, just as much as its substance, which leads me to include it here. Let me tell you a little about its origin.

Hardly had I turned in the manuscript of "Choose Your Ism Now," when the enterprising editor of the *Redbook* informed me that he had sent it down to the President's Secretary, Mr. Louis McHenry Howe, along

with the suggestion that perhaps Mr. Howe would like to answer it.

A week or so later Mr. Balmer went to Washington, and shortly after that he sent me the manuscript of an article by Senator Key Pittman, which appeared under the caption: "The Golden Rule Is America's Ism."

Were I a real pamphleteer at heart, I suppose I should quote from this article only such passages as best suited my purpose, but I think it is fairer to print it in full, and let the reader draw his or her own conclusions.

You will note that certain passages are italicized. These underlinings are mine—not the Senator's. They serve a purpose that will become evident at the end of this chapter.

THE GOLDEN RULE IS AMERICA'S ISM

BY SENATOR KEY PITTMAN

(*Redbook*, August 1934)

If I were to go to the same ball-game that Mr. Warburg speaks of in the introduction to his article which appeared in the last issue of *Redbook*, and choose one hundred men of the crowd at random, and ask these one hundred men the simple question,

"Do you want to change our form of government and have Socialism or Fascism or Communism?"

In my opinion, the hundred men would turn back to watch the ball-game, saying:

"What do these theoretical questions have to do with

the practical matters that affect our daily lives? Ask us something really important."

Then, after watching the game awhile in their fashion, probably ninety-five would turn around and say:

"If by these questions you mean that we are doctrinaire and want to go to the extreme of any one of these ideas, the way that some governments have done, our answer is no. *But if you mean that by calling a thing Socialism or Fascism or Communism you are going to scare us away from practical and necessary changes in our existing system, our answer is that when putting such a question to us, you are trying to confuse the issue.* We suspect you do not want us to come to grips as individuals with the things that will better ourselves; you want us to surrender to you, or to some one else like you, the problem of deciding specific questions and specific human needs, instead of having us do it in our own democratic way."

But if, following Mr. Warburg's dialectic method, I should return to these one hundred men and ask them the following questions, they would probably in each case answer in terms of the conditions and necessities that their knowledge of each individual situation justifies. I may add, without attempting to disparage Mr. Warburg, that I am enough of an old-fashioned Democrat to believe that I would get more wisdom from their answers than I would from a hundred men like Mr. Warburg, who, great in technical knowledge, *are so*

wedded to the hard dogmatic and selfish theory in which their training has nurtured them, that their minds turn to confusing and deceptive theories rather than to specific wrongs and specific remedies.

I believe that our citizens are our government, and that officers are but their agents. I hold that sound control over the issue, circulation and safeguarding of money is a government function, and is essential to the existence of democracy. If bankers, through private initiative as an agency to aid in the performance of such functions, utterly failed to satisfy the requirements, as they have, and admittedly so in the recent past, and continued impotent, then the Government would be compelled to take over *in toto* the functions of banking, and such an act would not be destructive to our form of government, but on the contrary would be an act of preservation.

In short, I am a believer in the wisdom of the average man, because I am a believer in fundamental old-fashioned American doctrine. I would like, therefore, to put to the hundred men the following questions, and indicate what, in my judgment, their answers would be. When they have answered the following questions, I would then point out to them and to Mr. Warburg certain essential facts which distinguish the country which these questions and answers would describe. At the very end, it would not be necessary for me to discuss with them further the bugaboos raised by Mr. Warburg, be-

cause the entire reality of these bugaboos would be dissipated in the clear air of common sense.

So let us be on our way, and despite the fact that these one hundred men have paid their money to see a ball-game, set them the task of thinking a little about some things that have affected their ability to go to ball-games at all.

My questions would be:

1. "If conditions in the railroad business, and in finance and business generally, have brought the railroads to a point where there was grave danger of their becoming bankrupt; and if the owners and managers of these railroads were to come to the President of the United States and say that they had found it impossible by private action to effect the economies that they needed, and they were unable to borrow money to meet their debt charges and their deficits; and if they asked the President to lend them money out of the great credit of the United States, and also to give them the machinery necessary to effect their economics—what would you, as a citizen, want the President to do?"

The citizens would answer, I believe, that transportation is an essential of commerce; that the free, expeditious and economic flow of commerce is absolutely necessary to the maintenance of the highest standard of development and prosperity established by our citizens; that railroads are therefore public utilities, and if they

are unwilling or unable to perform properly such functions, then it is the duty of the Government to take over such functions, and such act would not destroy our form of government, but would preserve it; that the President ought to talk to the owners of the railroads and then to the holders of railroad securities and to representatives of the men who work on railroads; and that he ought then to turn to the great Interstate Commerce Commission, now successfully operating for forty-five years, and see if he could find some one to help the railroads out of their difficulties by helping them agree on economies.

The citizens would probably add that the President should then see whether the United States could afford to lend certain railroads the money to save them from the excessive costs of bankruptcy (wherever possible), particularly those railroads which were so badly organized and operated through private efforts that it appeared impossible to save them. He should then make sure that the reorganization of the roads would be worked out to the satisfaction of all those concerned—owners, managers, workers and creditors.

I think that the citizens would say that they feel that the President did just this thing in a sensible way, and that it has been a satisfactory operation.

2. "If conditions in the field of banking had reached such a serious pass that banks were closing all over the country, and that in order to save the rest of the banks many States were declaring bank holidays; and if wise

men in the field of banking came to the President and said that they felt he ought to exercise power to close them all, in order to protect the savings of the people while there was worked out a single comprehensive plan for all banks in the country—what should the President do? Should he perchance tell these people that it is wrong for the public to come to Washington every time they are in trouble, that they ought to go home and work out their own salvation, that the things they are asking for are altogether too great an extension of the power of the federal executive, and that such an extension would not be approved by the bankers of this country?"

I believe that the citizens would answer that no real American vested with authority is in the habit of avoiding that authority by any cowardly passing of the buck in the name of some theoretic objective. The President would have said: "I am a practical man. I believe the people trust me, and I am going to do what seems to be wise, particularly inasmuch as the bankers themselves and the people seem to have agreed that I am the only authority in the country able to solve this problem." I believe the one hundred citizens would say that judging by what they saw happen in the past years, a pretty sensible course was followed, and that they certainly felt that the actions taken saved serious public disorders, perhaps a revolution, and that the test that he made showed what a democratic country could do in an emergency.

3. "If the business of agriculture throughout the country had become so depressed because of low prices that the farmer was reduced to a state of poverty and need such as the country had never seen before; and if the leaders of agricultural societies and organizations, the Senators and Representatives elected by farming communities, and other experts, had made it clear that the depression of prices was caused by the production of more agricultural commodities than could be consumed and exported, and that a method had been finally agreed upon among farm leaders to reduce this surplus; and if they had asked the President for a trial of this plan, what should the President do?"

I believe that the answer would be that a people's President would give this plan a chance. He would not condemn it out of hand. He would give it a fair trial; and if it did not work, he would come back and tell the people, and they would try another plan, always agreeing that what they want to do is to raise the prices of farm products. I believe further that the one hundred citizens would say that as they understood it, the President had done just that, and that they were confident that on the basis of the common sense he had shown in meeting the situation without evading it, he would use the same common sense in continuing to work toward the solution of the problem.

4. "If it became apparent that unemployment in the industries of the country might become so serious as to

threaten to strain the resources of the country in extending direct relief, and if there appeared to be a process, by a wise system of co-operation between business and government, by which certain of the rigors of the anti-trust laws might be suspended, provided industry would work together to secure employment and to eliminate the wastes attendant upon unrestricted competition, what, in your opinion, should the President do?"

I believe that the citizens would answer, as I think Mr. Warburg would have answered at the time, that with due consideration of all the interests involved, business would be helped in the working out of such a plan. I believe the answer would be that, considering the origins and support that the N.R.A. had, and considering the disposition on the part of most of those individuals that have profited by it and want to retain their codes, and considering the disposition of labor to recognize that they have gained certain rights for which they have fought for many years, and considering that great social objectives such as the abolition of child labor have been attained—the citizens would say that those business men and others who asked the President to establish such a method of co-operation were wise, and the President wise in listening to them.

5. "Do you as average citizens of the United States feel that because of the monetary policies of the President, you have been deprived of one of the main incentives toward saving? If so, how do you explain the

tremendous interest which you have manifested in your life-insurance policies in the last few months? Why have you been putting more money into savings-banks? Why have you been so willing to go back to work when work has been offered to you? Do you see anything wrong with the policy of the President in going off the gold standard when that act became necessary, and of attempting to restore prices through a managed currency?"

I believe that the answer of these average citizens would be that the President, on the basis of his record, can be trusted to avoid the dangers of inflation. This record has been a stout resistance to unwise inflationary methods, and a willingness to recognize the need of curing the injustices occasioned by a rapid deflation in the circulating currency and credit of the country, by definite methods to check the deflation and restore monetary conditions in relation to the prices of commodities. Any one of these citizens who borrowed money from Mr. Warburg's bank ten years ago on the basis of currency which in relation to debts and purchasing power has since shrunk to one-half its value, and finds that it now takes nearly twice as much of his products and labor to pay such loans as it did when the loan was made, is hardly disposed to agree with Mr. Warburg's monetary ideas.

6. "Do you as citizens object to the stimulation of employment through public works to the limited extent that has been authorized, or to the relief of suffering,

or to the Civil Works Administration, or to the Civilian Conservation Corps? Realizing, as you do, that the Federal Government was the only agency able to assume these burdens, do you think that our assumption of them involves any disposition, as Mr. Warburg says, 'to abandon our present order'?"

I think the average man of common sense would answer that this assumption of responsibilities by borrowing money from those willing to lend it, in order to carry other people through an emergency, is no more than the average man does in his daily life over and over again. It has nothing to do with changing the present order, or any other order. In fact, if the word *order* would be used at all, it would be in the sense that we have spent money to maintain order, to protect human lives, and to guard against revolution. Mr. Warburg is forgetting that Americans are people who are disposed to help those in need even to the extent of using their resources to do it. Perhaps Mr. Warburg would call the Golden Rule an "ism."

7. "Do you average citizens feel that the people of the United States would have surrendered their independence and capacity of self-support and self-government by asking Mr. Warburg to do these various things?"

I believe the average man would answer that he knows as a fact that for many generations certain business interests have been in the habit of coming to Washington very frequently for all sorts of reasons, and in most

administrations they have not gone away empty-handed. These average citizens would be able to say further that they are glad to have an administration in Washington to which all sorts of people can look for sympathetic help and understanding; that they are glad to feel that such sympathetic help and understanding does not mean the end of personal initiative. I think that they would say further that there has been no disposition on the part of the Wall Street fraternity of which Mr. Warburg is a member, to lose any of its initiative or active individuality even after a hundred years of coming to Washington for help; and that the average man is willing to take a chance with the theoretical considerations of his self-sufficiency if he knows that he has a people's government.

8. *"Do you as average American citizens know of any reason to indicate that you are losing your power to govern yourself? Have you heard of any disposition to take away your power, your right to vote, your control over your public officials from high to low? Have you heard of any newspaper being suppressed by the Government, as in other countries? Have you heard of any suggestion to abolish Congress, State legislatures, courts, or any other fundamental parts of the Government? Have you heard of any suggestions to amend the Constitution?"*

I believe that the average American would answer these questions in the negative except for the last one.

He would perhaps answer: "Oh yes, I have heard of two attempts that the Administration is making to change the Constitution, and I am mighty well pleased with them. The first has already been accomplished—the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment; the other—a constitutional amendment to abolish child labor. If you do that kind of changing of the Constitution, you can count us for it one hundred per cent." The citizens would probably further answer: "Well, Mr. Warburg, if there is any change in our system and form of government, then you and others like you who have been intrusted with great authority and power must bear the sole responsibility by reason of your failure to administer that trust fairly and efficiently. And now go away and let us watch the ball-game. . . . You know, we didn't have the price of admission a year ago."



And now we come to the significance of the *italicized* passages.

Bearing in mind that Senator Pittman's article was written in late May, it is interesting to note certain phrases in it, which bear a striking resemblance to certain other phrases that occurred a month later in the President's radio address of June 28, 1934.

I refer in particular to the following:

"Have you as an individual paid too high a price for these gains? Plausible self-seekers and theoretical die-

hards will tell you of the loss of individual liberty. . . . Have you lost any of your rights or liberty or constitutional freedom of action and choice? . . .”

“In other words it is not the overwhelming majority of the farmers or manufacturers or workers who deny the substantial gains of the past year. The most vociferous of the Doubting Thomases may be divided roughly into two groups:

“First, those who seek special political privilege, and, second, those who seek special financial privilege. . . .”

“A few timid people, who fear progress, will try to give you new and strange names for what we are doing. Sometimes they will call it ‘Fascism,’ sometimes ‘Communism,’ sometimes ‘Regimentation,’ sometimes ‘Socialism.’ But in so doing they are trying to make very complex and theoretical something that is really very simple and practical. . . .”

Do you see what I mean?

Does it not seem to you, as it seems to me, that it is fair to assume that Senator Pittman’s article was written after a certain amount of discussion in Washington, and that it may be taken as at least an indirect reflection of the Administration’s point of view?

That is why I think it merits more than a casual reading, especially in these days when we have so little

in the way of official utterance to go by.

That is why I shall now analyze Senator Pittman's article and seek to answer it.

It seems to me that when a man responds to a straightforward argument on one side of a debatable subject by insinuations which attempt to discredit his opponent rather than by meeting the argument on its own ground, that man confesses to the weakness of his case.

Senator Pittman has chosen a method with which the New Deal has made us all too familiar.

It is not a new method, nor is its present-day use confined to the New Dealers in this country. Those who criticize the New Deal are "Tories," "Doubting Thomases," and "political or financial self-seekers," or else they are just "die-hard theorists." Those who criticize the Hitler régime in Germany are grumblers, carpers, and other less polite terms. I am not familiar with the Russian or Italian terminology, but I dare say it is much the same.

Nor is the disparagement of an opponent in the public mind a difficult thing to accomplish—particularly today in this country, if the opponent happens to be a Wall Street banker. That alone is enough reason for the Senator to say:

"Pay no attention to this fellow. He is 'wedded to the hard, dogmatic, and selfish theory in which his training has nurtured him.' He is thinking only of his own interests and those of his kind."

It is inconceivable to the Senator that there should be Wall Street bankers who are other than hard and selfish—inconceivable that there may perhaps be among them men whose fathers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers were not only honorable bankers and conscientious citizens, but men who founded and maintained schools, hospitals, and institutions in furtherance of art and science.

“Perhaps Mr. Warburg would call the Golden Rule an ‘ism’,” says the Senator. Perhaps the Senator did not read the article to which he made his “reply.” Or perhaps he sincerely believes that only politicians do unto others as they would be done by, and that when someone who has not the virtue of being either penniless or a politician seeks honestly to perform the duties of democratic citizenship, he must of necessity be suspected of ignorance or self-interest. Ah well, let it go.

This sort of thing is only important because it is a typical New Deal reaction to criticism.

It would be all too easy to turn the guns of this kind of warfare upon the politicians, but I think we can safely leave them to do that to each other. It is only the substance, if any, of the “reply” that concerns us here.

I say “if any,” because so much of Senator Pittman’s article is devoted to making me appear a selfish reactionary and to answering things that I did not say. For example:

Senator Pittman devotes several paragraphs to a de-

fense of what the President has done about the railroads.

I did not attack it.

There are only a few hard tufts of grass to furnish a foothold in the soft swamp of evasive generalities—but they are significant tufts just the same.

Let us see what we can make of them.

CHAPTER IV

The Answer Analyzed

I. CONCERNING THE FARMER

Senator Pittman defends the agricultural program on the ground that it was a plan "agreed upon among farm leaders" and demanded by the Senators and Representatives elected by the farming communities. Therefore, he says, the President rightly gave it a trial.

I doubt whether many of the Senators and Representatives who voted for the farm legislation a year ago had fully read or understood the Agricultural Bill when they voted upon it.

I doubt whether half the farmers in the country fully understand it today. What they understand is that they have received certain cash payments for not growing crops—or, rather, for planting less acreage—for killing little pigs, and so forth. What they do not understand is that these cash payments cannot go on forever, and that, when they stop, the farmers may be worse off than they were before—not only as farmers, but as human beings who have lost their birthright of freedom.

More and more the farmers are beginning to realize this themselves. More still they will realize it when a

few of the Southern cotton-growers have been fined or sent to jail under the terms of the Bankhead Bill, for growing more than their allotted quantity of cotton—when they realize that they have permanently lost a large part of their foreign market because our Government has deliberately stimulated the planting of cotton in foreign countries.

The American farmer is not a Russian peasant. It will not take him long to realize the absurdity of trying to get rich by destroying wealth and reducing the production of wealth. It will not take him long to resent a government-planned economy, under which he is told what he may grow, how much he may grow, and where he may grow it.

And how will the American taxpayer like paying the army of enforcement officers that such a system will require?

My answer to Senator Pittman is this:

I don't believe that a majority of the American farmers wanted or, for that matter, had ever thought of such a plan. All they wanted was relief from intolerable distress. That they are entitled to, and can only get by a consistent rounded-out program of reconstruction based on private enterprise—a program which must involve a realistic attitude on the part of our Government with regard to foreign trade.

That they can never get by inflation, or, as I have previously said, by spending the people's money to

practice birth-control on the soil, while other nations take our former markets.

II. CONCERNING INDUSTRY

The Senator defends the origin and conception of the N.R.A. on much the same lines as he defends the agricultural program; that is, that business leaders wanted it. He says also:

“. . . the citizen would answer, as I think Mr. Warburg would have answered at the time . . . that those business men and others, who asked the President to establish such a method of co-operation were wise, and the President wise in listening to them.”

Now, as a matter of record (which is unimportant), I favored, and pleaded in March and April 1933, for quite a different kind of recovery act—an act which would have had in it no bureaucratic Government control and regulation of industry, and which would have concentrated its efforts on stimulating the “durable goods industries.” Senator Wagner and Senator LaFollette would doubtless remember our conversations on the subject. Raymond Moley not only knew my views, but apparently shared them at the time.

Furthermore I opposed the licensing feature and article 7a (the labor union clause) of the N.I.R.A. when I first heard them discussed.

And, finally, I did not attack in my article, to which the Senator makes his “reply,” the origin or basic con-

ception of the law, which the Senator seeks to defend. I attacked the way in which it has been administered. For this the Senator has apparently no defense—at least he makes none.

I *have* attacked the basic concept of the law in the first chapter of this book, and I shall attack it further shortly, but first let us deal with the Senator's defense of its origin.

He says that business leaders wanted it. Undoubtedly some of them did. Undoubtedly others wanted the Government to do something, but not necessarily what it did do under N.R.A. And undoubtedly there were a great number of business men who would have greatly preferred no government interference at all.

Undoubtedly also the American Federation of Labor wanted compulsory recognition, but that does not mean that the ninety per cent of American laborers who did not belong to the A. F. of L. wanted such forced recognition. Or that they would want it today.

I cannot agree with Senator Pittman's premise.

If I grant his premise and assume that a majority of business men and a majority of laboring men wanted the N.R.A.—which is, I believe, an entirely unwarranted assumption—then I agree even less with Senator Pittman's conclusion from his premise.

You don't give a man with a stomach-ache whatever medicine he happens to ask for—that is, not if you are a good doctor.

And even if you are only a druggist—which is perhaps more what a democratic government is supposed to be than a doctor—you don't sell him a medicine that contains arsenic in large quantity, if you know your business.

How many of the business leaders who wanted an N.R.A. now like what they have got? How do consumers, particularly farmers, like it?

Granted that it has put millions of men and women back to work in the "consumers' goods industries," how many has it thrown out of work or prevented from finding employment in the "durable goods industries," by discouraging and in some codes even prohibiting replacement of machinery?

To what extent has it sown the seeds of future labor trouble?

How much has the N.R.A. really done to eliminate unfair practice, and how much has it increased monopolistic exploitation by big business at the expense of small business and at the expense of the consumer?

We hear a great deal about the elimination of child labor, that being the most vaunted accomplishment of the N.R.A. The fact is that the Child Labor Movement had previously removed from work some two millions of children, and that the N.R.A. has merely removed another seventy thousand.

The fact is that the N.R.A. has arbitrarily set out to

ordain higher wages and shorter hours upon all industry without due regard to the particular conditions prevailing in any given industry.

The fact is that it raised wages and hence prices of manufactured goods on the theory that the greater purchasing power in the hands of labor would increase the volume of business, without regard to the fact that in some industries volume would have to fall off if prices were raised.

The fact is that as a recovery measure the National Recovery Act, though it has done much good in certain industries, has, considering industry as a whole, been a dismal failure. But that is not the basic question.

The basic question is not whether the majority of business men wanted an N.R.A. as a help towards recovery, or whether it has turned out to be a help towards recovery. The basic question is whether American business ever wanted or wants now to be run by a permanent Government bureaucracy.

It would have been one thing to vest discretionary and dictatorial power over business in a highly efficient Civil Service bureaucracy, operating in accordance with laws enforced by the courts. That would still mean planned economy and the end of a democratic free people, but at least it might preserve some semblance of individual liberty. But the bureaucracy of the N.R.A. is not elected by the people, nor is it selected from any Civil Service

list. It is a body of men selected from on high—and this is no criticism of these men—a body of men appointed by or through the authority of the President, and responsible solely to him.

This body of men can make rules and regulations which cut straight across existing laws, rights, and privileges. And this same body of men is the sole court of appeal to which business may have recourse for relief from such rules or regulations.

Whatever the American business man and the American laborer may have wanted by way of emergency help in order to get started again, back in the despairing days of early 1933, I am convinced that he did not want to set up a permanent dictatorial power designed to override not only the laws laid down by the Constitution but the laws of nature, which have defied all mortal assault since the world was created.

I am convinced that he had no idea of emulating those experiments across the water about which I shall have more to say in a later chapter.

All I said in my article was: "We have begun to regulate industry to such an extent that it takes a soothsayer to forecast whether a given industry will be making sufficient profits next year to pay wages, let alone dividends." And now I have said a good deal more.

In a word, I say that the N.R.A. is strangling private enterprise in business, to which Senator Pittman makes no answer whatsoever, possibly because he knows that,

in spite of protestations to the contrary, the N.R.A. has for several months been in the process of retreat.

III. CONCERNING BANKING

In his series of questions to the hypothetical citizen, the Senator, under question two, definitely defends, so far as I can see, only the closing of all the banks in March 1933—which I have never attacked. Then he somewhat vaguely gives his blessing to all the Administration's subsequent acts in the banking field, and says nothing about the things that were left undone.

I have attacked the Administration's banking policies specifically and definitely—not so much in the article "Choose Your Ism Now," as in *The Money Muddle*. Had the Senator read this book, of which I sent him an advance copy as a souvenir of our last summer's London adventure, I doubt whether he himself would think that he made much of a defense.

It is not enough to say that there was an emergency in March 1933 and that something had to be done. That is admitted.

It is not enough to say that our banking system had failed. That, too, is evident to every man, woman, and child.

What I have repeatedly contended is:

1. That we need a real reform of our banking system, which we have not had, and should have had by this time.

2. That we need a banking system operated by private enterprise under strictly enforced, intelligent, and uniform laws.

3. That we are on the road towards a socialized and politically controlled banking system, which is inconsistent with our form of political and economic life.

4. That we need bankers with the professional viewpoint of the doctor, and not the self-seeking viewpoint of the money-lender and gambler, nor the equally self-seeking and less intelligent viewpoint of the political appointee.

5. That our present tendency is to drive out the many good bankers along with the bad, and leave the field to a politically controlled bureaucracy.

That is what I have said about banking, and it cannot be answered by talking about past emergencies or failures of past leaders.

The banking system failed because it was a bad system.

The banking system failed because it was expected to withstand the strain of an orgy of national speculation and stupid Government policy, under which even a good banking system would have broken down.

The banking system failed because our bankers were not as a whole properly trained for their jobs.

All these things are the fault of the people as a whole, the fault of the Government, the fault of each and every one of us, just as much as they are the fault of the much-abused bankers.

In two sentences, which for some reason are not under the heading of his second question, but which are in the general introduction to his article, Senator Pittman gives the show away. I shall repeat them here:

"I hold that sound control over the issue, circulation and safeguarding of money is a government function, and is essential to the existence of democracy. If bankers, through private initiative as an agency to aid in the performance of such functions, utterly failed to satisfy the requirements, as they have, and admittedly so in the recent past, and continued impotent, then the Government would be compelled to take over *in toto* the functions of banking, and such an act would not be destructive to our form of government, but on the contrary would be an act of preservation."

Senator Pittman believes in a Government-controlled and operated banking system. Bankers, he thinks, have shown themselves unworthy of the trust.

When Senator Pittman makes this statement he answers a question which the Administration has so far refused to answer. If the Administration agrees with Senator Pittman, and if it intends to establish Government control of the banking machinery, why not say so and set about doing it?

If the Administration does not want to set up Government banking, why not say that, and set about reforming the private banking system so that it can work?

At the present time we have an ancient and outworn

system of banks operating under forty-nine different laws and authorities. In addition we have the Government heavily interested in the capital of some six thousand banks; and we have overhanging us a so-called permanent guarantee of deposits, which is scheduled to go into effect on July 1, 1935, and which, when it goes into effect, will make all banks liable without limit for each other.

One can feel as Senator Pittman feels, that banking should be taken over *in toto* by the State.

One can feel as I feel, that banking should remain a matter of private initiative and capital, but that the banking laws should be revised and modernized, and that bankers should be properly trained. One can feel, as I feel, that if banking becomes a Government function, industry too will become a Government function, and that political control of banking and industry would be a catastrophe. I shall develop this later.

But it is difficult to see how one can straddle between those two points of view. That is what the Administration is doing so far.

Concerning another phase of banking—namely, the investment machinery—Senator Pittman remains completely silent.

It is true enough that the Securities Act has been amended in such a way that it will probably no longer act as a complete dam to the free flow of savings into employment in providing the capital needs of business.

The fact remains, however, that it is still far from an ideal piece of legislation, that it will still stand in the way of much legitimate financing, and that the "durable goods industries" cannot revive without adequate financing.

The fact remains that over sixty per cent of our unemployed are in these "durable goods industries," and that, if private capital is not encouraged to supply the need, Government funds must take its place—which means more Government expenditure and eventual Government control of the "durable goods industries." That, I think, even Senator Pittman would be prepared to recognize as a considerable departure from the established American order.

IV. CONCERNING MONEY

Senator Pittman disposes of the whole question of monetary policy by declaring his belief that the average citizen would think "that the President can be trusted to avoid the dangers of inflation on the basis of his record." With that single statement he tries to make the reader reduce the whole matter to one of personal confidence in the integrity of the President.

It is not a question of trusting the President. No one trusts more than I the integrity of his purpose. If the issue rested in his hands alone—if he were not besieged by money-doctors and by all forms of inflationists within and without Congress—there would be little

ultimate danger, even though "the record" to which Senator Pittman refers is not an altogether reassuring one.

But the issue does not rest in his hands alone, largely because he believes in compromising rather than in asserting an unequivocal leadership, and because Congress has become accustomed to this fact. Only recently we have seen Congress override one half-hearted veto. Only recently, as no one knows better than Senator Pittman, we have seen another compromise with the ever-active silver-tongued descendants of William Jennings Bryan. One compromise usually begets another.

If the average citizen understood the danger—if he knew what would happen to him in the event that the President should lose his precarious control over the inflationists in Congress—he would very soon make it clear to his own Senators and Representatives what would get them re-elected this autumn and what would not.

He would not only "trust" the President. He would turn to and help him. It was in order to help the average citizen understand the problem that I wrote *The Money Muddle*.

That Senator Pittman does not understand is obvious from this sentence:

"Any . . . citizen who borrowed money from Mr. Warburg's bank ten years ago on the basis of currency which in relation to debts and purchasing power has

since shrunk to one-half its value, and finds that it now takes nearly twice as much of his products and labor to pay such loans as it did when the loan was made, is hardly disposed to agree with Mr. Warburg's monetary ideas."

The Senator has fallen prey to that moss-covered and persistent illusion of the poor worthy borrower and the rich wicked creditor.

Let us suppose that the bank with which I am associated had all or most of its funds invested in ten-year loans (for which incidentally it would at once be justly criticized as an unsound institution), and let us suppose that the purchasing power of the dollar did rise one hundred per cent. Then it would be true that most debtors would find it difficult to repay. They might—although this too is not as simple as it sounds—find it much easier to repay if the dollar were cut in half, so that its purchasing power would be restored to what it was ten years ago.

But what about the other side of the ledger?

The money a bank loans belongs to its depositors. Our bank, for instance, has over two hundred thousand of them, whose average deposit is only a little over a thousand dollars. These two hundred thousand people would have their deposit dollars cut in half—which is the same thing as having half their money confiscated—in order to make it easier for a much smaller number of borrowers to repay.

We have about fifty thousand borrowing accounts. If you have ever tried to borrow money from a bank, you know that in order to borrow money you must have money. Our fifty thousand borrowers are on the average much richer than our two hundred thousand depositors, many of whom have only a few hundred dollars to their names. Therefore, assuming that cutting the dollar in half would actually help the borrowers—which as a matter of fact is very doubtful—you can easily see what would happen.

Two hundred thousand relatively poor people would be definitely hurt so that fifty thousand more or less rich people might gain a doubtful advantage.

I disagree with Senator Pittman.

I think that any citizen who is given a fair chance to see the problem in its reality, instead of being fed on fallacies that were old when Bryan used them in 1896, can be depended upon to back the President in opposing the various alluring quack remedies that have been urged in times of distress throughout all history upon every ruler by ignorant and misguided advisers.

I have said that I trust the integrity of the President's purpose, and that if the matter rested in his hands alone, there would be no great ultimate danger. I say this in spite of "the record," rather than because I can find, as Senator Pittman finds, any great reassurance in it. The latest paragraph of the record, as written by the Presi-

dent's own hand, if taken literally, is to me the least reassuring of all. In his radio address of June 28, when summing up the accomplishments of the Administration since January, he said:

"Finally, and I believe most important, it [Congress] recognized, simplified, and made more fair and just our monetary system, setting up standards and policies adequate to meet the necessities of modern economic life, doing justice to both gold and silver as the metal bases behind the currency of the United States."

One may agree or disagree with the monetary policies of the Roosevelt Administration. One may or may not believe that such things as the abrogation of the gold clause in our Government's obligations were justified by the emergency. One may think that recovery has been hastened or retarded by the experimentation with the Warren-Committee-for-the-Nation gold theories. But how anyone—even the most enthusiastic supporter of the President's policies—could find that we had set up "standards and policies adequate to meet the necessities of modern economic life" passes my limited comprehension.

What standards have we set up? What policies have we? What more have we done than to abandon the gold standard, repudiate our gold obligations, pass a law authorizing the President to print three billion greenbacks and to adopt bimetallism if he wants to, and pass

another law vesting in the Secretary of the Treasury all the power that is usually vested in a carefully selected and circumscribed monetary authority?

Are we going to have a dollar of variable gold content, "managed" in accordance with a price index, as our money of the future? Or are we eventually going to restore a fixed ratio to gold?

Are we going to have a non-political monetary authority, such as the Federal Reserve Board was intended to be? Or are we going to have a political one-man currency dictatorship?

Are we going to debase the currency further, as the Committee for the Nation so stridently urges? Or have we had enough of this particular medicine?

I am not saying that, with what has gone before, it would be possible to answer all these questions definitely today. I am not saying that we could instantly set up "standards and policies adequate to meet the necessities of modern economic life." But I am saying that we most emphatically have not done so as yet. I am saying that far from "recognizing" our monetary system, we have destroyed the monetary system we had without as yet setting up another; that far from "simplifying" it, we have added to its complications and uncertainties; and that, far from making it "more fair and just," we have placed ourselves on trial before history to justify by what we may eventually succeed in working out the injustices we have so far committed. (See Appendix, page 187.)

The record shows, I think, courage and open-mindedness. It shows a desire to find the right answer—if necessary, by experiment. It shows also a certain amount of caution and restraint in using the wide powers obtained from Congress. But it does not, if we are to judge by the radio address of June 28, show any realization that what has been done so far is at best emergency patchwork, and that the real job of setting up a monetary system still remains to be done.

V. CONCERNING GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE

Finally, I have not attacked—as one might be led to suppose from Senator Pittman's "reply"—the use of Government funds to relieve suffering. Nor have I said or implied that such relief expenditure involved the abandonment of our traditional American order.

I have consistently advocated the use of Government funds to relieve distress and to start the wheels of recovery, but I have also pointed out that when a government sets out to spend more money than it can ultimately raise out of bearable taxation, it deliberately sets out to render void whatever constructive measures it may otherwise have undertaken. I have said—and say again—that Public Works, Civil Works, and similar expenditure must some day come to an end, and that if by that time private enterprise has not taken over the burden of providing employment for the majority of

those still out of work, we shall be worse off than we were before the expenditure was begun.

That is why it is so important to stimulate private enterprise, particularly in the "durable goods industries," to free the capital markets, to remove uncertainty in regard to the future character and value of our money, and to find the proper balance between industry and agriculture by revising our tariff, and by helping to free the flow of goods and services between nations.

That is why it is so important that whatever our Government does, it should do with a view towards stimulating and not towards supplanting private enterprise. Because—unless private enterprise is reborn, and reborn soon, the so-called "extraordinary expenditures" will become ordinary recurring expenditures, and we shall run the twofold danger of slipping into permanent planned economy—that is, Government-controlled and directed life—and of bankrupting our national credit in the process.

That is why the danger of abandoning our traditional American order is more than a "bugaboo."

Not because anyone is plotting its overthrow—that to my mind is a bugaboo—but because, unless we guard against it, we shall drift willy-nilly into a condition of permanent enslavement to our own weakness.

That is all that an authoritarian state amounts to: a state composed of people unable to govern themselves,

and therefore surrendering their liberty to a political, economic, and social tyranny of their own making.

By the awakening of individual enterprise we came out of the Dark Ages. By our failure to keep it alive we run the risk of slipping back into a form of life where man must of necessity exist for the State—instead of the State existing for man.

The battle is not lost. In fact, it has scarcely begun, for we are a people who, once we see the danger, will not readily give up the liberty that is our birthright. But it is not a battle that can be won by saying:

“And now go away and let us watch the ball-game!”

The Price of Planned Economy Abroad

In the next chapter I shall attempt to answer the question:

“Have you lost any of your rights or liberty or Constitutional freedom of action and choice?” But, before doing so, I think it may be useful to consider for a moment the contemporary experience of other nations with planned economy.

It is a truism to say that men, somehow or other, will not profit by the experience of others, but, as is the case with many truisms, that is only partially a true statement. Men, I believe, can and do profit by the experience of others when that experience is forcefully enough driven home to them—which it rarely is. In this respect it seems to me that Colonel Frank Knox, the publisher of the *Chicago Daily News*, has recently performed a service of real patriotism. He has done what I wish I had had the chance to do before attempting to write this book; that is, he has made a study on the ground of what has recently happened in those European countries whose people have embarked upon the course of planned economy. While he was abroad in May and

June 1934, Colonel Knox wrote a number of editorials for his newspaper in which he presented in plain language, and, to my way of thinking, with great forcefulness, what sort of buzz-saw it is with which we are monkeying.

I am quoting some of these editorials *in toto*, because I know of no better way to bring out the point I am trying to make in this chapter. I have not attempted to check the correctness of all the statements or figures contained in these editorials, but—if any of them should be incorrect—I know that no one would be more anxious to have them corrected than their author.

Here is the first instalment that Colonel Knox sent home from Italy, on May 12, 1934:

WHAT PRICE REGIMENTATION?

Italy, one of the first countries to resort to managed economy, and with perhaps greater experience in its practice than any other country, supplies to the rest of the world exceptional opportunities for study of the effect of such a system upon popular democratic institutions, upon individual liberty, upon economic freedom of action for both employer and employee, and finally upon the cost of government and the consequent tax burden.

What has been the cost of the managed economy imposed upon Italy under the Mussolini dictatorship?

It has destroyed every vestige of popular parliamentary government. The government is Il Duce.

Freedom of speech, freedom of the press and of assembly, right of petition—there is none.

Taxation without representation is universal, for the poor as well as for the rich.

Labor is compulsory, and capital finds its only safe employment in government bonds.

Both industry and industrial workers are subject to rule in which neither has any voice. Industry cannot expand, contract or discontinue without government approval, and labor organizations for bargaining purposes are nonexistent. Both earnings for industry and wages for labor are fixed by government edict.

That is only a partial summary of the sacrifices of rights and liberties which Italians have made in the interest of a managed economy. Such self-abnegation surely should be paid for in economic values.

What is the score of a dozen years of Fascism in Italy?

The public debt has mounted this year to the staggering total of 102,000,000,000 lire, according to government statistics. (At current exchange, the lira is worth 8.53 cents in American money, or about 11.7 to the dollar.) But to this must be added an-

other 50,000,000,000 lire of debts not included in the government's figures. Thus, the total debt of Italy today is over 150,000,000,000 lire, or about \$13,000,000,000. Five years ago it was 111,000,000,000 lire, or about \$9,500,000,000.

The budget for governmental expenses in 1928 showed a surplus of income over expenses of 555,000,000 lire. The budget for 1933 showed a deficit of 3,663,000,000 lire.

Both the debt and the budget figures disclose a disquieting tendency toward ultimate national bankruptcy.

Last year taxes in Italy consumed approximately thirty-eight per cent of the total national income. This is far beyond the danger line. It spells disaster unless taxes are sharply reduced.

And what has managed economy done for employment? In January, 1930, there were approximately 500,000 unemployed. But in January, 1934, there were more than 1,150,000 out of work.

Can any one outside of the circle of the brain trust in Washington find anything in this record for America to imitate?

Here is the second one sent a few days later. See what Colonel Knox has to say about the Italian working man.

“MANAGING” CAPITAL AND LABOR

The American type of popular democracy is built upon certain inalienable rights of the individual, including the right to control one's own labor, and the similar right to control one's own property. Compulsory labor is forbidden in America, and security of personal property is guaranteed. These rights were dearly bought and have been preciousely preserved.

Italians also once enjoyed these rights. What has become of them under half a dozen years of managed economy? How has the regimentation of industry affected Italy's working classes?

The type of labor union found in America, and formerly in Italy, no longer exists here. It has been supplanted. There is only one syndicate, or union, for each trade. A worker is free to join or not, but he must pay dues to the syndicate whether he joins it or not. His work is completely regulated by it, and members of the union are always given preference in the awarding of jobs. So this alleged right to abstain from union membership is merely freedom to starve. Membership is, in effect, compulsory.

Conditions of work and wages for all Italian workers are fixed by collective contracts negotiated between the employers and government-appointed officials of the syndicate. A worker has no voice in

the choice of his representatives, and no control over the decisions reached. The right to strike has been abolished. Labor controversies and disputes are handled on behalf of the workers by government-appointed officials of the syndicate. They determine whether the disputes can be referred to arbitration. The arbitrators are government officials.

If out of a job, an Italian worker cannot seek employment on his own. He must do so through the official employment bureau, which is being rapidly extended throughout the country, and which will exercise a complete monopoly of employment. An idle worker may apply for a job only in the trade or craft to which he belongs, and jobs are filled by a strict rule of seniority. The unemployed worker is prevented also from moving from one place to another in search of work; especially from the small towns and villages to the large cities. If he is found without work in some town other than his own, he may be sent back home. He is deprived of choice of movement in his search for work.

So much for the Italian workingman. What of the employers of labor? Is capital less free to create employment?

Credit, the lifeblood of industry, is now monopolized by government-controlled holding companies, or investment trusts. These trusts are supplied with capital by the government, which lends money to

industry; the trusts sell their own trust certificates to the public. Their financial policies are strictly regulated by the state. No business can borrow money from these trusts without government approval.

A definite check is put upon the expansion of every plant and every industry. Government permission is required for the construction of branches of an established concern, or the construction of new factories.

An employer has no choice in the selection of his operating personnel. He must accept the people sent to him by the official employment bureau. Preference is given to members of the Fascist party. If business falls off, an employer cannot reduce the number of his employees without incurring liability for onerous liquidation payments to his employees proportional to their length of service. All conditions of employment are controlled by collective contracts in which the government always has the decisive vote. No unprofitable industry may be discontinued without the consent of the state.

Every trade and every industry has its own Chamber of Commerce, or syndicate. They are all under strict state control. A business man is free to join or not, but, whether he becomes a member or not, his business is controlled by the syndicate of his

craft, and he must pay his dues. Thus, in effect, membership is compulsory. A corporative inspectorate, with quasi-police power, supervises the execution of all economic legislation.

Thus, in Italy, both labor and capital, under a managed economy, have lost their freedom. There is no longer free labor or free capital. Both have been swallowed up in the "corporative state."

From Italy Colonel Knox went to Austria, the youngest of the Fascist countries, and from there wrote the following illuminating account of what was happening there:

THE NEW ORDER IN AUSTRIA

Born of the February riots which marked the overthrow, as a legal political organization, of the Socialist party, the present Austrian government consumed but a few weeks in drafting and adopting a new constitution, which has created Europe's newest "corporative state." By government fiat, the terms of the constitution were made effective. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to give effect to decrees which are now in the making and which will provide for an Austrian "managed economy," but, immature as these plans now are, the present posture

of Austrian affairs is highly useful to American students of the corporative-state principle. For here one finds unconcealed and undenied the inspiration for this corporative phase of experimentation with an economic "new deal."

Austria in medieval times provided Europe with the most highly developed form of the guild—or trade organization, comprising both employers and workers in each industry—which served as a model and an inspiration for "new dealers" in both Europe and America in their efforts to set up a "new" economic order. Both Mussolini in Italy and the Brain Trust in the United States deny that their formula for a new order was borrowed from the guild principle of the Middle Ages, but here in Austria Chancellor Dollfuss and his collaborators boast that economic workers returning to Austria developed the guild idea, which is now to be reasserted in the land of its highest earlier development.

Under the new constitution all Austrians will be divided into seven guilds. The farmers and all others employed in agriculture and forestry comprise the first of these guilds; the second is made up of all those engaged in industry and mining; the third includes all storekeepers and others engaged in trade; the fourth all those engaged in commerce, transportation and communication; the fifth bank-

ers and all those employed in banking and insurance; the sixth members of the free professions, such as teachers, priests, scientists, artists, doctors and lawyers; the seventh civil servants and state officials.

The appointment of leaders for all of these seven guilds will be dictated by the government, which will also exercise the right of final decision in price-fixing, wages, working hours, the scale of production and the limits of competition. Both the strike and the lockout will be forbidden. The regimentation of both industry and agriculture will be complete. Thus, as in Italy, the loss of individual freedom will be complete.

Likewise there will be as complete a loss of political freedom. For the scheme of political government which is to be imposed under this restoration of the guild system has even less of human liberty in it than the political system of the Middle Ages under which it first flourished. Under this "new economic order" Austria will be governed by a more absolute dictatorship than postwar Europe has yet produced.

First, there is to be a State Council made up of from forty to fifty "elder statesmen" appointed by the president for ten years. To this is to be added a Cultural Council whose membership, numbering

from thirty to forty, will include appointed teachers, priests and representatives of science and art. The third of these councils, the Economic Council, will include seventy to eighty members to be elected by the guilds. The fourth, or Provincial, council will be made up of eighteen delegates, two from each of the nine provinces. These four councils will have only advisory duties. They will meet in secret and may only suggest changes in the laws. They will not originate legislation.

Above these councils will be a Federal Diet of fifty-nine members appointed from the four advisory councils. Twenty of the fifty-nine will come from the guilds. The Diet may only say "yes" or "no" to proposals, and there will be no debate. These bodies, under a dictator provided with ample power to maintain himself in office, constitute the "corporate state" of Austria.

Under the banner of "managed economy" democracy has been throttled. Parliamentary government has been destroyed. Political parties are forbidden.

Free speech and a free press, the right of assembly and the right of petition are all abolished.

Thus the New Order in Austria.

Having seen what Fascism looked like, Colonel Knox next went to Russia in order to observe at first hand the

effects of the other variation of planned economy—namely, Communism. His first observations, sent home the first week in June, are the following:

RUSSIA'S PLANS NOT FOR US

Russia, from which country I have just come, is undoubtedly engaged in a monumental experiment in the field of managed economy and planned society. The experiment may, or may not, be suited to the Russian temperament and to Russian conditions. Time alone will determine that.

Certainly my visit was too short to warrant my expressing any dogmatic views on Russia's destiny. I did stay long enough, however, to learn that the Russian experiment offers nothing whatever for America to imitate. Only an utterly distorted conception of the American spirit and of the peculiar American genius for self-help and self-government could find in Moscow any inspiration or suggestion that would be helpful in the United States.

Of the ideals of a free, democratic state which may be found in theory in the Marx-Lenin school of political philosophy, it can be said with truth that our forebears sought a new world in which to give them expression long before Marx or Lenin was born, when Russia was still wallowing in a state of barbaric feudalism, shot through with the Tartar genius for exploitation of the weak by the strong. Of the

remainder of the social and economic tenets of Russian Sovietism, it may be said that they are unsuited to our use because:

1. They must operate within the frame of a political organization repugnant to every principle underlying a free democracy.

2. They must have for their theatre of activity a country suffering from a shortage of almost every commodity essential to a bare living, totally lacking not only in the luxuries of life but even in those things which contribute to moderate comfort.

3. They must have as their adherents and beneficiaries people whose history has known no freedom, whose training and experience in local and national self-government have been nil, people who are accustomed to a standard of living only a step above that of the beasts that frequently are housed with them under the same roof-tree.

4. Their practice must be accompanied by a military discipline which, without resort to trial or court, will enforce laws forbidding freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right of assembly and petition and mandatory trial by jury.

Their successful maintenance demands compulsory military service, denial of the right of participation in government by any but members of the one political party that is allowed to exist, supervision of all social and, particularly, all political activity

by a secret police which strikes in the dark, and from whose arbitrary action there is no appeal.

How can you fit such a system into the pattern of a free democracy?

The next instalment concerning Russia is to my mind as significant a document as any I have read for some time. Most of us think that Communism at least has the virtue that all share alike. That beautiful dream is completely dispelled by the following:

DEMOCRACY OR TERRORISM?

At a luncheon given by the foreign office of the Russian government in Moscow, I was told by a high official that Russia was conducting a great experiment in democracy. I have no right to challenge the sincerity of that observation. I replied by asking what was the total membership of the Communist party in Russia, and was told that it numbered about 3,000,000. The total population of soviet Russia is 165,000,000. Only Communists are permitted active participation in the government.

My reference to the discrepancy between the total number of the ruling class and the number ruled made little or no impression upon my Russian host. He vigorously challenged my definition of their form of government as an autocracy dominated by

a dictatorship which, however well intentioned and benevolent, was absolute in its summary denial of the democratic principle of self-government. Judged by American democratic standards, there is no question as to the correctness of my definition.

The actual government in Russia is vested in the Communist party, which includes only 1.2 per cent of the entire population. The Communist party in turn is controlled by a small group of high officials who maintain themselves in office by a combination of shameless propaganda, political intrigue and a police-enforced terror, backed by the standing army of 600,000 soldiers.

The basic unit of the Communist government is the yachieka, composed of all the Communist party members in every factory, office, village or military unit. Of these there are about 50,000. These units act under the orders and instructions of the next higher unit, which, theoretically, the members of the yachieka help to choose. Thus the village committee takes its orders from the county committee and the county committee receives its instructions from the provincial committee.

Theoretically, the government is vested in the all-union soviet congress, the basis of representation in which is one delegate for each 125,000 rural voters, and one representative for each 25,000 city voters. All slates of candidates are chosen by party commit-

tees and, there being no opposition party, the elections are by acclamation.

However, even this gesture in the direction of democracy is empty. The congress meets but once in two years, and has no real legislative functions. Legislative authority is vested in the all-union central soviet executive committee, known in Russia as the Tsik. It is made up of about one-fourth of the members of the congress, and all are hand-picked by the cabinet, or, as it is known in Russia, the council of people's commissars.

Paralleling this formal pattern of government, and always superior to it, is the Communist party organization, which heads up in the party central committee of about 150 members, from which is selected the all-powerful political bureau of only ten men. These men are the autocrats of all Russia. The political bureau is headed and dictated to by Stalin, whose only office is that of secretary of the party central committee.

The real underlying truth of the Russian situation is that this vast country, which includes between one-sixth and one-seventh of the earth's surface, which is probably the greatest storehouse of undeveloped natural resources in the world, and has a population of 165,000,000, has merely changed its exploiters. Formerly its people were exploited mercilessly by czars and the Russian nobility for their

selfish benefit. Today they are being exploited by self-selected representatives of a party which numbers barely more than one per cent of the total population, for the selfish benefit of the members of that party.

In this new form of exploitation there is as little for emulation in a true democracy such as ours as there was in the older Russian form which expired in the fires of bloody revolution in 1917.

And now see what is happening to the Russian farmer under planned economy:

REGIMENTATION AND STARVATION

Curiously enough it has been from Secretary Wallace of the Department of Agriculture and his assistant, Rexford Tugwell, that Americans have heard the most respectful and complimentary references to the Russian experiment in planned economy. This is noteworthy. While something of a case might be made out for the factory worker under the Communist system as practiced in Russia, farm conditions are intolerable, and the state of the Russian peasant is wretched beyond description. Any attempt to impose upon American farmers anything remotely approaching conditions on the best con-

ducted Russian collective farms would provoke armed resistance at once.

Sixty-five per cent of the Russian peasants, I learned in Moscow, are now established on collective farms. The remaining 35 per cent are individual farmers, nominally owning their farms and selling for their own benefit such of their products as are left after the tax collector has taken over the larger part for the state.

The collective farms are of two types. The first is known as the "artel," in which only the land and the horses are pooled, and the individual is permitted to retain his house, garden, chickens, pigs and so on. The second is the "commune" type, in which everything is pooled and life is wholly communistic, with common living quarters, common dining room and common arrangements for the care of children. The latter form has proved unsatisfactory and ultimately all farms are to be of the "artel" model.

The foreman of each collective farm is appointed by the political leader of the region. He lays out all of the work of the farm, assisted by a so-called expert from the nearest tractor station. At every tractor station there is a "political section" of six or seven men, appointed by the party leaders. They determine the disposal of the land and how the work shall be carried on. They supervise the harvest-

ing and enforce the collection of the state's share of the crops. Every farmer has his work assigned to him and at the end of the year is credited with the number of days of work he has done. Upon that basis the peasant shares in the fruits of his year of toil. After the government has taken its share, the remainder of the crop is sold, either to the city co-operatives or on the open market, and the proceeds are divided, each peasant receiving a share proportionate to the amount of work he has contributed. If, in addition to his work on the collective farm, a farmer has some garden produce, chickens or pigs to sell, he must pay an additional heavy tax on those sales.

In the sustained effort to put all farming upon a collective basis, the lot of the individual farmer is made extremely hard. He is forced to pay taxes in kind, and if he sells for cash he must pay part of the proceeds to the state. The average individual farm does not exceed two to four acres, and life is reduced to the penury and squalor of peasant life in medieval times. But such is the tenacity with which a Russian clings to his own little farm that, even under such incredibly harsh conditions, the extension of the collective principle has been slow and difficult.

Many of the more active peasant opponents of the collective-farm idea have been sent to the mines or the forests for long terms at forced labor in order to break down the home-loving instinct.

If short crops are harvested, the government, in order to feed the industrial workers in the cities, takes virtually all, sometimes leaving not enough food for the farmer to feed his family. Only last year, because of widespread crop failure, from four to seven million peasants died of starvation. This year another short crop impends. The price of bread in Moscow has been doubled and fresh hardships await the peasant who must keep his family through the winter on what the tax collector leaves.

This is the story of Russian regimentation of agriculture, applied to one of the richest agricultural regions of the world. At best it provides the farmer a bare subsistence; at worst it is slow death through forcible deprivation of those very means of sustaining life which the farmer provides.

Perhaps in a way the plight of the Russian peasant is not as surprising as it might be. I know it was not completely surprising to me, but what was surprising to me is the condition of the Russian laborer as it is portrayed in Colonel Knox's final editorial, which follows:

RUSSIA'S VIRTUAL LABOR SLAVERY

The Russian revolution of 1917 was the work of a small group of intellectuals, co-operating with the mass of industrial workers of Leningrad and Mos-

cow. The government those revolutionaries set up was frankly and avowedly government by and for the industrial workers of Russia. Consequently, if there is any class in Russia which is a beneficiary of the Communist type of managed economy, it is the working class—a comparatively small percentage of Russia's whole population.

There has been some improvement in their standard of living, but even that statement is possible only because of the incredibly low standard which obtained before the revolution. If the Russian workers' present conditions of life were imposed on American workers, even in the depths of depression, they would resist by armed revolt.

But, laying aside the question of living standards, how has an ordered economy affected the freedom and liberties of the workers of Russia?

It should always be remembered that Russia is ruled with an iron hand by the Communist party, made up of fewer than 3,000,000 of the entire population of 165,000,000. Not all the workers in factories, by any means, are admitted to the party. Consequently, most of the workers, as well as most of the farmers, have no voice whatever in their own government. Government is imposed from above. Each factory has its own trade union, but in each plant the labor organization is paralleled by a Com-

munist party organization to which only party members can belong. Both are elected by the workers.

Each factory has a director and several assistants appointed by the higher political authority, but the actual operations within the plant are under the direction of a committee of three—the factory director (politically selected by higher authority), an elected representative of the labor union and an elected representative of the Communist party organization in the plant. Theoretically, these three have equal powers—but only in theory. The director's authority is final and supreme; the powers of the other two are only advisory. One-man rule was found imperative in order to get production. The director can hire and fire as he pleases, so long as he does not offend the higher political authority which gave him his job. Work is paid for almost wholly on the piece scale. The minimum wage is very low, and there is a sharp differential in the wages paid to skilled and to unskilled labor. This is producing class distinction. The workers have no voice in questions of wages and hours, and membership in a labor union is compulsory. On the other hand, a worker can become a member of the Communist party organization in his factory only by election.

The seven-hour day and the five-day work week

are decreed by law, but most plants are working much longer hours, with overtime paid. The average earnings of industrial workers are between 200 and 250 roubles a month. Employment in a factory provides a worker with a card, which guarantees him full value of the rouble (about 70 cents) in payments for rent, heat, light and water and for food at the co-operative stores. For all other purchases the worker must pay at the depreciated value of the rouble (about 5 cents). This means substantial deprivation of everything but the bare necessities.

In both Moscow and Leningrad there is a frightful congestion of living quarters. Whole families of workers live in a single room, under utterly intolerable conditions.

It is estimated that the workers of Russia number from 25,000,000 to 33,000,000, or from 15 to 20 per cent of the total population. Of these not more than 2,000,000 are members of the Communist party. For the rest of this industrial class, in whose behalf the government is alleged to be operated, there is no voice in the choice of their rulers, no control over their own labor, no power to control working conditions, no say as to what they shall be paid. But they themselves must pay the prices fixed for necessities, and they are substantially denied any luxuries or even comforts. If they quit their jobs without permission they and their families are left to starve.

They may not go elsewhere to find other jobs without a permit, and they cannot leave Russia under any circumstances.

Such are life and the conditions of living which an ordered economy imposes upon Russian workers. It is easy to understand why the most determined foes of Communism in America have been the American labor unions.

And now I shall quote an editorial sent from Berlin on June 9, which, taken in the light of subsequent developments, shows how shrewd an observer is our authority for this kaleidoscopic sketch of what is going on abroad:

GERMAN PORTENTS

Despite Hitler's imitation of Mussolini's managed economy, conditions in Germany are steadily going from bad to worse. Affairs have now reached so critical a point—the lavish Nazi promises of improved conditions are so obviously failing of fulfillment—that sentiment against the Hitler regime is actually becoming vocal, despite the extremities of terrorism to which the Nazis resort.

Just a few days before my arrival in Berlin an anti-Nazi demonstration in Dresden included a denunciation of Hitler by a group of Brownshirts! The anxiety which such developments have pro-

duced in the Hitler cabinet is reflected by fresh intemperance in the form of attacks by Goebbels and others upon the Jews. The quarrel of the Hitlerites with the Catholics over Nazi attempts to control religion is an increasingly important factor in the situation. On Corpus Christi day the unusually large and well-organized demonstration and parade of Catholics in Berlin was eloquent of the growing resentment in anti-Nazi quarters.

Because of the economic slump, including the rapid approach of a financial crisis, and the accumulated effects of the fanaticism prompted and fostered by the Nazis against Jews, Catholics, Free Masons and Protestants, among the members of these various groups outside the borders of Germany there is a widespread expectation that a new crisis in German affairs impends. If a change of rulers results, it is expected that the new regime will be a military dictatorship.

Economic facts which lend color to these views on the immediate future of Germany include the falling off of income of the ordinary workers from an average of 170 marks per month a year ago to 147 marks now. (At current exchange rates the mark is worth about 38 1-2 cents.) This decline in income has been accompanied by a slow but steady increase in living costs. The quality of goods offered for sale is being steadily lowered, and resort is being made

to many of the substitutes used in the war days. The gold reserve, used as a cover for the paper note issues, is decreasing rapidly. It dropped 32,000,000 marks in April and recently reached a new all-time low, with a gold coverage of only 3.7 per cent.

In the security market sagging prices for both bonds and stocks reflect the growing sense of insecurity. While no war blockade exists to interfere with international trade, a peace-time blockade, the direct result of Nazi treatment of the Jews, Catholics and Protestants within Germany, is making itself felt in no uncertain manner. German export figures are eloquent of the success of the anti-Nazi campaign in foreign countries.

The wave of antagonism to democracy and democratic principles, and the substitution of the authoritative state, accompanied by the resort to planned and managed economies, which swept the depression-racked peoples of Europe off their political and economic balance, found its wildest and most extreme climax in Germany. It is to Germany, therefore, that we may look for the first collapse, and the beginnings of a return to sanity in both government and economics.

Unless all present portents are misread, the hour of repentance is not far off.

“What Liberties Have You Lost?”

Whether or not the reader agrees with all of the observations and conclusions reached by Colonel Knox, I am sure that no one could fail to be impressed with the cogency of his general conclusion: namely, that whatever the benefits of a planned economy, the price of these benefits is the loss of freedom. Having reached that point, it would be only natural for the reader to want to hear the other side of the argument. I shall not attempt to present it, because I am not impartial enough to be even reasonably effective as a “devil’s advocate,” but I refer the reader to a book recently published by Mr. Walter Lippmann. This book, *The Method of Freedom*, is the most ingenious defense of planned economy that I have seen.

I say “ingenious” because it seems to me that what Mr. Lippmann does is first to set forth and admit the entire case against “planned economy.” Then he invents something which he calls “compensated economy,” for which he claims that it will give us, without essential sacrifice of freedom, the element of security for which the planners are striving.

If I understand it correctly, Mr. Lippmann's "compensated economy" is really nothing more than a defensive rather than an offensive "planned economy"; that is, it is a scheme of things in which the government seeks to offset by action of its own any exaggerated economic trends that may arise in a free economy. This involves: first, that the government must be able to recognize such trends; and, second, that it must find the proper means to counteract them.

One hesitates to take issue with so careful a student of these matters as Mr. Lippmann, but it seems to me that while the theory of his "compensated economy" may be perfectly sound, the suggestion, as applied to a democratic country and a government dependent upon popular election, will not work as a practical matter. I say this because I do not believe that a government elected on the basis of a political system such as ours will ever be able to recognize economic trends with sufficient accuracy; and because I am even more convinced that if it does recognize the trends, it will only act to offset periods of contraction—that is, depression—but will never act to put on the brakes in periods of prosperity.

Moreover, I fear it is inevitable that any government agency set up to run a "compensated economy" would soon gather unto itself all the power necessary to run a "planned economy." This is the historical evolution of all government bureaus. The time to stop is before you start.

It is quite possible that I have missed the point of Mr. Lippmann's book. It is therefore no more than fair to urge the reader who wishes to form an independent judgment to study *The Method of Freedom*, if only because of the excellent analysis of what a "planned economy" is.

And now let us seek to apply the microscope to our own case and see how we should answer Mr. Roosevelt's question.

I think we should begin by saying that we know that in war it is necessary and right—in so far as anything connected with war can be called right—that the rights and liberties of the individual be submerged in the greater interest of national safety. I think we should go on to say that the emergency which existed in March 1933 was in many respects similar to a war and that it therefore justified a similar attitude on the part of the Government, and that we did not mind being good soldiers until the enemy was repelled from our homes.

But I think we should say that America has never believed and does not now believe in compulsory military training nor a large standing army, and that we think it is dangerous to keep too many of us parading around in uniforms too long after the emergency is over. I think we should say that we think the acute emergency which paralyzed our economic life is over, and that, while there is still much suffering and hardship, we have to deal from here on, not with a crisis, but with a recuperative

process, and with the problems of reconstruction. For this we do not think we need any war-time psychology.

In fact we think that the war-time psychology of blindly taking orders and executing them will, if continued, stand in the way of recovery, because it will get us out of the habit of taking our own responsibilities and into the habit of expecting someone else to take them for us. We have seen what that leads to in Italy, Austria, Germany, and Russia. We know that no one seriously wants to emulate those countries, but we feel worried because we fear the habit may grow on us and leave us eventually unable to stand on our own feet as Americans should.

It is difficult for the average citizen to give an accurate answer to the question: "What liberties have you lost?" because it is almost impossible for him to analyze and evaluate the New Deal legislation and administrative regulations. These constitute a body of laws—according to a recent report of a special committee of the American Bar Association—several times greater in length than all the previous Federal legislation passed since the adoption of the Constitution in 1789.

The N.R.A. alone is stated to have issued over ten thousand pages of regulations.

Nevertheless it is possible to name some of the things that trouble us because we see in them—or think we see in them—a departure from our traditional principles of freedom.

Abraham Lincoln, in his Cooper Union speech of 1860, said:

"Now and here let me guard a little against being misunderstood. I do not mean to say that we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. To do so would be to discard all the lights of current experience—to reject all progress, all improvement. What I do say is, that if we would supplant the opinions and policy of our fathers in any case, we should do so on evidence so conclusive, and argument so clear, that even their great authority, fairly considered and weighed, cannot stand."

And again, in a message to Congress, on December 3, 1861, Lincoln said:

"Many independent men, everywhere in these states, a few years back in their lives were hired laborers. The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages a while, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account for another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. That is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all, gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress and improvement of condition to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty, none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if

surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost."

Few of us could state half so clearly what we think and feel today as Abraham Lincoln stated it for us at the time of another great national emergency. And during that emergency of the Civil War, when much the same questions were at stake, the United States Supreme Court rendered the following decision:

"The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and for the people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men at all times and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by wit of man than that any of the provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of Government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy or despotism."

And so I think we might say that those of us who are farmers are troubled at the thought that in future we must be told what to grow, how much to grow, and where to grow it. We dislike the idea that we shall have to pay taxes in order to support a vast army of Government officials, who will make our decisions for us and then see that these decisions are carried out. We are grateful for advice, but we pride ourselves on being free

men who must be allowed, if necessary, to make our own mistakes from time to time and suffer the consequences.

Similarly, those of us who are industrial workers are grateful for being protected against unfair exploitation, but we do not like being told that we may only work a given number of hours and under such and such conditions, and that, irrespective of individual circumstances, we must all conform to a general pattern. We want the right to bargain collectively with our employers, but we do not want to be compelled to do so; nor do we want to be compelled to belong to any organizations, unless we are convinced that it is in our own interest to do so.

Those of us who are industrial employers and manufacturers are perfectly willing to co-operate with each other, with our employees, and with the consumer to eliminate unfair practice wherever it may exist. We are willing to abide by such laws as may be enacted in order to further this aim, provided that we have due recourse to the courts to protect our rights within these laws. But we do not want a Government bureaucracy to tell us what to pay our employees, what to charge the consumer for our products, and whether or not we may modernize our plants.

Those of us who are shareholders, directors, or executives of railroads, public utilities, and banks want to know whether we are going to be expected to continue the operation of our respective enterprises under a better

system of protecting the public interest than we have had in the past, or whether it is the intention of the Government to take over the operation and control of our companies.

And, finally, all of us who are citizens, no matter what our individual position may be, are vitally interested in the following questions, the answers to which are very far from clear to us today:

1. How far is the Government expenditure program going to be continued on borrowed money? When is the Government going to attempt to balance its revenues and expenditures by increasing taxation? How heavy is that taxation going to be, and on whom will it fall? We know that we are running behind now at the rate of four billion dollars a year. We know that somewhere there must be a limit. We know that eventually we shall have to pay for every dollar that is being spent so lavishly today. We feel uneasy, because we know that we are doing something as a nation that we should be afraid to do as individuals—that is, run up a lot of charge accounts without finding out how much our purchases amount to. We don't want the burden of our carelessness to fall upon our children.

2. How far does the Government intend to go in debasing the dollar? If the purpose of reducing its gold content to forty per cent is ultimately to reduce its purchasing power by forty per cent, then all of us who have any dollars saved or invested in life-insurance policies

will have forty per cent of what we have saved taken away. If that is really wise and necessary we can stand it, but we should like to know whether that is all, or whether there is worse to come. And we should like to know what is going to raise our wages and incomes by forty per cent so that they will continue to buy our necessities. If the purchasing power of the dollars we receive is to be reduced by forty per cent—which is the announced intention of the devaluation program—then we shall need more of the cheaper dollars in order that we may buy what we can buy today. Otherwise we shall have suffered a very distinct invasion of our rights. What is going to give us more dollars?

3. Thomas Jefferson, a great Democrat, said that the best government was the government which governed least. Abraham Lincoln, a great Republican, said: "In great emergency moderation is generally safer than radicalism."

Granted that it may be wise and necessary in an emergency to concentrate great power in the hands of the executive, when will these powers be returned to Congress? How long will it be before we can again look to our Senators and Representatives to exercise the functions we have delegated to them?

4. It is a precious possession of a free people to have their rights and liberties protected by a trained professional judiciary, which decides upon the rights of in-

dividuals in specific circumstances within the framework of the general principles laid down by the law.

Have we not lost a fundamental bulwark of our liberty when many of these judicial functions are delegated to administrative officials, untrained as judges, bound by partisanship, and committed in advance to the philosophy of their political superiors? Is it not contrary to our rights under the Constitution that a single Government bureau—such as an N.R.A. code authority—should issue regulations which have all the binding quality of law and can be enforced by penalties, while at the same time it should act as the sole judicial tribunal to interpret the rights of individuals under its own regulations?

In conclusion, I think we should say that we have lost quite a little of our liberty, quite a few of our Constitutional rights and privileges, for the time being. We should say that this would not particularly worry us—although perhaps it ought to—if we felt certain that we should get them back, once the emergency is declared over; but that we are worried because we see no sign of a diminishing encroachment by the Federal Government upon the rights of states and individuals, now that the emergency is beginning to subside. On the contrary, we see indications that many of the powers conferred upon the central Government as emergency powers are being regarded more and more as permanent powers, and that a great central bureaucracy has come into being

with all the ear-marks of intending to stay.

We should say that we are worried, not so much by what has happened, as by what may be in store for us in the future.

What, Then, Should We Conclude?

It will, I think, be evident to the reader from the preceding chapters that, whether we like it or not, we have drifted quite far in the direction of attempting to plan and regulate our economic life by vesting vast discretionary power in a central Government. It will be equally clear that we have not gone so far in that direction as Italy, Austria, Germany, or Russia. The question that we must decide is:

Are we going to pursue further the course upon which we have started—that is, the course which seeks to provide security at the expense of freedom—or do we hold freedom so dear that we do not wish to proceed further along the lines of the various European experiments?

Before proceeding to attempt to answer this question it would perhaps be well to define clearly what we mean by freedom and what we mean by security.

Freedom, in the sense in which I have used and shall use it here, does not mean unrestrained and unregulated liberty of action on the part of the individual. It means the right of individuals to think, to work, and to express themselves as they desire. It means the right of each

individual to improve his own circumstances through his own efforts so long as he does not in so doing encroach upon the similar rights of others. Such freedom is based upon the recognition that all men are *not* created equal, and upon the recognition that to be born with superior strength or intellect or material advantage carries with it an obligation to use such strength for the general welfare and not solely for selfish gain.

It means that people voluntarily agree with each other to abide by certain rules of the game designed to prevent one individual from taking unfair advantage of another.

It means the sanctity of property rights and the sanctity of contracts.

It means a government of laws as opposed to a government of discretionary power vested in men.

Security, in the sense in which I use it here, means a guarantee that we shall have tomorrow what we have today. It does not mean freezing in perpetuity the present condition in which we have millions of unemployed and a maladjusted economy, but it means that first our present ills are to be remedied by government planning, so that everyone will be reasonably secure, and that then this condition of universal security is to be more or less frozen in perpetuity.

The "security" aimed at is not so much a security for savings out of past work as it is a guarantee of employment for reasonable compensation. Wealth—which is savings—is to become less securely intrenched. The prop-

ertyless man is to be sure of a job that pays him a decent wage.

Recognizing that the accumulation of capital is essential to any economic structure, if only to replace the outworn tools and machinery of production, those who would seek "security" by government planning would let the Government be the one to accumulate the capital of the community, and likewise the one to spend it.

I for one do not believe we should attempt to acquire this hypothetical "security" by government capitalism for three very simple reasons:

1. I do not believe that it is possible to create a state of being—that is, a condition of life—which human beings would be satisfied to accept in perpetuity. I believe that a static condition—no matter what condition—is the very thing that most quickly destroys what, for want of a better name, we call happiness.

2. I do not believe that it is possible by any human agency to guarantee that any state of happiness or unhappiness shall remain static. And

3. Even if it were possible to make us all reasonably "happy" and to guarantee that we should remain so, I do not believe that the American people would or should be willing to pay the price, because that price is not only the sacrifice of freedom, but the sacrifice of progress.

I shall take up each of these three points in order, but first, so that we may realize that the alternative to government-planned "security" does not involve going back to

the evils that we have suffered in the past, and to show that under a system of free economy we have moved far and rapidly towards the protection of the weak against the strong, let us glance for a moment at a document which shows clearly, I think, the wake of the vessel in which we have been sailing.

This document is the platform of the Socialist party, on which Eugene V. Debs ran for President in 1912. It contained the following planks:

1. *A separate Department of Labor.*

This was set up in 1913.

2. *Old-age pensions.*

These are established in many states of the Union and are now being considered by the Federal Government.

3. *Higher income and inheritance taxes.*

These are in effect.

4. *Woman suffrage.*

This was granted in 1920.

5. *Reforestation and reclamation of waste land.*

Both have been undertaken by the Federal Government on a large scale.

6. *A public works program.*

(See P.W.A.)

7. *Government employment bureaus.*

These have been established for some time.

8. *Shorter hours and minimum wage scales.*

(See N.R.A.)

9. *No child labor under sixteen.*

Twenty states have ratified a Constitutional amendment to prohibit labor of persons under eighteen.

10. *Initiative, referendum, and recall.*

One or another in practice in many states.

11. *Curbing of the power of courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes.*

This is now part of our law.

From these Socialist planks of 1912 it is evident that what was considered Socialism twenty-two years ago has in large measure now become accepted orthodox doctrine. No Socialist of today would deny that our present system is a capitalistic system, and yet obviously that capitalistic system has progressed in twenty-two years far enough to have satisfied these Socialist demands on which Mr. Debs polled some 850,000 votes in 1912.

I mention this merely because we are all of us too prone to think that just because labels do not change, the substances which bear the labels likewise remain unaltered.

If we are to understand our present-day problem, it seems to me essential that we should realize how far we have already gone towards Socialism, and that we cannot go very much further without destroying individual enterprise, which is the motive power by which our economic order is propelled.

That does not mean that there is not ample room for reform and improvement within the framework of a

capitalistic order. We shall come to that in a subsequent chapter.

Now to return to my theme:

1. I do not believe that it is possible to create a condition of life which human beings would be satisfied to accept in perpetuity, because I do not believe that it is possible to remove from human nature the desire to improve itself. Assuming for the moment that an all-wise and all-powerful government could redistribute what "happiness" there is in the world in such a way that everyone would have an equal share of it, I do not think for a minute that we should be satisfied with the result. I know only too well that whatever it was that would have made me "happy" a year ago would certainly not make me "happy" today. And I feel reasonably sure that all of us would rather be a little "unhappy" today with the hope of something better tomorrow, than "reasonably happy" today with the certainty that we should never be any happier."

2. I do not believe that it is possible by any human agency to guarantee that any distribution of the desirable things of life shall be permanent.

Assuming again that there could be such a thing as an all-wise and all-powerful government, it would be necessary to assume that its power and wisdom would extend, not only over the field of human activities, but over natural forces as well. It would be necessary to as-

sume that such a government could prevent floods, droughts, and earthquakes. We have learned to build dikes so as to prevent some of the worst ravages of floods. We have learned to irrigate arid lands. We have learned to make fire-extinguishers. Undoubtedly we can learn more along the lines of protecting ourselves against the violence of nature. But I for one cannot assume that any group of human beings can so control human activity and natural activity as to offer any reasonable guarantee of perpetuating any given distribution of wealth or "happiness."

More specifically, we have seen the efforts that our Government has made to control both the production of things and the prices at which the things produced are to be sold. If such a plan is to be successful, it seems to me that it must necessarily involve not only the control of supply, but also the control of demand.

A government which sets out to control demand sets out to control human desires, and that again I cannot consider as a practical possibility.

3. Finally, assuming that I am wrong about both the two preceding reasons for not believing in a planned economy—that is, assuming that an all-wise and all-powerful government could, first, redistribute "happiness" in such a way as to make us all satisfied to perpetuate the condition achieved, and, second, that it could as a practical matter accomplish the perpetuation—then I should still reject a government-planned economy on

the ground that the price we should have to pay for it is the sacrifice of freedom and the sacrifice of progress.

We have seen in a preceding chapter how freedom and the democratic principle have gone by the board in Italy, Germany, Austria, and Russia. It seems to me inevitable that if complete power over the regulation of demand and supply—that is, complete power to control the desire to have and the desire to create—is to be vested in a central governmental authority, then that central governmental authority must of necessity rule with an iron hand. Such a government can brook no criticism, can tolerate no free press, and must act in all respects as a general commanding an army in the field. It follows that the citizens in a country so governed must inevitably become an army of pawns moved backwards and forwards according to the dictates of the supreme command. They must be fed their rations wherever and whenever they are given time to eat. They must dig where they are told to dig, stand where they are told to stand, and fight when and whom they are told to fight in blind obedience to the orders they receive.

Just as it seems inevitable that the price to be paid is the loss of freedom, so it seems even more inescapable that progress, too, must be sacrificed. If we are to be guaranteed that we shall have tomorrow what we have today, it follows that we must accept the other side of the coin, which is that we shall have no more tomorrow than we have today.

It may be claimed that this is not true because it would still be possible under such a system to increase the aggregate wealth or happiness, as you may choose to call it, and thereby increase pro rata the wealth or happiness of all of us. In theory this may be true. In practice I do not believe it is true, because such progress as the human race has achieved has been made through the exercise of that very mechanism of the human desire to have, and the human will to create, which is to be superseded under planned economy by the mathematical calculations and plotted curves of a dictatorial management.

It is a mistake to assume that the idea of planned economy originated with the New Deal or even with the various European nations which have embarked upon similar experiments. Planned economy is a reversion to the old feudal system, under which we had centuries so devoid of human progress, so stagnant, and so, if you like, "secure" in the sense that there was no change, that this period is still referred to as the period of the Dark Ages.

In saying what I have said, I am not attacking the present Administration for starting a trend towards planned economy. That trend was started when planned economy was forced upon all nations which participated in the War. For a time after the War it looked as if we at least had shaken off the tendency in this direction, but when the depression set in, planning certainly became

just as much a part of the Republican philosophy under Hoover as it is now part of the Democratic philosophy under Roosevelt. The Hoover Administration thought it could maintain high wages and high prices by Government intervention contrary to natural economic laws. It failed, because it was attempting the impossible. It would have failed in any case because its efforts were too timid and too inconsistent. The Roosevelt Administration has tried to do the same thing more courageously, though scarcely more consistently. Probably any government that would have found itself in power from 1929 on would have attempted to do much the same thing.

It all goes back to what I said in the first chapter of this book: namely, that we, the American people, have demanded of our Government, ever since the depression began, that it should perform miracles.

If we demand miracles, we must be prepared for quack remedies.

If we confess our inability to govern ourselves, we must not be surprised if a Government that depends for its life upon being popular with us tries to exercise the authority that we ourselves have abdicated.

With the state of mind of the American people as it was in March 1933 and as it still is very largely today, a government in Washington would have to be something more than human if it did not come to the conclusion that recovery could only be brought about by its own actions.

That is why it is so important that we, the people, should face the fundamental issue that confronts us and, having faced the issue and made our choice, that we should then realize that if we want security we must not shed tears about our lost freedom or rail at a government which is encroaching upon our liberties.

I am convinced that if the issue can be presented to the American people with sufficient clarity and simplicity, there is no question that they will choose "freedom" rather than "security"; that they will choose democracy rather than dictatorship; that they will choose the opportunity for progress rather than an insurance policy of doubtful value against retrogression.

*If Not Inflation or Planned Economy—
Then What?*

Those who ardently support the New Deal are impatient of all criticism unless it offers an alternative. John W. Davis, speaking of this habit of mind, recently remarked with great aptitude: "It is not quite clear why one who sees his friend driving towards a precipice must wait to warn him until he can produce a road map of the district."

That seems to me an extraordinarily sound common-sense observation. In the summer of 1933, when a few of us were vainly opposing the adoption of the Warren gold theory and the whole inflationary trend which it served to cloak, we were constantly confronted with the statement: "Well, then, what have you got to suggest that will raise farm prices and lighten the burden of debt?"

If one answered quite honestly that one had no alternative rabbit to pull out of the hat, and did not believe that there was any such animal, the effect was that one's criticism of the Warren plan was more or less brushed aside. In other words, the New Deal is so wedded to the idea that there is always a way to short-circuit the natural

forces, always a way to avoid natural consequences, that one cannot successfully expose a "miracle" unless one is willing to peddle a "counter-miracle."

It is not because I disagree with Mr. Davis that I am going to attempt to develop what seem to me the basic outlines of a course that we might pursue, if we decided to abandon both the idea of seeking a monetary cure through inflation and the idea of planned economy. In other words, it is not because I feel that what I have said about the Roosevelt monetary policies in my previous book, or what I have said in this one about planned economy, requires the justification of presenting an alternative. It is because I have the hope that by exposing my own ideas to criticism I may perhaps stimulate other and more competent minds towards the constructive thought which our problem so urgently requires.

If our basic trouble is not a monetary trouble, and if we cannot therefore cure our ills by monetary means—if planned economy means the sacrifice of freedom and the sacrifice of progress, and if this price is too great a price to pay—what, then, are the elements of the course that we should follow?

It seems to me that in outlining such an alternative, one must first of all state the basic principles in which one believes, and upon which one intends to build the structure of an economic and social policy. For my part these principles can be stated very simply and very briefly:

1. I believe that this country should seek to maintain its traditional form of constitutional representative government, within the framework of which there is ample room for improvement.

2. I believe that we should maintain an economic order based upon the freedom of all individuals to think, to work, and to express themselves as they desire—an order in which each individual is free to improve his own circumstances through his own efforts so long as he does not in so doing transgress the rules of fair play or encroach upon the similar right of others.

3. I believe that it is incompatible with such a system to vest in a central government the arbitrary authority to regulate in its discretion production, prices, hours of work, and all the various details of our economic life.

4. I believe that the collective intelligence, expressed by a large number of transactions entered into for reasonable profit by a great number of people, is greater than the *collected* intelligence which can be assembled in any group of human beings composing a government bureaucracy.

5. Since the adoption of a planned economy must involve the abandonment of a democratic form of government, the abandonment of individual thought and expression, and the abandonment of freedom, I believe that if planned economy is to be adopted, it should be done only after the people have directly expressed themselves in favor of such a change. (I do not believe that

the election of 1932 constituted such an expression by the people. See Democratic Platform of 1932.)

6. I believe that the primary cause of the world depression is to be found in the World War, and I am convinced that the primary economic necessity of the future is the prevention of war.

7. I believe that a policy of economic nationalism leads to war, and that a policy of international co-operation and the promotion of international trade leads to peace.

8. I believe that the only lasting help that can be given to our agricultural producers is to be found in a policy of deliberately increasing our imports by an intelligent downward revision of our tariff, in order that we may regain some of our lost export markets for primary raw materials.

9. I believe that within the limits of our traditional form of government and economy we should reform our laws and practices wherever it may be necessary to prevent unfair competition or the exploitation of the weak by the strong. For example:

(a) We need a reform of our banking system, both through a revision of the laws and by introducing a system of better training for our bankers, but we must avoid substituting government banking for private banking, and we must avoid political control of the money mechanism.

(b) We need a reform of our investment system, but

we must guard against excessive government regulation which will impede the free flow of the savings of the people into legitimate requirements of business enterprise.

(c) We need certain reforms in our industrial system, such as the adoption of a satisfactory system of collective bargaining, and such as a system of old-age and unemployment insurance. On the other hand, we must be on our guard to see that private enterprise and not government enterprise remains the motive power, and that the free play of the forces of demand and supply as expressed in the price mechanism be not unduly interfered with.

10. I believe that the regulations that must undoubtedly be imposed upon a highly organized society should be in the nature of laws and established customs—preferably laws which express a general purpose to be interpreted by the courts rather than laws, of which we have all too many, which attempt to be over-specific and are therefore subject to technical evasion. I believe in regulation by laws and custom; I do not believe in regulation by discretionary authority vested in men.

Those are the general ideas upon which I believe our future course should be predicated.

Before proceeding to specific application, let me pause for a moment to make sure that we shall not fail to

understand each other for want of a clear definition of terms.

Anyone who opposes government planning and regimentation is always confronted with the argument that under a free capitalistic system there is just as much regimentation—for instance, of the industrial workers—as there is under a government-directed economy. The only difference, it is claimed, is in the matter of who does the regimenting.

The answer, which is by now probably self-evident to the reader, is that one kind of regimentation arises from too much individual liberty—namely, the liberty of the strong to exploit the weak—whereas the other kind of regimentation destroys individual liberty and initiative, and therefore changes the whole basis of the economic and social structure.

The point that I am particularly anxious to make plain is:

That to oppose a government-directed economy does not mean to favor laissez-faire.

On the contrary, I for one should regret a typical laissez-faire reaction from the present tendencies almost as much as I should regret their unmodified continuation.

As conditions change, it is absurd to think that social and economic behavior can remain unaltered. My quarrel with the present trend is not that it seeks to modernize and improve the pattern of our lives, but that it seeks

to accomplish this end in blind disregard of the realities of human nature and without a full understanding of what the system is that is to be improved.

Thus, if our system is faulty in that it permits too easily the concentration of great power in the hands of a few, we should seek to cure the defect by intelligent alterations in our laws. In doing this we must remember that no law can be effective if it lacks the support of public opinion.

No law can force people to be clean or honest if they don't want to be, but a wise law, wisely enforced and interpreted, can help people to maintain a standard of cleanliness or honesty upon which they have agreed.

Thus even a wise reform of the laws—if it is too far in advance of public opinion—may prove not only ineffective but actually may do a great deal of harm. For example, whether or not we should be better off without alcoholic beverages, the attempt to enforce prohibition when public opinion was not ready for it not only proved ineffective in carrying out its purpose, but contributed to a serious state of lawlessness throughout the country.

In addition to better laws we need also to improve and safeguard our judiciary system, so that all laws may be more intelligently interpreted and enforced. This will lead to a better understanding of our laws and their basic purposes.

Above all we must try to educate public opinion—that is, ourselves—away from the idea that every boy must

have the ambition to become a millionaire, and every girl the ambition to marry one.

We must learn to respect work and right living—not power.

We must enlighten self-interest—not delude ourselves into thinking that we can kill it.

Most of us keep our own homes reasonably clean and neat. Most of us have learned that manners—little mutual concessions in our daily lives—make life more pleasant for all of us.

We must learn the same thing as citizens of a community, of a state, and of a country. And our country must learn the same thing in its relations with other countries.

There is no very great difference between personal manners and the duties of citizenship, nor between the rules of civilized conduct among individuals and the rules of civilized conduct among nations. The essence of civilization is the willingness to agree upon certain mutual concessions in the common interest of law and order; which means, in homely language, that if we go on picnics we must pick up our paper bags and bottles and not leave the rubbish of our daily lives to litter up the lives of others.

That end cannot be accomplished if, instead of making an effort ourselves, we hire a sort of combination garbage-man and policeman to pick up for us—unless we are willing to give this hired man the power to tell us

where and when we may picnic, whom we may invite to come, and what we may have to eat and drink.

But it can be accomplished if we agree with each other not to leave things lying around and pay the policeman only to see that we live up to our agreements.

That is the essence of a democracy.

When the citizens of a democratic country become too weak or indolent to pick up things themselves, and complain about the resulting disorder, then the government begins to do the cleaning up instead of seeing that the citizens themselves do it. Once that begins, the hired man becomes the master.

That is the essence of bureaucracy and despotism.

CHAPTER IX

Let's Be Specific—Where We Can

I am no great believer in generalities. On the other hand, I am only too well aware that a great deal of harm is done by well-meaning persons who attempt to suggest specific plans and remedies for conditions concerning which they lack any real knowledge.

It is therefore only by way of presenting tentative suggestions designed to stimulate thought that I shall now attempt to make a few specific applications of the general philosophy outlined in the preceding chapter. In so doing I shall follow the outline of Chapter IV, in which I analyzed Senator Pittman's answer, rather than the ten general points laid down under the heading of basic principles.

The suggestions I have to offer fall under the headings of agriculture, industry, banking (which includes money), land and taxes, and foreign trade.

I. AGRICULTURE

In dealing with the farm problem the first thing to do is to make up our minds what that problem really is, and what it is that we want to do in order to cure it.

The farmer suffers, I think, not from any strange malady that has to do with our money or credit mechanism, but from the fact that he has lost a large part of his former market. Therefore his products have had to be forced upon an unwilling market at painfully low prices.

The farmer does not suffer primarily because the whole price level is lower than it was, let us say in 1926.

The farmer suffers from the fact that the price level for agricultural products has fallen further than the price level for other things. This means that the farmer gets less for his crops in terms of overalls, gasoline, farm implements, and so forth than he used to get.

Why has this happened?

For one thing it is because other nations will no longer buy our agricultural products in anything like the quantity they used to.

For another thing it is because our domestic purchasing power has declined on account of the depression.

And, finally, it is because the prices of manufactured goods and of services—such as transportation—are more rigid than the prices of primary raw materials, and therefore declined less rapidly under the impact of the depression.

Why did these three things happen?

The first two happened for a great many reasons, which I have tried to set forth briefly in the last chapter of my previous book. Boiled down, they happened for just one reason:

The fact that our present-day civilization has reached a point where we can no longer indulge in the waste of war without getting ourselves into a hopeless economic tangle.

I have pointed out briefly why this is so in the chapter entitled "Choose Your Ism Now." (See also Appendix, pages 181-4.)

The third thing happened because the prices of manufactured goods and of services contain a very large element of labor cost, and because the wages of labor never decline in a depression—nor rise in a boom—as fast as the prices of basic raw commodities. For that reason prices which contain a large element of labor cost, such as the price of building materials, always tend to lag behind the prices of raw or semi-raw materials.

Now then, if these are the things that ail the farmer, what can be done to remedy them?

1. We can set about regaining some of our lost foreign markets.

Bearing in mind that half the cotton, more than a third of the tobacco, and nearly one-fifth of the wheat produced in the United States have in the past been sold abroad, as well as a large part of the products of the fruit, dairy, and livestock industries, it is not difficult to see what the permanent loss of our export markets would mean to agriculture.

Nor is the agricultural population alone affected. Thirty per cent of our lubricating oil goes abroad, as well

as thirty per cent of our lard, eight per cent of our lumber, and more than half of our resin and turpentine. The products of our fisheries and of many of our manufacturing industries are widely sold in foreign markets.

For this reason—namely, that the problem of foreign trade is not merely an agricultural problem—I shall deal with it separately a little later. But let me state here what seems to me an obvious conclusion:

Either we must face the displacement of an even larger part of our agricultural population, or we must set about recapturing at least a part of our lost foreign markets. Secretary Wallace posed this question very clearly some months ago. To date it has not been answered.

Secretary Wallace also pointed out that the consequences of trying to become self-sufficient included a degree of regimentation which would be highly distasteful to the American people—particularly to the farmer—and urged all of us to put our minds on this problem.

That is one thing we can do.

2. Another thing we can do to help the farmer is to set about rebuilding our domestic purchasing power, which is only another way of saying: shake off the depression and achieve recovery. The steps that must be taken in this direction lie outside of the field of agriculture itself. They are the steps that are necessary to bring about recovery in the country as a whole, more particularly in the field of industry and industrial em-

ployment. For that reason I shall not dwell upon them here, but I shall touch upon industrial recovery in the next section.

3. We can help the farmer by revising our antiquated method of taxing land. This, too, I shall treat in a separate section, because it concerns urban real estate as well as farm lands.

4. We can provide our farmers with better information as to their markets at home and abroad. We can try to help them overcome their disadvantage as against industry—not by having Government order them what to plant, how much to plant, and how to plant it—but by helping them reach their own conclusions on the basis of greater knowledge of their problem.

Those are the things that I think we can do for our farmers.

“But,” you may say, “isn’t there yet another way to help the farmer: namely, by helping him to cut down his production?”

My answer is: “No. Not in the long run.”

In the long run you cannot have more by making less. In the long run cutting down production means that all farmers must share a smaller market than they have had in the past, or that a lot of farmers will have to stop being farmers and become something else.

My answer is further that, while it may seem immediately helpful to raise prices by cutting production, such a course is loaded with danger—not because it may pro-

duce a famine, although that, too, may be the result—but because it may involve making permanent the loss of markets that might otherwise be regained.

For example, take the effect of crop curtailment among our Southern cotton-planters. Already the production of cotton in other countries has increased by about twenty per cent, which means that millions of bales that used to be supplied to other nations by our Southern states can now be obtained elsewhere.

In other words, by our own policy of restricting production we are stimulating the trend towards economic self-sufficiency which has developed to such a marked extent in other nations ever since the War. By our own policy we are making it more difficult for ourselves ever to recapture our lost foreign buyers.

There is another danger inherent in the present policy of crop-control, and that is that it may very easily produce discrepancies *within the agricultural economy*. In other words, not only are we suffering from a lack of balance between agriculture and industry, but I suspect that by arbitrary Government action we may be in the process of disturbing the balance within agriculture itself, such as—to name one example—the balance between mutton and pork.

Summing up, I have this deep-rooted conviction concerning the farmer: What he needs first of all is to live in an economic community in which there is the proper balance between agriculture and industry. That is largely

a matter of foreign trade policy. What he needs beyond that is advice and information rather than instructions from a supreme command. He needs to be helped to see beyond the limits of his own fence-posts into the problem of the nation as a whole.

Nor does that apply only to the farmer. It applies to all of us.

What we need from our Government is a clear definition of our major problems, along with the demand that we think them out and express our views. What we need from our Government is a presentation of the facts that confront us, so that we ourselves, acting on the basis of enlightened self-interest—rather than stupid self-interest—may shape our common course in the future.

Then we shall not be asking our Government to perform miracles.

Then we shall not add to our distress by swallowing quack remedies.

Then also we shall learn, perhaps, not to eat green apples.

II. INDUSTRY

Just as in the case of agriculture, so with regard to industry I cannot attempt to do more than apply the general principles of a basic philosophy. I cannot offer any detailed plan for industrial recovery or for the future management of industry; I can only outline what seem to me a few essentials that must underlie any plan or

procedure, if the fundamental nature of our American order is to remain unaltered. In addition I shall present a few specific practical suggestions, more by way of example of what can be done than by way of holding out a complete remedy.

First, as to recovery:

In industry, even more than in agriculture, it would appear to me that what we need is fuller and more accurate information upon which to base our individual judgments.

We do not need a government that makes our decisions for us, but we can be helped in making our decisions if we are put in full possession of all the facts that concern us, and if our Government pursues a course in its economic relations with other nations that is clear and consistent.

Here again we come upon the problem of lost markets, both domestic and foreign. Here again we have, in regard to one, the general problem of domestic recovery, and in regard to the other, the specific problem of a foreign trade policy. In addition we have the question of where and how industry is to make the sacrifices necessary, if for the sake of a better balanced economy and a generally higher living standard, we are to reduce our tariffs and let in more imports.

Foreign trade I shall, as I have said, treat separately.

So far as domestic recovery is concerned, it is my own belief that what we need primarily is *less*, not *more*

activity by the Government. I shall touch upon future management—that is, reform—but first let me express this conviction in regard to the restoration of domestic purchasing power:

The less business has to wonder from here on how many new uncertainties it will have to surmount, the quicker will it regain its courage and its spirit of enterprise. And the sooner that happens, the sooner will private enterprise take off the Government's shoulders the major part of the unemployment burden.

As previously stated, over sixty per cent of the industrial unemployment is in those industries which make so-called durable goods—that is, goods which require the investment of savings, and which are purchased to use over a period of time, rather than to consume immediately. These industries cannot revive,

1. Until people have enough confidence in the future to want to invest their savings in new tools, new plants, new houses, and new mechanical equipment, and
2. Until the manufacturing industries themselves can obtain sufficient capital with which to make investments in plants and machinery. At present they cannot even obtain capital to replace obsolete and worn-out equipment.

Under the first heading we must remove, if we are to achieve recovery, such elements of uncertainty as:

- (a) The large question-mark which pertains at pres-

ent to the future character and value of our money—not only because of an uncertain and experimental monetary policy, but because of the doubt which arises in the mind of any thinking citizens as to the ultimate effect of our vast Government expenditures.

(b) The equally large question-mark which pertains to future taxation.

(c) The uncertainty as to whether this Government really believes in Federal regulation and control of all business, all profits, and all incomes, or has only taken the steps it has taken in this direction because it felt they were necessary to induce recovery.

There are many other minor uncertainties, but these three seem to me the most important.

Under the second heading—that is, the ability of industry to acquire capital from the investment market—we find ourselves confronted with much the same elements of retardation. The same unknown factors that prevent a man from buying a new ice-box militate even more strongly against his investing his savings in bonds or mortgages.

In addition there are the new Securities Act, the Stock Exchange Act, and the general disruption of the machinery by which seekers of capital formerly obtained it from the investment market. This, however, is largely water over the dam, for better or worse—and on the whole, I think, for better. But the fact that a basically sound reform was rushed through hastily and without

the necessary study, at a time when industry needed the support of the capital markets as it never needed it before, did definitely retard recovery, and is still retarding it.

I can only repeat: so far as recovery is concerned, what business needs is to be let alone to recover, and to have the Government-created uncertainties removed.

We are not, however, solely concerned with recovery. And we admitted at the outset a certain sympathy for the belief that, if we did not reform while we still felt somewhat shaky, we should probably slip back into smug contentment with outworn codes of social and economic behavior.

What, then, are the reforms that we should seek to introduce in industry?

A. In my previous book I suggested one such reform: namely, social insurance. This idea has, of course, been discussed by many people for years and put into practice in many countries. Just before the adjournment of Congress, the President announced his intention of working out a plan of old-age and unemployment insurance during the next few months.

The problem—which is really two problems—merits the most careful and deliberate study before any plan is adopted. The Railroad Retirement Act, passed at the last session of Congress, is a typical example of how such legislation should not be passed. For one thing, there is grave doubt in the minds of many eminent lawyers as to

the constitutionality of this Act. For another thing, the Act as it stands at present may easily result in the upsetting of existing pension plans and in consequent hardship upon the present beneficiaries of such plans.

As to old-age insurance, a basic question which must be decided is whether such pensions are a matter for Federal legislation or state legislation.

Another basic question is whether old-age pensions are to be entirely at government expense or partly on a contributory basis.

Still another question is how the Federal or state governments, as the case may be, are to raise the funds out of which old-age pensions are to be paid. This requires a revision of the Federal income and inheritance taxes in so far as the Federal Government is concerned, and revision of the general property tax in so far as the state governments are concerned. I shall touch upon the latter briefly in a subsequent section of this chapter.

As to unemployment insurance—or, more properly, unemployment compensation—this problem is even more complicated. There are various systems now in use in various European countries. There is one state in this country—namely, Wisconsin—which has a plan in use, other states are studying it, and there are various industrial concerns which have plans of their own, such as, for example, the General Electric Co.

Some of the questions which must be studied and decided are:

(1) Who should contribute to such a plan? The Employer? The Employee? The State Government? The Federal Government?

(2) In what proportion should the contributions be made by the various contributors?

(3) Should the plan be compulsory on all workers, and, if not, which workers are to be excluded? (For example: domestic servants, agricultural workers, Government employees.)

(4) Should unemployment benefits be paid for an indefinite time or only for a fixed maximum period?

(5) Upon what relation to wages earned is unemployment compensation to be paid?

I mention these questions not as a complete statement of the problem, but merely to show how carefully the whole matter must be studied if an intelligent plan is to be arrived at.

It would seem to me, although my opinion is not that of an expert, that:

a. The employer, the employee, and the Government should all contribute. I cannot presume to judge in what proportion these contributions should be made. The employee should contribute because he should receive unemployment compensation as a right and not as charity. The employer should contribute because it is obviously at least partly his responsibility to see that employment in his industry is stabilized as much as possible. And it seems to me that the Government should

contribute because the community as a whole will derive a benefit from avoiding the evils of unemployment.

b. It seems to me also most desirable that the plan adopted should not provide for the accumulation of separate funds in various industrial units. The trouble with such funds is that they must be invested, and almost invariably it will be found that when the rainy day comes, the funds will be impaired or, to say the least, have become illiquid. For this reason it would seem desirable to me that the contributory payments by employer and employee be made to the State or the Federal Government, as the case may be, in the nature of a tax. In consideration of having received this tax, the Government would then undertake to make the unemployment payments. The effect of such a scheme, as I have pointed out in my previous book, is to retard somewhat an excessive industrial boom and likewise to dampen the violence of a depression.

c. Such a scheme also leads in the direction of having what might be called normal unemployment taken care of by the contributions of employers and employees, whereas abnormal employment, such as that which results from a protracted depression, would fall upon the Government and would be taken care of under the heading of emergency relief expenditure.

The purpose of this necessarily superficial statement of the problem is twofold:

1. To point out that much can be done along the

lines of social insurance to bring about a greater stability of employment and purchasing power, and to avoid the excessive hardships inflicted upon the working classes by a depression. And

2. To stress the fact that the problem is an exceedingly complicated one, which requires the most exhaustive study and is ill suited to hasty legislative action.

B. I do not pretend to a knowledge of labor questions, but it seems to me to require no particular knowledge to see—although many think otherwise—that the interests of the employer and of labor are fundamentally the same, whereas the elements of conflict between them are largely a matter of insufficient understanding on both sides.

It seems to me that the chief objective should be to develop machinery for reaching a better understanding of the facts of the co-operative enterprise, such as its profits, business, and prospects, for the purpose of seeing: whether there is a fair division of earnings between capital and labor; whether such earnings could be increased by the more effective use of capital or labor; and, if so, how the increased earnings should be divided. The character of the machinery should be such as to insure that the initial approach will be a study of common problems rather than a settling of antagonistic disputes.

In a large modern industrial corporation the management occupies a twofold fiduciary capacity:

It represents the interests of those who provide the tools and machinery of production—that is, those who provide the capital for the enterprise, and

It represents the interests of those who use these tools and devote their physical and mental energies to the turning out of the finished product—that is, the employees.

In this twofold capacity the management must therefore protect capital to the extent of giving it safety and a reasonable return. Unless it does this, more capital will not be forthcoming when needed to supply new plants and new tools. On the other hand, the management must pay its employees, not as little as it can, but as much as it can without raising the cost of production to such an extent that it cannot compete with other similar enterprises.

The recognition of this twofold responsibility is a comparatively recent development. Obviously, when the manager of a business is also its proprietor, he is likely to overlook his responsibility towards labor because, instead of being in a fiduciary relationship towards capital, he, himself, provides the capital and represents his own self-interest. The labor problem is therefore usually more difficult to deal with in a proprietary business than in a concern which is owned by a large number of shareholders.

In recent years much progress has been made, particularly in the large corporations, along the line of develop-

ing the idea of employee representation in the management, and it seems to me that in the further development of this thought lies the solution of the whole problem. The chief difficulty with most employee-representation plans today is that there is no element of finality for settling disputes. Granted that there cannot be complete finality—such as would be achieved if all disputes were submitted to a labor tribunal whose decisions would be compulsorily enforced, because that in effect would be an interference with the freedom of labor—it seems to me that much could be accomplished by enacting a law to prohibit strikes until after a dispute had been taken before an impartial body and both sides of the case had been thoroughly aired in the light of public opinion.

I am not sure that such a law should not, in addition, completely outlaw sympathetic strikes and general strikes, which harm the whole community, and harm labor most of all.

In any case, if we were to provide the machinery by which such disputes as may occur would first be thoroughly ventilated before an impartial body, we should have taken a long step in preventing strikes of all kinds. We must guard against anything that creates or stresses the cleavage between industrial management and industrial labor. Such cleavages force industrial management into the position of representing only capital, instead of stressing its twofold and equal responsibility.

C. I have probably made it clear that I do not believe in an attempt to fix wages, hours, or prices by Government intervention. (There is much to be said for a minimum wage from the social point of view, even though it is economically unsound for the Government to interfere even to this extent. But there is nothing to be said for fixing wages other than declaring a minimum.)

I have just as little faith in an attempt to fix wages, hours, or prices by vesting power over industry in some central body of its own choosing. So long as human nature remains what it is, I have more faith in the aggregate of free human intelligence than in the collected intelligence of any given group—no matter how that group is chosen.

But there are, I think, many things that can be done by trade associations that will make for better industrial management. There are things that can be done to eliminate unfair competition, without eliminating healthy competition and thus fostering monopolies.

The question of what constitutes unfair competition should not be decided by Government bureaus and officials. It should be decided by the real parties at interest.

Unfair practices by industry are, broadly speaking, of three kinds: taking advantage of competitors, taking advantage of labor, and taking advantage of the consumer. In the long run none of them pays. Once that is understood the major part of the problem will be solved.

Until it is understood, the consumer must be protected

by intelligent laws to prevent monopolistic exploitation; labor must be protected—and incidentally the employer as well—by a system of labor tribunals; and industry must be protected within itself against unfair competition.

The latter is very largely a matter of information, which can be supplied by trade associations, without any Government intervention whatsoever. Trade associations can provide their membership with full information concerning the industry as a whole, and also concerning the rate of output, hours of work, wages, and prices of each member of the industry. There is a natural resistance to telling one's competitor about one's business, but to my mind that resistance is, under present-day conditions, unintelligent. Any industry will be better off as a whole if its various units can make their plans upon a basis of full knowledge of all the relevant facts.

The cotton-manufacturers tried it just recently. Give the N.R.A. credit for that. The result was somewhat unsatisfactory, because they could not compel the converters—that is, printers and dyers—to join in giving the information. That, of course, put the cloth-manufacturers at a disadvantage. But if the converters were to join the association, the cotton industry as a whole would be better off, knowing, as it would, just how much unsold inventory there was on hand at all times. This is merely one example. Industry can and should do for itself many of the things that are now done by the N.R.A.—not in

the way of centralized control and management, but in the way of providing the basis for more intelligent individual management.

D. It occurs to me that quite a little could be done for industry by developing the commodity exchanges. Again, let us take the cotton industry as an example.

Cotton—the raw material—is a seasonal crop. Therefore the cotton mill has to buy all or most of its raw material in the late summer, which means that it has to take a speculative “long position” throughout most of the year, unless it sells future cotton contracts on the exchange. This is what is known as “hedging.”

Unbleached cotton cloth in various grades—commonly called “gray-goods”—is the standard output of the cotton mill. As the gray-goods are manufactured and sold, the “hedges” in raw cotton are gradually liquidated.

Now, if the mill could sell future contracts in gray-goods, which it cannot do today, the hedge would be a very much more satisfactory protection. The reason for this—which may not be obvious to the layman—is that the prices of raw cotton and gray-goods do not necessarily move exactly together, so that a mill which has protected its inventory by selling raw cotton futures may nevertheless find itself partially unprotected if gray-goods decline in price more than raw cotton declines.

But if the mill could sell future contracts in gray-goods, the protection would be complete.

All that is necessary is that the commodity exchanges start dealings in gray-goods contracts.

The same thing is true of crude oil and gasoline, and could probably be applied in several other industries.

I mention this idea—which is not original with me—as an example of how many of the unnecessary risks in industry can be eliminated—in this case by providing more adequate facilities for “hedging” inventories that are in process of manufacture.

The textile-manufacturer who suggested this thought to me not long ago was doing the kind of thinking that is needed. Henry Ford has done that kind of thinking.

We shall achieve more “security” by the exercise of what we used to call American ingenuity than by all the complicated bureaucratic planning and regulating that can be done by any central body.

E. Finally I think we must guard against letting the individual units of our industrial structure become too large and too ramified. I say this partly because I suspect that the very size and ramification of our units has made them less sensitive to economic trends, and partly, too, because I feel that there is a limit to the size and diversification of any enterprise that can be successfully managed by human beings. Much of our technological progress and much of the improvement in the

quality of our products are due to the research work and the better methods of distribution which only a large organization can afford. It would be a mistake, therefore, to fall into the error of seeking to go to the other extreme of too much decentralization, because that will result in slower progress, a lower grade of quality, and higher distribution costs. Somewhere between the two extremes there lies a medium for which we must strive. We shall find the answer only from experience.

In the end, it will be the human beings that count, rather than the things they make.

But this end can be arrived at only by a gradual process of enlightenment, and can certainly never be attained by the regimentation of industry and labor under a political bureaucracy.

3. MONEY AND BANKING

This is perhaps the one field in which the reader might expect from me a reasonably detailed specific proposal. If so, I am afraid the reader will be disappointed. I intend to make no such proposal for two reasons:

1. I know just enough about money and banking to be quite sure of only one thing: namely, that I know very little—and, in fact, that all of us really know very little. And

2. I have covered this ground—in so far as I felt that I could cover it—in my previous book.

What I shall attempt to do here is merely to apply to this subject the same general principles which must, I believe, be applied to every phase of our economic life—that is, the principles of democratic government and a free economic order, regulated in the interest of the greatest good for the greatest number by laws and customs rather than by discretionary authority.

The application of these principles leads in the first place to one perfectly definite general conclusion:

We do not want—if we can avoid it—Government control of the money mechanism; but we do want our money mechanism to be such as to give no unfair advantage to any class or group of our population—and we do want it to give us currency money and bank money (deposits) that we can trust.

Why not, then, let the Government control and operate it?

Because, once more, we do not believe that the maximum of intelligent management can be obtained by expecting any little group of human beings to be all-wise and all-powerful.

Because, once more, the individuals in government under a democratic system are here today and gone tomorrow; and—which is more important—because while they are “here today” they are thinking of nothing so much as of avoiding being “gone tomorrow.”

Can you imagine what it would be like if the Government owned and operated our banks? If bank officers

were appointed like post-office officials? If bank clerks got their jobs through political patronage?

You can perhaps have such a system if you have only one political party—if you have, as they have in Italy, Germany, Austria, and Russia, a totalitarian state. But can you picture what would happen under our system, when one party goes out and the other comes into power?

There is, however, another and perhaps more basic reason to avoid Government control and operation:

A bank has, broadly speaking, two functions: to provide a safe refuge for money that is temporarily idle; and to lend the money so entrusted to it by one part of the community to those members of the community who have a legitimate temporary need for it.

If a bank makes bad loans—that is, loans that are not promptly repaid—the safety of the depositors is endangered. In order to provide a margin of safety for such mistakes we insist that a bank must have a certain amount of its own capital, which will be lost first, before anything happens to the depositor.

Under such a system of banks operating on private capital the bank officer, who makes the loans, is dependent for his job upon the owners of the capital—that is, the shareholders. If he is careless in making loans, the shareholders' capital is impaired, and he will soon be called up before the board of directors. If, on the other hand, he is over-cautious, the bank will become un-

popular with the community, will not make satisfactory earnings, and again the officer will be called to account by his directors.

That is the basic theory of "checks and balances" which is inherent in a private banking system. It is not a perfect system, because human nature is not perfect. In this country, moreover, the system has always operated under a twofold handicap, in that we have had, not one system, but forty-nine uncorrelated systems, and in that we have made it too easy for anybody to become a banker.

But now we see what happens when you substitute the Government for the interests of the shareholders.

The loaning officer is responsible—not to a board of directors representing the owners of the capital—but to a political superior. His job and his chief's job are to please the public. If they make bad loans, that does not matter much, because it will take months before the vast Government machinery makes anyone aware of the fact that a bank, let us say in Kankakee, is losing money. But if the bank in Kankakee exercises due caution and turns down a few would-be borrowers that are not entitled to credit, what happens?

Wires and letters begin to go to the Senators and Representatives from Illinois, complaining that the bank in Kankakee won't give reasonable credit to Joe Doaks, who has always been a staunch voter of the X ticket, while Joe Zilch, who contributed to the Z cam-

paign, is actually getting accommodation.

The result is inevitable:

A system of Government-owned and operated banks—which many people think is the system we want—will cost the Government (which means all of us) a pretty penny, because such a system will unavoidably be lax in the granting of credit.

Nor is the expense the worst of it.

Such a system provides almost unimaginable opportunities for the political spoils system to give the party in power an opportunity to remain there indefinitely. I know of no more effective way to accomplish the political prostitution of the entire country.

And even that is not all.

The argument for “nationalizing credit” is that the Government would be a more generous provider of credit facilities than the banking Shylocks of the past. I think I have made it plain in the foregoing that I fully agree that it would be more “generous,” but I deny that its “generosity” would benefit the country as a whole. Not just because the “generosity” would be politically abused.

One of the most useful functions that a banker performs for his community—if he is a good banker—is that of acting as a “No-man.” He is the laboratory technician under whose microscope the new ideas and enterprises of the community must pass.

While it is true that bankers have frequently, by lack

of vision or courage, retarded some development that should have been helped along, the cases where the opposite is true have been, I think, more numerous. Certainly in this country bankers have failed in their duty to be cautious far more frequently and disastrously than they have failed to provide credit where it was legitimately required.

If it is true that most private bankers, with their own capital at stake, were unable to see what was happening in the years leading up to 1929, and were unable to say "No" when they should have; if it is true that the violence of the depression that began in 1929 was largely due to the excessive inflation of credit which had preceded it; and if such warnings as were given against continuing to be so "generous" with credit came—as they did come—not from Government, but from a few courageous private bankers—

Then what hope is there that a Government banking system will accomplish any result except to make matters infinitely worse?

As I have previously pointed out in analyzing Senator Pittman's article, the Administration has not as yet taken a clear position as to whether it believes in Government banking—as Senator Pittman does—or whether it considers the steps already taken in this direction under the stress of emergency as steps that must ultimately be retraced.

If we are to retain a private banking system, two things must be undone:

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation must gradually be taken out of its investment in the capital structure of some six thousand banks. (Which does not mean that it was wrong to make such investments to tide over the emergency.) And

The so-called deposit insurance plan must, if there has to be such a plan at all, become an insurance plan and not simply an unlimited guarantee of all banks for each other. It must become a plan under which each bank may know for what it is liable, and under which the depositor, who wants to be insured, pays at least a part of the premium. Otherwise there will be no difference between good banks and bad, and no incentive to the development of banking as a profession.

Besides undoing these two steps, there is a great deal of positive action required, in order to modernize our hopelessly antiquated system. I shall not attempt here to state what this action should be. I shall merely list a few of the many matters that seem to me to need attention.

Nor is this list intended to be a full summary of all the questions that should be studied. It is intended only to make the reader aware of the great mass of material that must be digested if we are ever really to set up a money mechanism "adequate to meet the necessities of modern economic life."

No one person can or should attempt to work out a complete plan of banking reform and then seek to get it adopted. What should be done is that a commission should be appointed by the Government to study the whole question of money and banking, to conduct open hearings, and, having ventilated every possible angle of the question, to submit its findings to the President and to Congress. On the basis of such a report the President would then be in a position to submit to Congress the necessary draft legislation, and Congress would be in a position to act upon it.

Here are some of the things that such a commission would have to consider:

I. MONEY

1. Is the power over the issuance of currency to be vested
 - a. in a non-political authority on which both Government and private business are represented, (such as the Federal Reserve System was intended to be) or
 - b. in the Secretary of the Treasury (as it now is) or
 - c. in a non-political privately owned but Government-chartered Central Bank (Bank of England), or
 - d. in a Government-owned and operated Central Bank?
2. Is the currency to be redeemable
 - a. in gold, or

- b. in silver, or
 - c. in both, or a combination of both?
- 3. If the currency is to be redeemable, is it to be redeemable
 - a. in coin, or
 - b. in bars of bullion, or
 - c. in bullion for export only?
- 4. Is a fixed ratio to gold to be re-established, and, if so, under what conditions?
- 5. If not, under what conditions and by whom is the ratio to gold to be changed from time to time?
- 6. Should one uniform currency be established for the country in place of the various kinds now circulating, and, if so, what should it be?
- 7. If the currency is to be irredeemable "managed" currency, upon what terms is it to be issued and how managed?

II. RE-DISCOUNT BANK

- 1. Is the re-discount function of the Federal Reserve System to remain as it is, or to be changed? If changed, how?
- 2. Is the ownership of the Federal Reserve Banks to remain where it is, or to be transferred? If transferred, to whom?
- 3. Is the composition of the Federal Reserve Board to remain as it is or be changed? If changed, how?
- 4. Are any other changes to be made in the Federal Re-

serve System, such as, for instance, in its open-market operations? If so, what changes?

III. BANKING

1. Is there to be a Government-owned and operated banking system? If so, what system?
2. If not, what changes are to be made in the private banking system? For example:

A. Is there to be a unification of the forty-nine different banking systems that we now have? If so, is this to be accomplished

- (1) by actually merging the systems into one system, or
- (2) by compulsory membership of state banks in the Federal Reserve System, or
- (3) by making the laws of all the states conform to a uniform pattern?

B. Is there to be branch banking? If so, is it to be

- (1) nation-wide,
- (2) state-wide, or
- (3) regional?

C. What are to be the capital requirements of a bank in relation to its liabilities?

D. Are commercial banks to be allowed to take savings accounts? If so, on what basis?

E. Are commercial banks to be allowed to do a trust business? If so, on what basis?

F. Are commercial banks to be allowed to underwrite

new securities which they are permitted by law to own?

G. Are savings banks to be compelled to mutualize?

H. Must savings banks belong to the Federal Reserve System? If not, may they belong to it?

I. Is there to be a plan of deposit insurance? If so, what plan? What banks are compelled to belong to it?

J. Can anyone become a bank officer? If not, what qualifications are to be demanded?

The reader will agree, I think, that it would be of little value if I were to set forth my own answers to the various questions enumerated. If a commission were appointed, and if I were summoned before that commission as a witness, I should be glad to state my views and argue for them, knowing that whatever I might say would be weighed in the balance against the testimony of other witnesses, and that, when I had heard or read the testimony of others, I might easily change my own views in this or that particular. Without such a test of mind against mind, and idea against idea, I do not feel warranted in assuming that such views as I hold at the present moment are of any particular value.

There is one phase of the problem on which, however, I should like to state a personal conviction, without being very sure where that conviction leads as a practical matter. This has to do with the last question enumerated in the preceding list:

"Can anyone become a bank officer? If not, what qualifications are to be demanded?"

On June 26, 1934 I was asked to address a group of some fifteen hundred college seniors, assembled in Newark, N. J., at a "Choosing-A-Career Conference." My subject was to be the "banking business."

Almost the first thing I said in my address was that in my judgment there no longer was any "banking business"; that, on the other hand, there was a banking profession, which was still so much in its infancy that one might almost say that it had not yet been born.

Of this I am firmly convinced. Not that we have not had many bankers in the past who have conformed to the true professional standard of public service—we have had, and have today many of them—but, on the whole, those who go into banking still go into it with the primary idea of making money, instead of with the philosophy of the professional public servant.

And, on the whole, our bankers are insufficiently trained in those very subjects which should form the background of their activity.

I have included the full text of my address on this subject in the Appendix (page 196); again, not so much because it offers any concrete solution as because it may suggest to others how we should proceed along these lines.

Bankers are human beings just like other human beings. As such they will always be motivated by self-interest. I have no such beautiful idealism as might lead me to think that human nature will change in this re-

spect. But I do believe that an enlightened self-interest will make many bankers see their jobs in a new and different light—and that therein lies the hope for the future.

IV. LAND AND TAXES

In all our efforts to overcome the depression and achieve recovery, it seems to me that we have very largely overlooked the importance of land values, even though probably half of our national wealth is to be found in land and what has been built upon it. The physical possession of such property is the real foundation upon which our economic order rests, and yet we have been far more concerned with the superstructure of industrial values and security values than we have with the foundation.

One of the things to which we have paid the most attention, for example, is our banking system—not that we have so far paid it the right kind of attention—but we have almost ignored the fact that the shrinkage of real-estate values was one of the greatest contributing causes to the collapse of our banking system.

Moreover, such consideration as we have given to the real-estate problem has been in the nature of emergency patchwork; by preventing foreclosures, extending Federal aid to distressed mortgage debtors, and the extension of Government credit on real estate, we have endeavored to counteract the effects of the shrinkage in values. But

we have done nothing to get at the cause of the shrinkage.

What is the cause of the shrinkage?

Most people would probably tell you that it is the result of an excessive real-estate boom, excessive speculation, and too rapid development. In saying that they would be entirely correct, but they would not, as I see it, have penetrated to the root of the matter.

Why have we had real-estate booms and exaggerated speculation?

This question has been very ably analyzed by Mr. Richard T. Ely, President of the Institute for Economic Research, Inc., and of the School of Land Economics. It has also been interestingly discussed by Dr. Harold M. Groves of the University of Wisconsin, and by Mr. Stevenson, the Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research in Los Angeles.

These and other authorities on the subject seem to be agreed that the basic cause of the trouble is to be found in the antiquated methods of taxation applied to real estate by our various state and municipal authorities.

As any property-owner knows only too well, the type of general property tax in vogue in this country tends actually to destroy the value of the property from which it seeks to derive a revenue. This is because we tax such property not in *relation to the income it produces, but in relation to its hypothetical capital value.*

The result is that we think of an investment in real

estate terms of capital appreciation, instead of in terms of fixed income.

That is why people buy land and try to sell it off in subdivisions to other people, who do not realize that they are paying a price which will never justify itself in terms of income.

That is why we had a Florida land boom. No one thought he could derive a return from an investment in Florida real estate that would pay for carrying it. Everyone thought he could make money by selling to someone else at a higher price.

The general property tax as applied in this country does two things:

1. It promotes real-estate speculation and forces the premature development of land, and
2. It accentuates and protracts a depression by forcing the property-owner who loses his income to sell his property because he can no longer pay the taxes. Such forced liquidation destroys the real-estate market, makes real-estate loans unsound, and endangers the safety of banks, savings banks, and insurance companies.

We are about the only major survival in this respect. Most European countries have long ago recognized the evils of a general property tax and now levy taxes upon real estate in proportion to the income it produces. The British, for example, who certainly do not spare their taxpayers, have worked out a system to protect their real-property-owners. So have the French. So have the

Germans. In any of those countries, if you lose most of your income, you are still able to keep the roof over your head by paying a relatively small property tax. On the other hand the income you may derive from rents is subject to heavy taxation.

The problem is rendered unusually difficult in this country by the fact that real-estate taxes are not Federal taxes, and that the Federal Government has nothing to do with the matter. The reform will have to come from the various states and municipalities. This again is difficult, not only because of the large number of political entities involved, but because our states and cities derive most of their revenue from the general property tax, and, if it is modernized, will have to seek their funds from other sources.

That leads us to the more general aspects of the whole question of tax reform, which is a subject that does not lend itself to cursory treatment.

It is, I think, obvious to most of us that—quite apart from the suggested modernization of the general property tax—the present enormous government expenditures will have to result very soon in much heavier taxation than we have had so far. It is perhaps less obvious, but equally true, that this increased burden will have to be borne by the people as a whole, and that any idea of “soaking the rich” is illusory, because in the end it will only “soak the poor” that much harder. No one has pointed this out more clearly than President Roose-

velt in his campaign speech at Pittsburgh on October 19, 1932.

Furthermore, even if government expenditure is reduced—of which there is as yet no indication—a program of old-age pensions and unemployment compensation will add a considerable item to the burden of the taxpayers.

So far we have concerned ourselves but little with the question of raising the money that we are so enthusiastically borrowing and spending. We shall have to concern ourselves with it soon; and it would pay us, I think, to make a careful study of what the British have done, since they are now apparently over the worst of their expenditures and on the way towards reduced taxation. Certainly their income and inheritance taxes, as well as their method of taxing property, are far more effective than ours.

My purpose here is to draw attention to the importance of an intelligent tax reform, rather than to present a solution. The proper solution can only be found by exhaustive study.

V. FOREIGN TRADE

Almost without exception the efforts made by the Administration to combat the depression have so far been limited to the domestic sphere. Without in any way minimizing the importance of these endeavors, it is difficult to see how they can lead to the establishment

of a well-balanced economy unless they are supplemented by a determined attempt to develop a consistent and intelligent policy in regard to foreign trade.

We have already noted the importance of foreign markets to agriculture and industry.

It is scarcely necessary to point out the importance of foreign trade to our merchant marine, our longshoremen, and our railways.

Compared to other nations, we are remarkably self-sufficient in natural resources and manufacturing ability, but we are nevertheless dependent upon other nations for such things as rubber, silk, tea, coffee, sugar, tin, and wood-pulp. Furthermore, industrial progress and the progressive development of our living standards depend to a very large extent upon foreign trade. As manufacturing processes become more complicated, a constantly greater variety of raw materials is needed, many of which—such as, for example, Swedish iron ore—can only be obtained in other countries.

It is perfectly obvious, I think, that the more civilization advances, the more the various nations become dependent upon each other. That is one reason why war has become so disastrous to our economic machinery. That is why it is so necessary that we must repair the ravages of the last war, and seek to free international trade from the tangle of artificial restrictions which now encumber it.

Then, too, if we recognize as a fact that war is the

one thing which our economic order cannot withstand without serious collapse—if we agree that future wars must at all costs be avoided—there is no better insurance against political animosities than the removal of economic irritations, wherever it is possible to remove them.

Finally, if we are agreed that economic nationalism must mean extreme regimentation and the end of democracy—if we are agreed that our traditional American order is to be preserved—then again we cannot afford to delay longer the whole-hearted effort to develop an orderly program of mutually advantageous trade relationships with other nations.

What are the essentials of such a program?

1. We must face the fact that we cannot export more of our goods and services unless we are willing to import more as well.

2. We cannot increase our imports unless we revise our tariff downward. We must therefore set about reducing our tariff at once.

3. We must face the fact that a depreciated currency is the most drastic of all import restrictions, except an outright embargo. In revising our tariff we must therefore take into consideration that this Administration has, by depreciating the dollar forty per cent in terms of foreign exchange, actually increased our tariff by a like percentage, except as against nations whose currencies have likewise been depreciated.

4. We must realize that international agreements to reduce tariffs, import quotas, and other restrictions can only be made effective if they are accompanied by international agreements to stabilize currencies.

5. We must face the fact that we have in the past made excessive foreign loans, which can only be repaid if the debtor countries sell more than they buy.

6. We must learn to correlate our foreign lending operations in the future to the realities of our foreign trade relations; and we must seek gradually to work out the mistakes of the past by funding frozen credits wherever we can justify such operations on the basis of mutually co-operative trade and currency agreements.

The whole problem is a highly complicated and in many respects an extremely technical one. It requires for one thing a greater understanding of such things as the "trade balance" and the "balance of payments" than can be expected of the average citizen. Nor is it necessary for our present purposes to delve too deeply into the detailed methods by which we should seek to accomplish the purposes above outlined. Briefly, the development of such a program requires:

1. The determination of the amount by which we desire to increase our imports.

2. A careful study to determine where tariff reductions should and should not be made in the interest of the nation as a whole.

3. The development of international agreements to

stabilize currencies, and to increase international trade by reciprocal concessions.

4. A careful study of the international balance of payments with a view towards determining the best method of liquidating existing international loans, and of developing an intelligent policy of foreign lending in the future; such lending to be undertaken only where consistent with an enlightened national self-interest, and where loans can be made for essentially productive purposes.

All that we have done so far in this direction is to make a few futile gestures—such as attending the London Economic Conference.

If we are to avoid the consequences of a steadily dwindling international trade—and I do not hesitate to say that these consequences include reduced standards of living everywhere, the probability of wars, and the certainty of extreme regimentation—then it is high time that we should do something more than render lip-service to this problem.

The time has come when we must take an entirely new view of our whole foreign trade relationships—a view based upon the carefully ascertained interests of the nation as a whole, which demand nothing so much as the achievement of a better balance between agriculture and industry at home. This balance can only be achieved by determined and consistent action in the international sphere.

Similarly we must take a new view in regard to the methods by which we formulate our policies and carry them out. In the past our policies have been determined by hit or miss horse-trading and mutual back-scratching between various sectional and special industrial interests. As a result it has made very little difference in the recent past whether the traditionally high-tariff Republican party or the traditionally low-tariff Democratic party has been in power. In either case the horse-trading process has meant that the tariff wall has been raised.

Nor do I think that this can be changed so long as the details of tariff policy are determined by Congress.

For this reason it is, I believe, essential that this function be delegated to the Executive, provided that two important safeguards are preserved:

1. Congress should not delegate, but should itself determine the general framework of a foreign trade policy; that is, Congress should decide in round figures by how much it is desirable to increase our annual imports for the sake of increasing exports—which is another way of saying that Congress should be the one to determine how great a sacrifice industry must make for the sake of agriculture and for the national interest as a whole.

This has nothing to do with determining how such a general policy is to be worked out—whether, for instance, the tariff on sugar or the tariff on Scotch worsteds is to be lowered. That is the function that should be delegated to the Executive. But,

2. Congress should delegate the power to apply the general principles of the policy it has determined only after the fullest possible investigation and report by a modernized Tariff Commission.

And Congress should require an annual detailed report from the Executive and the Commission, on the basis of which it would re-determine the policy for the succeeding year.

The limited tariff-bargaining power delegated to the President at the last session of Congress was a step in this direction, but two things must be observed about that piece of legislation:

1. It conveyed only a limited power for a limited time.
2. It did not provide that Congress should itself determine the general framework of the policy, nor attempt to safeguard the executive power delegated as above outlined.

As a result the major question remains unanswered.

Congress has not decided what our foreign policy is to be; it has merely, for the time being, passed the buck to the President. And there has been no intimation from the White House that any definite general policy is being formulated there. The indications are more in the direction that we are to pursue a policy of tariff bargaining with individual nations as opportunities arise—which means a hit or miss procedure, with no clearly defined purpose upon which either agriculture or industry can base their calculations for the future.

It means also that we shall probably continue to ignore the importance of triangular trade, and that, in seeking to make bargains to our own advantage, we shall overlook the importance of stimulating world trade as a whole.

This is perhaps an unduly pessimistic appraisal of the present situation. For all I know, a policy may be in the process of formulation. For all I know, a study may be in progress, to determine which industries are at present over-protected, which special interest groups have in the past been too successful at log-rolling.

But the fact remains that this is a basic question which, as Secretary Wallace pointed out, concerns the American people as a whole, and which should be decided by the people as a whole through their duly elected representatives. It is a question which transcends all party and sectional interests, because it goes to the root of our whole social, political, and economic problem.

And the fact remains that the people as a whole are not being stimulated to study and answer the question, but rather are in the process of having it answered—or left unanswered—for them.

NOTE. For some reason almost everyone who expresses a view on the subject of foreign trade tends to become slightly hysterical on one side or the other. I am fully aware of the fact that my own point of view may be biased in favor of the importance of world trade as a

factor in domestic recovery. I have stated that I believe we should set about reducing our trade barriers, so that, by importing more, we shall be able to export more, and so that we may contribute to the revival of world trade as a whole.

If this view is held wrong, then I say this:

It does not matter nearly so much whether we have a high tariff or a low tariff, or even whether our dollar is at par or at sixty per cent of par, as it matters that the various barriers to trade should remain more or less fixed over a reasonable period of time.

Trade can adjust itself pretty much to any set of circumstances.

What kills trade between nations is the constant alteration of the obstacles which it must surmount. If we decide against reducing our tariffs and choose to follow the path of greater national self-sufficiency—which I should regret—then it would still remain essential to our own self-interest that we should attempt as soon as possible to end the present period of tariff, quota, and currency warfare between nations. And, since our present system of tariff-making is a system which inherently leads to constant upward revision of our tariff structure, it would still remain essential to alter that system along the lines suggested.

VI. SUMMARY

What do these specific recommendations amount to?

1. They mean that we must apply to agriculture, industry, banking, foreign trade, and to all the aspects of our economic life, the underlying principles of an economic order based upon freedom to enter into transactions in the hope of reasonable profit—this freedom to be circumscribed only by such laws as we agree upon with each other, in order to achieve a better balanced structure, and in order to prevent abuse.

2. It follows that, whatever we do with respect to any individual phase of our economic life, we must avoid doing anything that obscures the hope of reasonable reward for work or enterprise—which means that we must avoid introducing elements of uncertainty by attempting to impose discretionary control of economic factors by a small group of human beings over the free play of human activity and natural forces.

3. In dealing with any given problem or group of problems we must seek the basic cause of present maladjustments and not be satisfied with plausible false premises such as, for example, that the capitalistic system has failed.

In agriculture we must face the fact that for years we have placed agriculture at a disadvantage with industry by our protective tariff on manufactured goods.

In industry we must face the fact that, owing to industrial concentration and technological improvement, we have made production less sensitive to the workings of supply and demand as expressed in the price mecha-

nism, and that we have rendered industrial employment somewhat less stable.

In banking we must face the fact that we have never had a proper banking reform nor insisted upon bankers being properly qualified.

And in foreign trade we must face the fact that we have had no policy other than a hit or miss policy of opportunism.

4. We must therefore make our endeavors in the following directions:

(a) In agriculture we must remedy the basic difficulty by attempting to regain some of our lost foreign markets, and by adjusting our production to demand, not by Government manipulation, but by enlightening our agricultural producers as to the actualities of supply and demand.

(b) In industry we must do much the same thing; that is, adjust production to demand, again, not by Government regulation, but by a better understanding of markets and by attempting to react more quickly to changes in demand as they occur.

Furthermore, we must seek to mitigate the effects of periods of expansion and contraction by providing for unemployment compensation out of the profits of periods of prosperity.

(c) In banking we must reform our whole system so that we may have a currency and a banking system which shall not be subject to the vagaries of political

expediency nor to abuse by self-seeking special interests.

(d) In foreign trade we must develop a policy of co-operation with other nations, with the twofold objective of preserving peace and achieving a better balance between agriculture and industry at home.

We must learn to adapt our foreign lendings and borrowings to the realities of our foreign trade.

5. Finally, all this means that we must seek to cure our problem primarily by finding out what it really is. In this our Government can help us by providing us with all the facts that pertain to it. The actual cure must be effected not by a small body of men sitting in Washington, but by all of us performing our various functions on the basis of a more enlightened self-interest.

CHAPTER X

It's Up To You and Me

If you have been at all convinced by the foregoing that we are headed at present in two more or less contradictory directions—that is, towards inflation on the one hand, and towards a regimented planned society on the other—

If you have been to some extent convinced that what we want is neither inflation nor government by bureaucratic dictation—

If you have been persuaded that, within the framework of the traditional American order, we can do much to avoid a recurrence of past misfortune, and if your mind has been stimulated a little in that direction—

Then it would be only natural for you to ask yourself the question:

“As a citizen what can I do to bring about a change in the present trend?”

If I have stimulated you to ask yourself that question, then I shall have accomplished the major purpose of this book.

It is not the only purpose, for I need not tell you, if you have been patient enough to read through to this

point, that I have also tried my best to persuade you of certain basic principles which seem to me essential if we are to preserve our freedom and the future happiness of those who come after us.

There is only one thing more that I can try to do, and that is to put into concrete form the things that you might ask yourself, first, in order to determine where you stand, and, second, to see how you can make your stand mean something.

Here are some of the questions you might ask yourself in order to crystallize in your own mind where you stand:

As to Form of Government

1. Would you like this country to retain its traditional form of Constitutional representative government?
2. If not, do you favor Fascism, Communism, Socialism, or any other ism? If so, which? and why?

As to Form of Economy

1. Do you believe in "Planned Economy"—that is, an economic structure in which an all-powerful central government attempts to regulate production, consumption, and distribution, instead of giving free play to the law of supply and demand?
2. Do you believe there can be such a thing as an all-wise and all-powerful government?
3. If you do not believe in a planned and government-

directed economy, do you believe that a "free economy," such as we have had, can and should be regulated to prevent abuse?

4. If you believe in such regulation, do you think it should be accomplished

(a) by the enactment of intelligent laws and their enforcement by the courts? Or

(b) by the concentration of discretionary power in the officials and bureaus of a central government?

5. If it is necessary at times to vest certain administrative powers in Federal boards or commissions, do you believe that such boards or commissions should be appointed by the Executive alone, or that such appointments should be made from the Civil Service lists unless especially confirmed by the Senate?

As to Government Relations with Agriculture and Industry

1. Do you believe Government should go into business in competition with:

(a) Transportation companies?

(b) Power companies?

(c) Other industry?

2. Do you believe Government should fix selling prices for:

(a) Farm products?

(b) Factory products?

3. Do you believe Government should restrict farmers as to:

(a) What crops they shall plant?

(b) What acreage for each crop?

4. Do you believe in attempting to regain a part of our lost export markets for agricultural products by an intelligent downward revision of our tariff structure?

5. Do you believe Government should restrict manufacturers as to the amount of goods they shall produce?

6. Do you believe that the hope of profits is essential to business enterprise?

7. Do you believe Government should attempt to control or regulate profits in industries other than public utilities?

As to Labor

1. Do you favor making membership in a labor union a necessary condition of obtaining employment?

2. Do you favor fixing by Government of:

(a) Minimum wages?

(b) Wages, except minimum wages?

(c) Maximum working hours?

(d) Hours of work other than maximum hours?

3. Do you favor a compulsory system of compensation for unemployment?

4. If your answer to the preceding question is "Yes,"

then do you favor contributions to such compensation by:

- (a) the employer?
- (b) the employees?
- (c) the Government?

5. Do you favor old-age pensions at government expense?

6. If so, should this be taken care of by the Federal Government, or by the states?

As to Money and Wealth

(This ground was covered in my previous book.)

1. Do you favor the use by the Government of its taxing power or other powers for the purpose of taking away wealth or income from one group and giving it to another?

2. If not, do you favor Government's putting "a ceiling" on wealth or income by graduated income and inheritance taxes? And, if so, do you believe that the endeavor to accomplish this would be helped by the elimination of tax-exempt securities and a general revision of our tax laws?

3. Do you approve of reducing the value of savings, life-insurance policies, and wages, in order to make it easier for debtors to repay?

4. Do you think anyone really benefits from currency debasement?

5. Do you favor having the Government increase or decrease the purchasing power of the dollar from time to time by the action of its administrative officers?

6. Do you believe in a "managed currency," or do you think that a modernized gold standard should be re-established?

7. Do you favor political control over the issuance of currency, or do you favor having this power vested in a non-political body, such as the Federal Reserve Board was intended to be?

8. Do you think that there should be any further doses of inflation? If so, by the issuance of greenbacks? By the adoption of bimetallism? By further reduction of the gold content of the dollar?

As to Banking

1. Do you believe that the banking system should be taken over and operated by the Government?

2. If not, do you think that our private banking system has long been due for a thorough overhauling and that a commission should be appointed to study this whole question?

As to Government Organization and Expenditure

1. Do you favor reducing the number of employees on the Government pay-roll? (There are now over 650,000 holding Federal jobs—exclusive of P.W.A.,

C.W.A., or such agencies.)

2. Do you favor a further increase in the national debt?

3. If yes, have you any limit in mind?

4. If you do not favor a further increase in the national debt, do you think the budget should be balanced by:

(a) increasing taxation?

(b) decreasing expenditure? Or

(c) a combination of both?

5. Do you believe in the theory of spending your way out of the depression? If so, would you set limit on:

(a) the total amount to be spent?

(b) the purposes for which it is to be spent?

6. If you do not believe in the spending theory, do you think Government expenditure should from here on be limited to the relief of suffering, and should not extend into permanent or semi-permanent investments in agriculture, industry, and banking?

7. Do you think the national credit has already been endangered?

8. Do you think that an unfair burden of taxation will have to be imposed on future generations in order to retire the debt now being created?

As to Foreign Trade

1. Do you think foreign trade is of no particular importance to this country?

2. If so, do you think we should pursue a course of national self-sufficiency?

3. If you think foreign trade is important, do you think that it is high time that the question posed by Secretary Wallace should be answered? And that we should do something about regaining our foreign markets?

4. Do you think we should once and for all decide not to make any more foreign loans?

5. Or do you think that foreign loans should in future be made when they are compatible with a definitely established foreign trade policy?

6. Do you believe that the prevention of war is the primary economic necessity of the future?

7. If so, do you believe that the removal of economic irritations is the best way to prevent war?

8. If it is not the best way, what is?

9. If it is the best way, do you favor international co-operation in:

(a) removing excessive trade barriers?

(b) re-establishing international currency stability?

There you have a list of questions to ask yourself in order to clarify in your own mind where you stand. Doubtless you will find that, whereas you have a very clear conviction in regard to some questions, you are a little doubtful in your mind as to others. Doubtless you will think of other questions on which you feel strongly, but which I have not even mentioned.

As to any question on which you are unclear, it may be helpful to apply this formula:

1. What is the effect of this question upon the rebirth of private initiative, without which we are doomed to a course not very different from that which we have seen abroad? And
2. What is the real interest of the nation as a whole?

And now let us assume that you have become clear in your mind just where you stand. What can you do about it?

Or, first—should you do anything about it?

The answer is to my mind unequivocal:

If you want to remain a free citizen in a free country, you have got to do something about it. A government can govern us if we refuse to govern ourselves.

But a government cannot save our freedom for us.

That is something we must do ourselves.

What then, can you do? What can I do? What can any of us do?

We can do quite a lot of things. But, before I go into that, let me make one thing just as clear as I can:

This book is not a political campaign document.

I am not interested—perhaps I should be—in either the Republican party or the Democratic party. Both are to me fairly meaningless labels.

There are many Democrats with whom I find myself in thorough sympathy. Likewise there are many Repub-

licans. And there are leaders in both parties with whom I feel that I have very little in common.

The whole problem seems to me to cut straight across all established party lines. It is not a question of whether we elect more Democrats or more Republicans. It is a question of whether we elect more men of sound sense and a feeling of responsibility, or more men of wild ideas and no sense of responsibility.

I have already said that much of what I have attacked did not originate with the New Deal. I say that again.

I have already said that the fault lies not so much with those in Washington as with those at home. That also I say again.

What, then, should those at home do?

1. They should find out something about the men for whom they are going to be asked to vote. They should insist on knowing where these men stand on any issue that seems important. They should refuse to be put off with vague answers.

2. They should vote for the men who come the closest to representing the views they want represented—on matters political, social, and economic. They should vote for these men irrespective of party affiliation.

3. In future they should start sooner and try to see that the political party to which they belong puts up candidates who conform to their requirements, so that they can vote for their party as well as for their convictions. But that is the work of party reorganization, which

must be done in the future. Today the question of party matters very little.

Today it is a question whether in a few years we shall have any parties at all—or just a totalitarian state.

4. Finally, those at home should not only exercise their own right to vote in this way, but they should see that others do likewise.

Once you have convinced yourself, it is not hard to convince others.

A good cause is worth fighting for.

The American people will never have a better cause than their own freedom.

Get out and fight.

That is what you can do.

And remember it is ideas you are fighting—not men. Half-baked, half-understood ideas, launched without sufficient test or criticism under the stress of emergency—these, and the apathetic indifference of a people to its own problems, are the real enemies of freedom.

The men who launch their plans and schemes are for the most part well-meaning; they at least are thinking about existing problems and doing their human best to solve them.

That is more than most of us are doing.

And, in any case, individual men are not of great consequence—just as you and I as individuals are of no particular significance.

It is only as a whole that we matter—only as a whole

that our destiny is important. And our destiny as a whole will be determined, not by any one man or group of men, but by all of us.

Appendix

A. AGAINST INFLATION

B. WHAT INJUSTICE?

C. BANKING AS A PROFESSION

A.

Against Inflation

The following is an excerpt from an address made by the author on April 30, 1934, before the Wharton School of Commerce, University of Pennsylvania, in which are outlined more or less categorically the arguments against the inflationary and experimental monetary policies that have been pursued by the present administration. The whole subject is more fully treated in *The Money Muddle*.

Those who have advocated monetary manipulation have done so in the belief that the depression was caused by the breakdown of our monetary system. With this premise to start from, which I think is a wrong premise, they then embrace what to my mind are a number of secondary fallacies.

As to the basic premise, I believe that the economic condition from which we have been suffering is the result of a great number of factors working in combination. Primarily it is the result of the War and of our post-War failure to realize the changes that had taken place.

The War resulted in a shifting of millions of people from peace-time into war-time activities, the intense stimulation of agriculture and certain industries in some parts of the world, and the destruction of agriculture and industry in others. When the War ended and the armies came home, there was not only the problem of re-employing the returning soldiers or the war-workers whom the soldiers displaced, but there was the problem of readjusting agriculture, trade, and industry to peace-time conditions.

New nations and new frontiers had changed the old channels of trade.

The idea of national self-sufficiency had been born out of the bitter experience of war.

Governments were staggering under enormous debts incurred mostly for purely destructive purposes, and at the same time governments were faced with a greater necessity for relief expenditure than ever before.

Unbalanced budgets threatened the safety of currencies and made all the nations anxious to export as much and import as little as possible.

Added to all this, the Treaty of Versailles imposed reparations upon Germany which were economically impossible.

None of these facts were fully realized, and when they were realized, they were shoved aside because the social implications of the indicated economic readjustment were too serious to face.

Consequently, there arose a network of artificial barriers to trade in the form of tariffs, import quotas, exchange restrictions, etc. In addition, excessive foreign lending operations, mostly by England and the United States, served for a time to offset the drain of gold upon the debtor nations, but in the end only made matters worse.

What is more, our entire nation proceeded to indulge in an orgy of speculation, with the result that a debt structure was built up upon foreign and domestic values which were largely fictitious.

When the inevitable collapse came, bank assets froze and the gold-standard mechanism broke down, and that accentuated the deflationary spiral and led to the acute stage of the depression. In this connection it is essential to remember that the gold-standard mechanism is a mechanism for settling *temporary* disequilibria in the balance of payment between nations. What happened through the course of events which I have just briefly indicated was that the gold-standard mechanism was used not to settle *temporary* disequilibria, but in an attempt to compensate *permanent* maladjustments. It is obvious that such an attempt would have to lead first to a maldistribution of gold, and then to a complete breakdown of the gold-standard mechanism.

To say that the entire depression was caused by the breakdown of the monetary system is to my mind like saying that measles are caused by a rash. Given the de-

struction and maladjustment of a great war, given the failure of human intelligence to grapple with the post-war problem, and the various other factors briefly enumerated, it is hard to see how any monetary system could have survived the strain.

So much for the premise. As to the secondary fallacies, I have dealt with these at length in *The Money Muddle*. Let me confine myself here to these assertions:

1. It is not necessarily a good thing to raise prices. On the contrary, unless incomes rise along with prices, it is easy to see that the standard of living must go down. It is therefore desirable to raise prices only to the extent that incomes keep pace with them.

2. It is not desirable to raise all prices, but rather to bring about an adjustment between prices and costs of production which will enable agriculture and industry to produce at a profit but not necessarily at higher prices. Some prices, notably those of agricultural products, fell during the depression below the actual cost of production, but this was by no means true of all manufactured goods.

3. Depreciating a currency cannot remove discrepancies in a price level, because if it raises prices, it raises all prices.

4. To lighten the burden of debt by depreciating the currency is to benefit a very small minority of the population at the expense of a large majority. This is true because the mass debts of the nation are one and the

same thing as the mass savings of the nation, and because by far the greater part of the population is preponderantly interested as a creditor rather than as a debtor.

5. In an economy such as ours, recovery can only be brought about by an increased volume of business done in the expectation of reasonable profit. Therefore, anything that obscures the hope of profit tends to retard recovery.

6. Uncertainty as to the future character and value of money is perhaps the strongest single deterrent to business enterprise.

7. Our present monetary policy creates uncertainty as to the future *character* of money in that, under the Gold Reserve Act, the President has the power either to return to a gold standard or to adopt some form of managed commodity index dollar. Furthermore, so long as the Thomas Amendment remains on the books, there is the additional uncertainty as to whether greenbacks will be resorted to. The same thing is true of the permissive powers vested in the President with regard to silver.

8. Uncertainty as to the future *value* of the dollar is created by the same factors just enumerated as affecting its future character. In addition, the program of government expenditure and the uncertain prospect of a return to a balanced budget create further uncertainty as to the ultimate extent to which depreciation will go.

9. The school of thought which believes in a monetary cure has laid great stress upon the metal base of the cur-

rency and the nature of the circulating medium, but the currency itself represents only a small part of our money structure. By far the greatest part consists of bank money; that is, deposit money. Therefore, if a cure for our troubles is to be found in monetary reform, such reform must concern itself not only with the currency but with the banking structure.

For these and other reasons it would appear to me that a continuation of our present monetary policy not only will fail to bring about recovery, but, as a matter of fact, will retard recovery. Therefore, I should rule out the first alternative—namely, more inflation, which is being advocated by one wing of the administration forces at the present time.

B.

What Injustice?

If the statement on page 56 in Chapter IV seems a strong statement, the following excerpt from an address made by the author before the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks, on May 17, 1934, is offered in substantiation:

We are living in a time when strange things are being done to the economic order, and many strange ideas are being tried. Much of this is a necessary consequence of the admitted failure of our past leaders. Much of it is a natural revulsion against the excesses committed under the old order. But much, too, is an unnecessary and unwise emotional jettisoning of anything and everything that had to do with the traditions and beliefs of the past.

Normally, at a time like this, when the protracted distress of the people provides ideal pasture for radical reformers, when the copy-book maxims are more or less in disrepute, it devolves upon the conservative bankers and economists to preserve the balance. It is their function, at such a time, to puncture the bubbles of fantastic dreamers, to lay bare the fallacies of the false prophets,

and to demolish the threadbare blandishments of the demagogue.

Today all too many of our economists are political economists, with the accent on the political. Today our commercial bankers are so intimidated by the criticism and abuse that has been heaped upon them—so conscious that some of it, though by no means all, is merited—that scarcely a voice is heard.

Upon you, the savings bankers, who are immune from popular disfavor, there rests all the more heavily, it seems to me, the duty to make your voices heard, wherever and whenever you see injustice being done to the interests of the millions whom you disinterestedly represent.

Whether or not injustice is being done to the owners of the forty million savings accounts in the savings banks and banks of this country is, of course, a matter of opinion. Very likely no two of us would completely agree. I shall state my own views briefly, in the hope that by so doing I may perhaps stimulate you to express yours, irrespective of whether they agree with mine or not.

Let me say quite simply and clearly at the outset that I do believe an injustice—a great injustice—is being done to every man and woman who has money deposited in your care. That is a strong statement and requires a bill of particulars. I cannot here attempt to go into all the aspects of our Government's present policies.

But, in so far as the savings depositor is directly concerned—not as a citizen in general, but as a savings de-

positor—I am prepared to state specifically why I believe that he is suffering both harm and injustice.

I shall confine myself to two major reasons for this statement:

1. Because the savings depositor is actually being deprived of a part of his savings, and
2. Because the savings depositor is in the process of being denied the opportunity of receiving a fair return on his savings.

That is my personal opinion, with which some may not agree. Let me see if I can substantiate it to your satisfaction.

I say that the savings depositor is actually being deprived of a part of his savings because we have embarked upon a monetary policy which, though in many ways obscure, is quite clear in one respect at least, in that:

It is a policy of deliberately depreciating the dollar in order to raise prices and lighten the so-called "burden of debt."

I do not hesitate to affirm my conviction that a savings depositor is damaged directly and immediately to the extent that such a policy is successful. Reducing the value of one hundred dollars to sixty dollars is the same thing as taking away forty dollars out of every one hundred dollars.

I do not mean that the amount of the damage done at present is forty per cent just because the gold content of the dollar has been reduced by that amount, or because

the dollar is selling for about sixty cents of its old par in terms of foreign exchange. The dollar is probably still about an eighty-five to ninety cent dollar in internal purchasing power. Therefore, the savings depositor—unless he intended to spend his money abroad—has so far only lost at most a sixth of his savings.

But it seems to me that for the great majority, if not for all of your depositors, a loss of fifteen dollars in every one hundred dollars is a very serious loss indeed.

Nor is that the worst of it. Frank avowal by the Government of its intention to seek a considerably higher price level—which is the same thing as seeking a considerably lower dollar—is a very definite threat of greater loss still to be inflicted upon the savings depositor.

The Government itself has not to my knowledge defined the exact extent to which it seeks to debase the purchasing power of the dollar—or, to use the polite phrase, to what extent it seeks to “reflate” the price level. Some of the proponents of this policy have been more specific than the Government. They have advocated the restoration of a 1926 “honest dollar.” Why the 1926 dollar should be any more honest than the 1913 dollar, or the dollar of any other particular year, is something which, to me at least, remains shrouded in mystery. I only know that the 1926 price level means that a housewife would have to pay 18 cents for a yard of gingham as against 10 cents today; that a man would have to pay \$5.00 for a pair of shoes as against \$3.50 today; that a

pound of butter would cost a little over 53 cents as against a little over 27 cents today; and that potatoes would cost more than twice as much as they do now.

No one has ever explained to me what is to give people the increased incomes, which they would need in order to pay those prices—which they would need if the “honest dollar” of 1926 were restored.

But, the proponents of the theory will tell you, the “burden of debt” has become insupportable and is unjust because it was contracted in a cheap dollar and must be paid in a “dishonest 1934 dollar.” That is an argument which seems to me to overlook three basic elements of the debtor-creditor relationship.

In the first place, it overlooks the fact that for every debtor there is a creditor, which means that the “burden of debt,” if turned over on its other side, is the savings of the people.

In the second place, it overlooks the corollary to that axiom: namely, that whatever is done to the general advantage of all debtors is thereby done to the general disadvantage of all creditors.

And third, it overlooks the fact that in this nation of ours a preponderant majority of the people are more creditor than debtor, and that only a small minority have a debtor interest greater than their creditor position.

The forty million savings accounts in the country are damaged to the extent that the dollars deposited with you are debased and will purchase less than they would have

purchased at the time they were deposited.

We do not know to what extent the Government intends to proceed with this policy. Certainly it intends to bring the internal purchasing power of the dollar down to at least sixty per cent. Otherwise the whole theory of devaluation would be meaningless. It therefore seems fair to state that your depositors must look forward to a certain shrinkage of forty per cent in the value of their savings accounts if the Government is successful in making the devaluation theory work.

Nor is that all. In a recently published book, Professor Kemmerer has shown that in all likelihood the eventual result of our raising the price of gold to thirty-five dollars an ounce or more will actually raise prices—that is, depreciate the purchasing power of the dollar—by much more than the indicated forty per cent.

I am not going to tilt here at the straw man of uncontrolled inflation. A mismanagement of our present policy may lead to uncontrolled inflation, but a mismanagement of any policy leads to disaster. I am only concerned here with pointing out that the probable effects of our present policy, even if it does not break away from control, will be to depreciate the purchasing power of the dollar to a point where the billions of savings entrusted to your care will have shrunk more than fifty per cent in value.

That is why I feel no hesitation in saying that our present monetary policy deprives your depositors of a

part of their savings. To some extent this is an accomplished fact. To a far greater extent it depends upon the degree to which our present policy is pursued further, and upon the extent to which we continue to retreat before the inflationists.

Now as to the second point. I believe that the savings depositor is in the process of being deprived of the opportunity to receive a fair return on his savings in the future. I say this because of a general philosophy which is being pursued by our Government, and because of certain specific legislation.

The general philosophy to which I refer is the philosophy that government is the mainspring of national life—a view which is being carried to its logical conclusion in several European countries at the present time, and which leads to the complete suppression of the individual in favor of the all-powerful State. More than once in the past few years we have heard from those fortunately distant shores the echoes of the slogan that man exists for the State and not the State for man. But here, so far as I know, we as a people have not reached any decision to abandon our accustomed type of life; up to date we have looked upon the officers of government not as masters but as servants of the people, and we have looked upon ourselves, the people, as masters of our own destiny. While, as I say, we have not reached any decision to abandon this philosophy, it seems to me that we are acting in many respects as if we had.

It seems to me that we are in danger of passing on to a central authority, always ready to grow by what it feeds on, problems which we have been in the habit of solving individually by the application of what has been called American ingenuity.

That is what I mean by saying that there is a general philosophy in Washington today which seems to me to obscure the hope of reward, and which, therefore, tends to deprive the man who accumulates savings of the opportunity to invest these savings profitably.

Specifically, the Securities Act of 1933 and the proposed National Securities Exchange Act of 1934 have expressed this philosophy in a way which directly affects the savings depositor. In its anxiety to prevent a recurrence of the unfortunate experience of investors in the past, the Government has practically destroyed the investment machinery, and thereby destroyed the channels through which the savings of the people have in the past found their natural employment in supplying the capital needs of business.

Probably all of us would agree that some sort of legislation to prevent a recurrence of past abuse was necessary. Probably all of us would agree that there is much in the Securities Act and in the proposed National Securities Exchange Act that is good and necessary. There is no doubt that our system needed reform to prevent a speculative mania from again seizing the country as it did in the years preceding the 1929 crash. There is no doubt

that it was necessary to impress upon investment bankers the fact that they had a twofold responsibility: first, a responsibility towards the investing public; and second, a responsibility to render sound advice to the business interests which come to seek capital in the investment market. Some of our investment bankers have always been aware of this responsibility; others have been guided too much by their desire to make profits for themselves.

The trouble with the recent legislation is that it seeks to meet the need for reform by purely mechanical means. One cannot, as I have previously said, legislate intelligence nor integrity. It is not necessary here to go into a detailed criticism of the two Acts. You are all familiar with them, and you are familiar with the objections that have been raised against them.

If the Government is to be the one great spender, the one great employer of men, the one great borrower of funds—if private enterprise is to be unable to find capital to replace outworn plant and machinery except by going to the Government—if bankers are no longer to perform their traditional function of bringing together the accumulators of savings with productive enterprise, which legitimately requires capital, and if that function is henceforth to be exercised by the Government—

Then it is difficult to see how you gentlemen are going to be able to find investments which will provide safety for your depositors and at the same time enable you to pay them a reasonable rate of return.

C.

Banking As A Profession

The following is the full text of an address made by the author before the Choosing-A-Career Conference in Newark, New Jersey, on June 26, 1934, of college seniors from various universities:

You are here for the purpose of considering a choice of vocation.

I have been asked to talk to you about banking and finance, and it might reasonably be expected that I would present to you a number of reasons why a banking career is an attractive one to consider. I doubt very much whether what I shall have to say will cause any of you to become bankers. It may on the contrary cause some of you who are already headed towards banking to choose a different career, and it is barely possible that it may tend to make a few of you decide to go into banking with a different point of view than you might otherwise have had. That would be the most I could hope for.

The main theme of what I have to say to you is very simple:

Banking as a business career is dead. Banking as a pro-

fession is in its infancy—I might almost say, is not yet born.

There have been excluded from this conference the recognized professions, such as law, medicine, and architecture. Banking has been included as one of a number of possible business or vocational pursuits. In my judgment it has no place in a conference which deals with the various possible methods of making money.

In the past the majority of college graduates who have entered the banking business have done so for one of two reasons: because they thought all bankers got reasonably rich with reasonable ease and rapidity; or because the banking business had a certain traditional social prestige. Stated another way, the banking business was considered pre-eminently respectable, and one's friends—one's respectable friends, I mean—were likely to be in it too.

That is why most college-bred bankers in this country originally became bank runners or bond salesmen immediately after their graduation. Many of them are—or were until recently—the respected heads of commercial banks and investment banking houses.

Many of them will consider me a heretic when I say to you that these considerations are out of date and no longer valid. But I do say just that.

If you are thinking of becoming a banker because you think banking would be a nice respectable way to make quite a little money—stay out of it.

If you are thinking of becoming a banker because in

that way you will meet the best people and attain social prestige—stay out of it.

If you think that all you need to become a banker is a college degree and that cardinal virtue of the get-rich-quick era, “a nice personality”—stay out of it.

Having the right friends and a good set of teeth used to be the entrance requirements. They are that no longer.

What you need today is a very different set of tools. You need primarily three things: certain elements of character; a very definite philosophy; and a background of proper training.

With regard to character, you need more than average intelligence, more than average patience, and more than average integrity. If you are not reasonably sure that your intelligence is above the average—if you are aware of the fact that you are naturally impatient—it is better to choose some other career. As to integrity, I do not suppose that anyone can judge his own honesty, but certainly no one with any doubt as to his own ability to withstand temptation should choose a banking career.

Finally, and most important of all, you must like your fellow man and be interested in him. You must be willing to listen to his problems and troubles, not because your job demands it, but because you enjoy it—because you derive both interest and satisfaction from doing it.

Some of the best bankers I know are rendered relatively ineffective because they sit locked away in carefully guarded offices and are inaccessible to the average man.

It goes without saying that a bank executive cannot spend his entire day seeing anyone who wants to see him. It goes without saying that he must delegate much of his contact with the public to his fellow officers. But, if the chief executive has no contact at first hand with the Tom, Dick, and Harrys of his clientele, he very soon loses touch with the realities, and so loses much of his practical value to the community.

While it is difficult to be specific in regard to character, it is not difficult to state the requirements as to general philosophy. What you need is the philosophy of the professional career. You need to be driven into banking by the same kind of impulse that drives one man into becoming a surgeon or scientist, that compels another to become a newspaper man because he has the itch to write, or insists upon an artistic career because of an inner need for that kind of expression.

You need to go into banking not because it may lead you to the acquisition of wealth, power, or prestige, but because you want to serve others in that particular field. If you serve them well, you can hope for prestige and power—not the kind that comes from wealth, but the kind of power and prestige that inevitably accrues to good leadership and wise counsel.

If you feel that your desire is for material reward, if your nature is essentially a competitive one, it will probably be difficult for you to acquire this sort of philosophy. The rewards of a good professional career are only in a

secondary sense material. The primary satisfaction is that of a job well done, of having helped some people out of trouble and kept others from getting into it, and so of acquiring a reputation for being able to give the best advice.

The field of banking and finance is a very wide one. It has been suggested that I should attempt to cover here a few of its major aspects. I do not see very much point in attempting to do that, because what I have to say to you applies to all the various executive phases of banking, and because I assume that everyone here today would consider banking only from the point of view of seeking ultimately to attain an executive position. Nevertheless, it may be useful to define the functions of the four major classifications of bankers if only to show that the requirements for each of the four categories are basically the same.

The four major categories are, as you know, the commercial banker, the investment banker, the savings banker, and the trust officer.

The job of the commercial banker is to provide a safe refuge for the surplus short-term funds of his community—and to satisfy the legitimate short-term borrowing requirements of his community. In other words, he must provide safety for the depositors of money which is temporarily idle, and lend such money to others who have a legitimate temporary need for it. To do that he must be honest, careful, intelligent, well-trained, and

unbiased by personal interest.

The job of the investment banker is much the same, except that he deals in long-term funds instead of short-term. It is his function to provide safe and profitable employment for capital accumulated out of savings, and to provide for business enterprise the long-term money which it needs to finance its capital requirements. The qualifications for the investment banker are much the same. He must be honest, careful, intelligent, well-trained—though differently trained from the commercial banker—and he, too, must be unbiased by personal interest.

The job of the trust officer is to manage the financial affairs of people who are unable or unwilling to manage them for themselves. He looks after the safety of principal and the obtaining of income for beneficiaries of estates and trusts, just as the head of a family looks after the financial welfare of his wife and children. He is a professional investor for others, and as such he must have the same qualifications—again with a slightly different background of specialized training—as the commercial banker and the investment banker.

The function of the savings banker is very much like that of the trust officer, except that where the trust officer deals with a number of individual problems, each slightly different from the others, the savings banker deals in the aggregate with the savings of large masses of people. These savings he must invest carefully and intelligently

so as to protect safety of principal and enable him to pay a reasonable rate of interest. Furthermore, he must also be prepared at all times to meet a certain number of withdrawals. It is clear that his general qualifications must be very similar to those of the other three categories.

Were I to discuss in detail the various functions and opportunities contained within these four major categories, it would be necessary to point out certain essential differences in the requirements of character and training, but that would lead too far afield in a discussion of this sort. Before leaving the subject of general philosophy and discussing briefly the type of training which seems to me desirable, I should like to stress the absolute necessity in any kind of banker for lack of bias by reason of personal interest.

The original concept of a banker was that of a money-lender. Originally the money-lender probably loaned out only his own funds. Then because he was rich, others entrusted their funds to him for safekeeping and he proceeded to lend those out as well. His primary motive for being in the banking business was the motive of making profit. Upon that conception our whole modern banking structure has been built up, but it is my belief that civilization has advanced to a point now where that conception is no longer justifiable. A banker may no longer regard himself as being in business for his own profit. He is the custodian of the funds of the people, and it is his function to supply credit so that the machinery of

production, distribution, and consumption can function properly.

That does not mean that a bank as such should not be entitled to make profits. Broadly speaking, a bank should make profits which are analagous to insurance premiums—that is, it should receive fair compensation for the risks it undertakes in order that it may meet the losses which it will inevitably encounter. Further than that it should be entitled to show a fair margin of profit, because otherwise no one would be willing to supply the capital without which banks cannot operate.

This institutional profit, however, is a very different thing from individual profit. A bank officer should be paid liberally, but he should not have any personal financial interests which may tend to prejudice his judgment.

I am convinced that unless we come to this general philosophy among bankers—not by law, but by a process of education and public opinion—banking will pass altogether out of the hands of private individuals and into the hands of government. That, I think, would be a catastrophe, because I believe that the evils of political control and operation of the banking machinery, particularly in a democratic country, would be far greater than the worst evils of an abused private banking system.

This is scarcely the place in which to advocate or oppose reforms and changes in our banking structure, and yet I cannot convey clearly to you what I mean by the “necessary philosophy” without saying what I have

just said. In the end it comes down to this:

Unless you are prepared to live on a salary—or on such other inherited income as you may have, plus a salary—I do not think you should go into banking. I would even go so far as to say to any of you that may inherit capital in some form or another:

“If you are going to be a banker, engage someone else in whom you have confidence to look after your own investments or those of your family. Don’t try to do it yourself and at the same time advise others, or handle the funds of others.”

And now a word as to the background of training: The mere fact of having a college degree may mean much or little. It may mean that you have barely squeaked by your examinations, or that you were Phi Beta Kappa. It may mean that you have majored in government and economics, or it may be that you have spent most of your time, as I did, reading the Greek and Latin poets.

If you have not completed your college course with reasonably good marks, the chances are that you are either not intelligent enough or not industrious enough to make a good banker. Both are curable to a certain extent, but they will not cure themselves.

If you have specialized in economics and government, you have probably laid the foundations for the further studies that you will want to pursue. If you have not done so, I hope you will not make the mistake of trying to

become a banker without any knowledge of these subjects.

One of the chief defects of our present banking system is that so few of our present-day bankers were properly educated. You would probably be surprised at the number of bank presidents who have become heads of their institutions for no other reason than that they were good bond salesmen and go-getters. Then there is the other kind of bank president who has come up through the ranks without much education of any sort. As a rule, however, these latter men have taken the trouble to acquire a certain amount of background as they have gone on, and, in any case, they have practical experience and hard work behind them.

No matter what phase of banking you decide to enter, I cannot urge you too strongly to acquire a basic knowledge of economics and government. Without that you will never understand your function in the community or be able to give the right kind of advice.

Another thing that you need is at least an elementary training in the history of banking and the present banking law. You would again be surprised how few present-day bankers have that.

Then I would urge you, before you specialize in any particular type of banking, to acquire a certain amount of practical experience in all of them.

After that the best advice I can give you is to pick your job, not so much according to where the highest salary

can be obtained, but according to where you can work under the ablest man. Most of the best knowledge of banking cannot be found in textbooks and is only to be found in the accumulated experience of a few individuals. Therefore, the best education for a young banker is to absorb experience as much as he can from the man directly over him.

There is one more point I should like to stress in regard to training. We are living in a time when what were formerly watertight compartments between nations have been so penetrated by the elimination of time and distance that no one can think intelligently about economic matters if he confines his thinking to the things that are happening in any one country. If you are going in for foreign banking, it goes without saying that this implies a special study of foreign countries and foreign banking technique. But even if you are going to be a country banker in the Middle West, you cannot be an intelligent banker if you are totally unaware of the changes that are constantly taking place in the different parts of the world.

To sum up what I have said, there is no need for you to deliberate whether or not to enter the banking business. There is no banking business.

Whether or not it is wise for you to enter the banking profession depends first upon your natural equipment; second, upon your ability to acquire the true professional

philosophy; and third, upon your willingness and ability to acquire the proper training.

If you comply with all these requirements, it still remains for you to maintain throughout your career the philosophy of disinterested service, and it remains for you also to keep abreast of your problem by constant study and by never making the mistake of thinking that your training is complete.

I am convinced that if our future bankers are men who enter the profession upon these premises, it will not be long before we have a model banking system in this country. If they do not, and if our future bankers are men who consider banking a business rather than a profession, I am convinced that no amount of laws and regulations will give us a good banking system.

A NOTE ON THE TYPE IN WHICH THIS BOOK IS SET



DEVICE OF
ROBERT GRANJON

This book is set in Granjon, a type named in compliment to ROBERT GRANJON, but neither a copy of a classic face nor an entirely original creation. George W. Jones drew the basic design for this type from classic sources, but deviated from his model to profit by the intervening centuries of experience and progress. This type is based primarily upon the type used by Claude Garamond (1510-61) in his beautiful French books, and more closely resembles Garamond's own than do any of the various modern types that bear his name.

Of Robert Granjon nothing is known before 1545, except that he had begun his career as type-cutter in 1523. The boldest and most original designer of his time, he was one of the first to practise the trade of type-founder apart from that of printer. Between 1549 and 1551 he printed a number of books in Paris, also continuing as type-cutter. By 1557 he was settled in Lyons and had married Antoinette Salamon, whose father, Bernard, was an artist associated with Jean de Tournes. Between 1557 and 1562 Granjon printed about twenty books in types designed by himself, following, after the fashion of the day, the cursive handwriting of the time. These types, usually known as "*caractères de civilité*," he himself called "*lettres françaises*," as especially appropriate to his own country. He was granted a monopoly of these types for ten years, but they were soon copied. Granjon appears to have lived in Antwerp for a time, but was at Lyons in 1575 and 1577, and for the next decade at Rome, working for the Vatican and Medici presses, his work consisting largely in cutting exotic types. Towards the end of his life he may have returned to live in Paris, where he died in 1590.

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